THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1792.

PART I.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

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PREFACE.

THE portion of hiſtory now preſented to the Public, occupies conſiderably more than double the ſpace allotted to that head in our former volumes. It comprizes the tranſactions of much more than a ſingle year; and the period to which it relates, is the moſt critical and intereſting in the preſent century, perhaps in the whole ſucceſſion of centuries from the reign of Charlemagne. With the events, here narrated, began a new æra in the ſyſtem of Europe. The long eſtabliſhed balance of power, ſhaken by repeated wars, and ſettled again by renewed treaties, has been overturned both in the North and South; the received law of nations has been antiquated; and not only forms of government, but the firſt principles of politics, and morals, have undergone a revolution.

On ſuch a ſubject, we thought it our duty to ſpare no pains in the compilation of documents, and the inveſtigation of facts, which could, in the leaſt reſpect, tend to elucidate an epoch, likely to engage the particular atten-

tion of future hiſtorians, and to influence the happineſs or miſery of diſtant generations. In the proſecution of our enquiries, recourſe has been always had to immediate and original authorities, wherever ſuch could be procured; where that was not poſſible, we have never failed to conſult the beſt and moſt authenticated accounts, occaſionally referring, in notes, to the various ſources from whence our information was derived. Between one and two hundred publications of different deſcriptions (ſome among them conſiſting of ſeveral volumes) will be found to be expreſsly quoted; and many might ſtill have been added to the liſt, if it had been thought proper to name more than one or two of the principal, which concurred in the ſame teſtimony. We have alſo profited not a little from the private communications of perſons, upon whoſe veracity we can depend, and who have been actively engaged in the ſcenes here deſcribed, in Poland, in France, at Home, and in the campaigns of the Eaſt.

In the developement of the northern politics, which finally led to the total deſtruction of the old balance of power in that quarter, by the annihilation of Poland, as an independent ſtate, much care has been beſtowed; and, it is hoped, not altogether in vain. A fuller,

as well as more impartial hiſtory of the revolution in that unhappy country, and of all the counſels and intrigues connected with it, has been attempted, than has yet appeared in any work, foreign or domeſtic, which has come to our knowledge. The narrative is taken up from the early rudiments of that meaſure in 1789, and continued down to the firſt ſubmiſſion of Warſaw to the Ruſſian armies in the autumn of 1792. It has been our endeavour, according to the beſt of our judgment, to preſerve the degree of detail due to tranſactions of ſo much moment, yet upon the prominent features of which there exiſts no eſſential difference of opinion among mankind.

The French hiſtory, contained in this volume, commences from the time when, by the expulſion of Necker and his colleagues, the original leaders of the revolution got the whole power of the ſtate into their own hands; and it reaches down to the actual ſubverſion of the monarchy in Auguſt 1792, by an open attack on the palace, the impriſonment of the king, his proviſional depoſition, and the calling of a convention to ratify, by ſome appearance of the general will, that anomalous democracy which was then in effect eſtabliſhed by force. It is a period of

ſomething leſs than two years. Yet in that ſhort ſpace, two factions, which had ſucceſſively riſen to popularity, after being compelled to ſeek their own ſafety by uniting to ſupport that throne, which they had themſelves rendered inſecure, were cruſhed together under its ruins; and the faction, which ſeemed moſt triumphant in its fall, was already undermined. This period is alſo marked by the breaking out of a war which has involved the greater part of Europe, and broken in pieces the ſyſtem of the South.

The ſeveral ſects of revolutioniſts in France, up to the end of 1792, have, each in its turn, had their admirers and advocates in this, as in every other neighbouring nation; and many, who have long ſince been diſguſted by the crimes that have followed, are ſtill as laviſh as ever in their praiſe of the principles, with which the revolution ſet out. Many too, who at this moment ſee with alarm and indignation the ambition and injuſtice of our enemies, yet aſſert them to have taken arms originally in the juſt defence of their own liberty, and impute all their crimes and calamities to the war into which they are repreſented to have been forced. Some, though comparatively few, have uniformly adhered to every thing, which has been done by all the different demagogues and tyrants

of that oppreſſed country. Others (and we believe them to be by far the greateſt number) have, for a long time, as univerſally diſapproved alike the principles and conduct of the French revolution. On all ſides the paſſions are kindled by the nature and importance of the queſtions which are agitated, inflame the contention, and tinge every ſurrounding object with the colour of their own light.

In ſuch circumſtances, the taſk of the contemporary hiſtorian, always delicate, is clogged with new difficulties. There is no evidence on which he can implicitly rely. There are no readers, who can coolly eſtimate what he writes. He ſhould keep a check on the bias of his own opinions: for opinions he muſt have: to be indifferent, in ſuch a juncture of civil ſociety, would be a crime. In all the more diſputed paſſages of the tranſactions, which he has to relate (ſuch as are all thoſe of the period comprehended in the preſent volume) we ſee but one way, which he can ſafely and honeſtly purſue, though at the riſk of rendering his compoſition cumberſome, diſjointed, and ſpiritleſs. He muſt embody, as it were, the evidence in the ſtory itſelf, by inſerting ample extracts from the ſpeeches and declarations of the principal actors on each ſide; he muſt trace their proceedings ſtep by ſtep, and almoſt day by day, ſcrupulouſly re-

garding the order of time; and he must accumulate every fact, which can illustrate their designs and dispositions. In ascertaining his facts, he should use more than ordinary circumspection. The best testimony is that, which witnesses furnish against themselves; and on that he should bottom himself wherever he can. What remains, he should supply, as far as he is able, from solemn documents, and public statements, admitted, or at least uncontradicted by adversaries, whose interest it was to refute them. He should study the characters, not only of opposite parties, but of individuals, and receive nothing but with extreme jealousy from those, whom he shall have once found guilty of employing deliberate fraud. He must compare all, collect from all, but surrender his own judgment to none. Many things, unnecessary to the present times, he must preserve for the instruction of posterity; many more, which will appear tedious, when the general truth of the story shall have been once agreed, he must dilate to meet existing prejudices, errors, or misrepresentations. To those who shall come after, it must be left to catch the more striking results, combine them with effect, dispose them in harmonious masses, and delineate them with a rapid, but firm pencil.

There is also a peculiar disadvantage under

der which we labour, in writing contemporary hiſtory by detached pieces. What has been paſſed over in its proper place, as comparatively inſignificant, will ſometimes appear afterwards to be of the higheſt importance; and ſometimes new light will be reflected from new information. Some inſtances, of both kinds, occur in the preſent volume. Such are, the account of the abortive inquiry into the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October 1789, before the court of the Châtelet, and the bloody tales of Nîmes and Avignon: ſubjects, the complete knowledge of which ſeemed eſſential to a true eſtimate of the firſt aſſembly. We take the liberty too, of directing the reader's attention to the review, which is attempted in the VIIIth chapter of the progreſs of the Revolution, during the time of the firſt aſſembly, the prediſpoſing cauſes of that event, and its moral and political operation at home and abroad. The preſs was kept ſtanding a long time, that we might avail ourſelves of ſome very important authorities, which had been promiſed to the world; and which have occaſioned that part to grow under our hands, to a magnitude which, if we had foreſeen, we ſhould have been induced to have formed it into a ſeparate chapter.

Our domeſtic affairs we have aimed to treat,

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as they ſeemed to require, in a ſort of middle manner; more than commonly full, but not ſo minute as that which has been applied to the affairs of France.

The collection of ſtate-papers is, of courſe, unuſually copious. Many of them, and thoſe perhaps the moſt intereſting, we do not recollect ever before to have ſeen in the Engliſh language; and others have only been known by imperfect and partial tranſlations. Among the former are; the counter-complaints of the court of Bruſſels againſt the French, for protecting the Emigrants, and encouraging the malcontents of the Auſtrian Netherlands; the diſpatches, which ſtate the ſatisfactory conduct of the Elector Palatine, and the Elector of Treves, in diſperſing the aſſemblages of French Emigrants, and thoſe, which evince the pacific intentions of the court of Turin, and the unprepared condition of Spain; the king's proclamation on the ſuſpenſion of Petion and Manuel; Briſſot's report on the negotiations with Geneva, and the principles of the new diplomacy; the anſwer of the preſident Gregoire to the Savoyard deputies, which was printed and circulated as the manifeſto of all nations againſt kings; and ſome of the addreſſes from the Engliſh ſocieties: among the latter are, the whole official correſpondence, which led

to

to hoſtilities with Auſtria; the report of M. Dumourier to the king in council, which immediately produced the declaration of war; and other pieces of inferior conſideration.

The Appendix to the Chronicle has been ſimilarly enlarged. This has been done partly to include ſeveral valuable documents of leſs ſolemn form, relative to the French hiſtory, and partly to preſerve the principal declarations and reſolutions which were publiſhed in 1792, by the different aſſociations of oppoſite political tenets, into which our own kingdom was then unhappily divided.

We cannot preſent to the public theſe fruits, ſuch as they are, of our aſſiduous reſearches, without obſerving, that during the time, which has been ſpent in them, we have not been unmindful of our ulterior engagements. Two other volumes have been ſome time in preparation, and are actually in the preſs. They will appear with all convenient diſpatch. We have for each, authentic materials, which we know, to be in the poſſeſſion of no other private perſons.

In the volume for 1793, which is in great forwardneſs, the part that contains the origin of the war between France and this country, will be executed in the ſame full manner with the French hiſtory in the preſent volume.

volume. Afterwards when actual hoſtilities had commenced, and the French republic had acquired ſomething of an eſtabliſhment, we ſhall return to the general courſe and ſtyle of our accuſtomed narrative. Mankind have little comparative concern in knowing with accuracy the ſeries of crimes and follies committed by immoral power of whatever form. Theſe are but neceſſary conſequences of ſuch a domination. It is the tranſition of great ſtates from one mode of exiſtence to another, that furniſhes, perhaps, the moſt inſtructtive leſſon in hiſtory.

The delay, which from the cauſes thus ſubmitted to the public has taken place in the appearance of the preſent volume, has expoſed us to the repetition of an attempt once before made to injure us. We ſhall not, however, regret the time, labour, and expence beſtowed to finiſh the work in a manner ſatisfactory to ourſelves, if it ſhall in any degree procure a continuance of that indulgent approbation, which we have had the happineſs ſo long to experience, and the remembrance of which muſt ever incite us to the moſt perſevering and diligent diſcharge of our duty, conſiſtent with the great intereſts of juſtice and truth.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1792.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Connection of the Poliſh revolution with the war of the North already related, and the ſubſequent French war. Situation of affairs before the diet in the beginning of 1789. *Character of the Poles—of Frederick-William—of Staniſlaus-Auguſtus—his ſituation and prudence—his admonition to the diet againſt precipitate reforms, when they were going to conſider of the abolition of the permanent council. Motion for that abolition, and the repeal of all the regulations of* 1775 *and* 1776, *made by Count Staniſlaus Potocki, and after two days debates carried by a very large majority. Diet returns to the conſideration of the finances. Land-tax propoſed. Generous behaviour of all parties and orders of men in the diet, particularly of the clergy. Strong ſpirit ſhewn to protect the peaſants, and encouraged by the king—his own liberality to the public treaſury. Diſputes with Ruſſia about the evacuation of the republic by her troops. Conſpiracy and inſurrection fomented by Ruſſia. Paſſage refuſed to Ruſſian troops. Empreſs orders the compleat evacuation of the Poliſh territories, and promiſes ſatisfaction for all damage done by them. Conſequent influence of the king of Pruſſia and the Britiſh miniſter at Warſaw. Proſecution of Prince Poninſki, for his conduct as marſhal of the diet which ſanctioned the partition in* 1775. *Proſpective reduction of the value of the biſhoprics when they ſhould become vacant, ſimilar in principle to the œconomical reform here in* 1782; *directly oppoſite to the confiſcation of the property of the clergy in France about the ſame time with this eccleſiaſtical reform in Poland. Storming of the Baſtile now known in Poland. Effects of the French revolution on Poland. Committee for reporting on the plan of a conſtitution appointed. Deputation of the royal free cities and towns to*

obtain a reſtoration of their antient privileges. General diſpoſition in their favour. The deputies are introduced at court, and their cauſe patronized by the king. They preſent a memorial to the diet. Their moderation. Informality in their mode of proceeding. They are directed to apply through the proper legal channels; and a committee is named by the king, from perſons favourable to them, to receive and report upon their grievances. Committee of the conſtitution proceeds with great deliberation. King of Pruſſia offers his alliance, but requires, as preliminary conditions, the augmentation of the Poliſh army, and a government of more ſtrength and ſtability. Report of the committee called for: made by the biſhop of Kaminiec, who, after recommending caution, propoſes certain principles of melioration, contained in eight articles. Short account of the moſt important points. All the articles paſſed, at the recommendation of the king. Diet adjourns for the Chriſtmas receſs. Univerſals of the marſhals, recapitulating all the meaſures of the diet, and exhorting the nation to internal union. Public thankſgiving in all the churches directed by the king, for the unanimity with which the diet had begun the reform of their conſtitution.

IN the concluſion of the laſt volume it was obſerved that the cloſe of the year 1791 formed a ſort of natural epoch. But in the train of human events, though many things happen which no wiſdom ſhort of infinite could foreſee, yet nothing is abrupt; no part of hiſtory is wholly detached and inſulated from the reſt. The tranſactions of one period branch into, and inoſculate with, thoſe of another; they follow from the paſt as from their cauſe, or they lead to the future as to their effect: and the fortunes of diſtant countries, eſpecially in that artificial ſyſtem which has long been maintained with ſo much jealouſy in Europe, reciprocally influence and are influenced, even where no direct connection or ſympathy exiſts.

The revolution of Poland is the link of union between the portion of hiſtory, which ends with the general pacification of Europe in 1791, and that in which we now are, comprehending the origin, progreſs, and iſſue, whatever that ſhall be, of the ſanguinary and ferocious war, which was begun by France in 1792, and ſhortly after involved all the great military and maritime powers of Europe. It is the proper ſequel of the one, and the beſt introduction to the other. It aroſe by degrees out of the circumſtances of the North, already related; and the remote conſequences of it are ſtill viſible in the affairs of the South. Though it by no means had that community of principle with the French revolution, which has been attributed to it from different motives, alike by profeſſed admirers and declared enemies; yet in ſome points the two events certainly did affect each other; againſt both a common league is ſaid, whether truly or falſely, to have been formed; and on the ſubject of both, an appeal was made to arms nearly in the ſame moment.

We have ſeen, * that in the latter part of 1788, and the beginning of 1789, the confederated diet had al-

* Vol. xxxi.

ready

ready made some progress in asserting the independence of their country. But the great task yet remained: to secure respect abroad as well as tranquillity at home, it was necessary to establish a government capable of enforcing both.

To the success of this arduous and delicate undertaking the character of the people was very unfavourable, if we may believe the late king of Prussia, who wanted neither inducement nor opportunity to study them. They are represented by him, as * "heads without logic, light and fri- "volous beyond every other people "in Europe." In truth they were, (too many of them) at once venal and intractable, fierce, jealous of their liberty, impetuous and restless, while they felt the baneful operation of an internal evil which they knew not how to remedy; running about to all the political theorists who were the fashion of the day, and requesting from them a plan for the attainment of that public happiness which could result only from the discipline of their own minds. But time and adversity, the two great instructors of mankind, had now taught the Poles the salutary lessons of their school; and a great majority of the leading nobles had settled into a steady conviction, that the source of all their calamities lay in those anarchical privileges which they had too long confounded with liberty.

With these good dispositions, they found in the reigning king of Prussia, what they had never before experienced, a powerful neighbour capable of protecting them, who seemed now to have his eyes opened to his true interests, and to see his own security not in their weakness but in their prosperity. Nor were they less fortunate in their own monarch. They beheld on their throne a native prince, who to the ardent desire which he ever felt of being the benefactor and father of his people, had now joined what he before did not possess, the confidence and affection of his subjects. "The king "was one with the nation, (as he "said himself) and the nation all "with the king."

The past experience, however, of Stanislaus-Augustus had rendered him cautious. Scarcely was the crown placed upon his head, when †, proposing to strike at the root of their distractions, by abolishing the absolute negative claimed by every nuncio in the free diets, he fell under the displeasure of the two courts, which had concurred in his elevation. Not long after, among other reforms, he erected boards of commissioners for the management of the treasury and army, and he created a bench of judges learned in the law, to exercise the important jurisdiction of the marshal's court. By these measures he restored the finances, brought the army, small as it was, to be an effective force, and provided in some measure for the due administration of justice ‡: but he dissatisfied all the great piasts who aspired to the high offices which overshadowed the throne. He favoured the petitions of the dissidents for a toleration; and the whole ca-

* Memoires de 1763, jusqu'a 1775, under the year 1773.

† Ib. under the years 1764 and 1765.

‡ Ib. and the able Letters on Poland, published by Payne in 1773. Letter I, towards the end.

tholic church, which was the dominant religion, laity as well as clergy, raiſed a general cry againſt him. The diſſidents entered into a confederacy, under the protection of the empreſs of Ruſſia, the catholics applied for aid to the court of Vienna, and the king of Pruſſia amuſed both parties: yet ultimately diſſidents and catholics compromiſed their religious differences to meet each other in a grand confederacy againſt the crown; and the three neighbouring potentates forgot all their old political jealouſies to unite in the plunder of Poland. After ſuffering every diſtreſs, and eſcaping by little leſs than a miracle from a moſt deſperate attempt on his life, the virtuous and accompliſhed king of this unfortunate country had the mortification to behold an afflicting ſcene of civil confuſion and devaſtation only terminated at laſt by the diſmemberment of his kingdom, and the formal annihilation of all the little authority which he originally poſſeſſed in its internal government. The crown-fiefs, called the Staroſties, were taken out of his diſpoſal. He was no longer to have the free nomination of the biſhops, palatines, caſtellans, and miniſters who formed the ſenate; and who, ſubject as they were to royal influence, conſtituted the only effective ſtrength and bulwark of the throne. He could not even appoint commiſſioners to the boards, or judges to the bench, which he had inſtituted. All internal regulations intended to be ſubmitted to a diet, and all foreign meaſures, in every ſtage of their progreſs, were to be decided by the majority of a permanent council, in which, during the intervals of the diets, all power was now lodged, and which, though nominally the agent of the crown, was indeed a commiſſion for the execution of his office, that did not leave him the real efficiency left by himſelf to the great officers of the realm at their reſpective boards.

Looking back on theſe incidents of his life, he could not credulouſly truſt every flattering appearance of ſupport either from within or without. He ſeems therefore to have felt the ground under him before he advanced. Above all he ſought, by a gentle reſiſtance, to put the firmneſs of his people to the teſt, and to diſtinguiſh their ſerious and deliberate wiſhes from the ſudden effervescence of the moment. The latter he employed all his influence to allay, but by the former he guided his conduct as far as wiſdom and prudence would allow. In this ſpirit it was, that when mention was firſt made of improving the internal condition of the republic, he warned the diet, that the good intentions which they manifeſted, and which he highly praiſed, might fail of all their effect, if they ſhould at once attempt precipitate reforms in the whole frame of the government. And thus did he prepare them for the conſideration of the great queſtion which he ſuggeſted, as to the manner in which the ſtate ſhould be adminiſtered during the intervals of the diet; a queſtion in truth involving no leſs than all the ſplendour, dignity, and authority of the crown. Jan. 9th, 1789.

Count Staniſlaus Potocki, nuncio of Lublin, a nobleman much and very deſervedly in the confidence of his ſovereign, then propoſed the abolition of the *Permanent Council*, together with all the regulations of 1775 and 1776; but ſeveral warm and tumultuous debates took place on different days, before this opening was made to the revolution

lution which followed. In the seſſion of the 17th, the mover of the propoſition took occaſion to expreſs his hopes, that from the day, which gave his majeſty birth, the kingdom might alſo date the origin of a new and more happy deſtiny: yet true to his policy, the king once more recommended moderation. He obſerved, that the propoſition was a direct infringement of the treaties with the neighbouring powers; and what other ſafety have we, he aſked; to what other ſupport and protection can we look? He adviſed them therefore to reflect, and adjourned the ſeſſion. The ſubject, however, coming at laſt to be diſcuſſed, he declared, that "it was ever his intention, as "he thought it his duty, to partake "the weal or woe of his country, "but he wiſhed to find unanimity "in their reſolves." A long and animated debate enſued, but in the concluſion the queſtion for the abolition was carried by a majority of one hundred and twenty to eleven: thirty-one members are ſaid to have been preſent, who did not vote.

This deciſive meaſure having been taken, the diet paused on the ſcheme of government, which was to be ſubſtituted, and reverted to the points which had previouſly occupied the attention of the nation. Accordingly they proceeded with the conſideration of the ways and means for eſtabliſhing a permanent revenue, equal to the expenditure, which the new ſituation of the country, and principally the projected augmentation of the army, might demand. The ſubject was frequently renewed; till ultimately a land-tax was impoſed on the following plan: the Staroſts, or poſſeſſors of the crown-fiefs, were in future to pay one half of their income, inſtead of one fourth, which they before paid; the clergy (with an exception favourable to ſome of the poorer eccleſiaſtical corporations) were aſſeſſed at twenty *per cent.*; and all proprietors of hereditary fiefs and allodial lands at ten *per cent.* of the yearly value of their eſtates.

In the courſe of the various deliberations which led to this concluſion, ſome circumſtances occurred of too much importance in marking the temper of all ranks and parties in the diet, to be paſſed over in ſilence. Many of the richeſt Staroſties were in the hands of the leaders on both ſides. It was natural therefore to expect ſome oppoſition to ſo heavy a burthen being laid on them, yet none appears to have been attempted. They made the ſacrifice required of them by their country with diſintereſted alacrity. There was no diſcord till the queſtion came for the apportionment of the tax on church-lands. Then ſome of the more violent ſpeakers on the popular ſide wanted to carry the aſſeſſment ſtill higher; but the king, the court party, and all the graver perſons of both houſes, combated the propoſition, as contrary to all equity. Indeed it was ſaid to be reaſonable that the clergy ſhould even be relieved from the benevolence, called the gratuitous gift, which they had been accuſtomed to pay. The clergy however now came forward, and declared, that to give a new proof of their zeal for the proſperity of their country, they were willing to let the gratuitous gift remain independently of the twenty *per cent.* to which they had not objected; and this liberal advance on their part reſtored unanimity to the public councils. Neither did the great body of the diet,

on whom the general land-tax fell, do themſelves leſs honour. Information having been given that ſome lords had not only laid the new impoſts on their vaſſals, but had even made them continue the payment of the temporary taxes which had now expired; the aſſembly inſtantly took fire at the intelligence. Many members expreſſed in lively terms their horrour and deteſtation of ſuch oppreſſion; and the king, who by an early act of his reign had firſt placed the lives of the peaſantry under the protection of the law, ſeized this occaſion of impreſſing the miſeries of their condition with all his eloquence on the feelings of the nobles. The reſult was, that the board of treaſury was directed to circulate, in the name of the aſſembled ſtates, a prohibitory edict requiring the lords to abſtain from theſe and all other oppreſſions on their vaſſals, who were in no way to be charged with the new land-tax. To complete the whole, in this conteſt of generoſity, the king made the public treaſury a preſent of 300,000 florins a year from the lands appropriated to the maintenance of his table.

In the mean time the evacuation of Poland by the Ruſſian troops went on ſlowly. Count Stackelberg, the Ruſſian ambaſſador, procraſtinated and explained, in a tone of moderation not common to the diplomacy of his court, and ſtill leſs ſo in correſpondence with the court of Warſaw: while field-marſhal Romanzow, to whom the empreſs had given the command in the Ukraine, remonſtrated a little more in the ſtyle of a general at the head of a victorious army. On the other hand, the Poles became more and more reſolute, and menaces were thrown out in the diet of applying to the king of Pruſſia, for ſuccours to drive out the Ruſſians by force. The negociation was ſtill pending, when a plot to excite an inſurrection among the peaſants of the Greek religion was denounced to the diet, and imputed to the machinations of Ruſſia. A prelate of that nation, who was alſo abbot of a Greek convent at Sluck in Lithuania, was ſeized and carried priſoner to Warſaw, charged with being an accomplice in the conſpiracy. He was demanded by the Ruſſian miniſter, as an imperial ſubject; but notwithſtanding, proceedings were inſtituted againſt him before the proper eccleſiaſtical tribunal. This incident added new fuel to the flame, ſufficiently hot before; and the opportunity was not neglected of bringing forward additional meaſures to eradicate the influence of the empreſs. The Greek prieſts, who uſed publicly to pray for her in their churches, were forbidden to continue the practice, as familiarizing their congregations to look up to a foreign power rather than to their own natural ſovereign; and all members of that communion, who were not regularly domiciled in Poland, or who refuſed to take the oath of allegiance, were ordered immediately to quit her territories. A pretext too was from hence taken by the diet, firſt for heſitating, and afterwards for declining to grant a free paſſage, which the court of Peterſburg had now the condeſcenſion to aſk, for a large body of Ruſſian troops, whoſe direct road lay through Poliſh Ukraine. An offer was indeed made after a time to allow them a paſſage, but under ſuch reſtrictions as plainly could

not

not be accepted. At length count Stackelberg, in the name of his miſtreſs, gave official notice, that all the military magazines ſhould be tranſported to the other ſide of the Dnieſter, and another line of march be given to the troops, ſo as to avoid the frontiers of the republic. He made ſtill further ſubmiſſion to juſtice and neceſſity; and promiſed compenſation for the damages already done by the Ruſſian armies.

4th June, 1789.

The neceſſary conſequence of the ſituation which we have juſt deſcribed with regard to Ruſſia, was daily to draw the king and diet into a cloſer union with Frederick-William. His mediation with the court of Peterſburg was formally requeſted. Every diſpatch was tranſmitted to him on its arrival, and no anſwer was ſent without his privity and approbation; while at Warſaw his miniſter, ſupported by the miniſter of Great Britain, held perpetual conferences of the moſt confidential nature with the committee for foreign affairs, of which count Malachowſki, the marſhal of the diet, and head of the country party, was preſident. Of circumſtances like theſe it is not to be imagined that the king of Pruſſia did not avail himſelf; and he managed the juncture with dexterity. He haſtened on the firſt application to give every aſſurance calculated to confirm the influence which he had already obtained. He declared * that, ſetting the higheſt value on the friendſhip of the republic, he would ever make it one of the firſt objects of his reign to perpetuate and ſtrengthen a connection no leſs expedient than mutually neceſſary for the two ſtates, and originating in common intereſts of the moſt eſſential kind. Upon this principle he held forth a new treaty of alliance and guarantee to protect the independency and ſovereignty of Poland, as well as a reviſion of the commercial treaty; and inſtantly upon his part propoſed giving every reaſonable facility in his power to the commerce of Lithuania with Eaſtern Pruſſia, on condition that ſome late regulations of the cuſtom-houſes on the frontiers of the grand dutchy ſhould be repealed. Yet, although he took care to let it be known how much he approved the diſpoſition of Poland to vindicate her own independency, he nevertheleſs adviſed a temperate and circumſpect addreſs, a conciliatory appeal to the equity and magnanimity of the empreſs. His ambaſſador at Warſaw even found it neceſſary to defend himſelf as againſt a charge, from the imputation of having too much ſoftened one of the official anſwers to count Stackelberg. But the maſter-ſtroke of Pruſſian policy was the deference which the king and his miniſters, in all their tranſactions, oſtentatiouſly paid to the court of London. Nothing could be better conceived to give the Poles a firm faith in the ſincerity and uprightneſs of his views. For England, it was remembered, had formerly interfered on occaſion of the partition in 1773; and could not feel any of the little partial intereſts which might be ſuppoſed liable ſometimes to warp the integrity of a king of Pruſſia. The co-operation of this country, therefore,

* Particularly in the note of the Pruſſian miniſtry to the Poliſh ambaſſador, dated Berlin, 7th March, 1789.

was justly considered as the strongest pledge of fair-dealing in the court of Berlin; and it was with the confidence, and to the satisfaction of all, that about the time of which we are speaking * Mr. Hailes in a manner directed the whole foreign system of Poland.

The Poles perhaps would have acted wisely in seeking an union among their own factions. They should have granted an amnesty to all concerned in the past partition, and the sanction finally given to it in 1775. Too many of their great nobles were more or less implicated; and all acted under an irresistible force. But prince Poninski, the grand treasurer, who had been marshal of the diet in 1775, and on that occasion had been notoriously favourable to the views of Russia, was upon this account now impeached, after a lapse of fourteen years. The charges were supported with particular eagerness by all the friends of the grand general count Branicki, who was the enemy of the treasurer. So vigorous were the proceedings against the accused, that he was at once put under arrest, in violation, as he complained, of a cardinal law, which the Polish nobility regarded with just veneration, and which in words very similar to a passage of our own Great Charter, says—"we will imprison "no man unless convicted by law." Yet in his case the irregularity (if indeed the law did extend to prosecutions before the diet) was overlooked in the public indignation, which ran so high, that the prince was with difficulty saved from the fury of the multitude on the day when he was arrested. Still there were not wanting some men of more temperate minds, who, anxious for that good settlement of the country, which could only be procured by unanimity, saw this breach with a regret and alarm not to be concealed. Conciliatory negociations, therefore, were attempted, and it is said, that the bishop of Smolensko succeeded so far as to effect a meeting between the chiefs of the parties: but they separated without any nearer approach to each other. The trial was fixed to proceed.

When the list of judges chosen by ballot was declared, the grand treasurer found that from their known principles he had little to hope. He endeavoured in consequence to make his escape, the opportunity of which was furnished by the filial piety of his son; but he was intercepted in his flight, not far from the borders, and brought back to Warsaw. In this exigency another plan was tried by his brother, of working on the fears of a majority in the diet, by menacing with similar impeachments the grand general Branicki himself, and all others who had taken any share in the transactions now made the ground of charge. It is true, this management occasioned the proposal of a general amnesty; but Branicki, secure of his present influence in the diet, rejected all compromise, and his party pushed on the prosecution.

Hitherto nothing had been done which could be considered as a per-

* See the papers of the time, confirmed by *Memoire sur les Affaires actuelles de la Pologne*, and *Replique a l'Examen*, both said to have been written by Mr. Hailes himself, or at least under his inspection, in 1791.

manent

manent reform in any part of the ſtate. An accident now gave riſe to a meaſure of this kind. The ſee of Cracow, to which is annexed the dukedom of Severia, and which is ſaid to have been the richeſt of all the ſees, had become vacant, and M. Suchodolcki, the principal ſpeaker on the popular ſide, moved to reduce the income of that biſhoprick; a regulation which was afterwards propoſed to be made general.

July, 1789. The primate was to be allowed 200,000 florins * a year, the biſhops half that ſum, and the primate and biſhops of the Greek non-united communion half the income allotted to the ſame rank in the eſtabliſhed church. In vain did the clergy remind the diet of the teſtimony which their patriotic conduct had ſo lately received in the appellations of "excellent citizens, "and worthy children of their coun-"try;" in vain did they ſupplicate that, in the midſt of the public happineſs, they alone might not have reaſon to lament the labours of that aſſembly; and in vain did they point out the injuſtice of the original inſtance, by ſhewing that the ſee of Cracow had been enriched not from the coffers of the ſtate, but by the private benefactions of thoſe, who had enjoyed that high dignity. Neither did they profit more from the intervention of the pope's nuncio, upon whom they prevailed to preſent a memorial in their favour. The motion was finally carried againſt them by a decided majority. But the principle which was adopted on this occaſion, by ſuch as went the greateſt length among the reformers of Poland, is worthy of remark. The reductions were proſpective. The property of every actual poſſeſſor was kept ſacred. The regulation was only to operate, as the ſeveral vacancies ſhould occur. This is a principle, which is directly indicated by the nature of church property, and of all property, where an intereſt has once been veſted, for whatever term, by ſome competent authority of the ſtate. The moment, when that intereſt expires of itſelf, is the preciſe point where regulation and juſtice meet; and it was thus that our own parliament acted in the œconomical reforms of 1782, with reſpect to all patent places for life. It is impoſſible to diſmiſs this ſubject from the mind without adverting ſpontaneouſly to the contraſt ſoon after afforded by the vote of the national aſſembly of France, which ſwept

* The Poliſh florin is variouſly calculated. The tranſlator of the conſtitution inſerted among our State Papers of 1791, takes it in round figures, as worth 6*d.* According to Mr. Coxe (vol. i. p. 92.) it is worth ſomething leſs than $6\frac{1}{4}$*d.* or 36 of them are equal to a pound ſterling. The Engliſh edition of Buſching's Geography more than doubles this, and ſays (vol. i. p. 601.) that a Poliſh florin, is equal to 1*s.* 2*d.* ſterling, and with that account agrees the table at the end of Guthrie's Geographical Grammar. Though we believe Mr. Coxe to be moſt correct, we ſhall leave the reader to chuſe his own authority. But whatever may be the poſitive value of the incomes here aſſigned to the Poliſh prelates, there is one ſure mode of eſtimating fairly their comparative value, by the ſalaries of great offices. The marſhal of the equeſtrian order, who as a member of the permanent council was allowed a guard of an officer and 15 men while he was in Warſaw, had only a ſalary of 30,000*fl.* a year, in that capacity; and ordinary members of that council had only 14,000*fl.*

all the revenues of the church into the coffers of the ſtate by one univerſal confiſcation.

At the period however of which we have been ſpeaking, the ſtorming of the Baſtile, an event that decided the triumph of the French revolution, was not yet known in Poland. But now the fall of that antient and mighty monarchy reſounded to the moſt diſtant regions of the north, and ſhook all the nations of Europe. The concuſſion was ſtrongly felt in Poland. It was natural to expect that it ſhould, from the preſent political ſituation of the country; but ſtill more ſo from the long connection of the two kingdoms. For France had conſtantly maintained a powerful influence in the diet till her treaty with the houſe of Auſtria in 1756, and even afterwards, at the time of the diſmemberment, had gone the length of privately counteracting the purpoſes of her ally, by furniſhing arms and money to the confederates of Bar, ſeveral of whoſe chiefs now held principal ſway in the public councils.

Immediately a new eagerneſs for proceeding to the formation of their own conſtitution was manifeſted; and repeated inſtances were made to the king for the nomination of a committee, which ſhould be charged to draw up and report the project of a government to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the diet. At length, on the anniverſary of his election to the throne, Staniſlaus-Auguſtus gave way to the reiterated deſires of his people, and appointed a committee of eleven. Five of them were taken from among his own miniſters, and the reſt from other diſtinguiſhed members of the diet, in which number was the popular leader M. Suchodolcki. The chairman was the biſhop of Kaminiec, a venerable prelate of very advanced years, who had long taken an active part in public affairs, and in particular had been one of the chiefs of the confederation of Bar.

7th Sept. 1789.

While this committee was employed on the great taſk entruſted to their care, and the diet was occupied ſometimes with the trial of prince Poninſki, and at other times with the regulation of their finances, and the augmentation of their army, the operation of the French revolution began to diſplay itſelf more directly in another quarter. The victory of the third eſtate in France, animated the citizens and burghers of Poland to attempt the recovery of their antient privileges, or to ſeek from the beneficence of the king, and the equity of the diet, ſuch other franchiſes as might ſecure to them their juſt ſhare of conſideration in the ſtate. Accordingly they choſe delegates, whom they ſent to Warſaw; and that city now beheld with equal ſurprize and ſatisfaction the new ſight of an aſſembly of citizens and burghers convened from all parts of the kingdom and the grand dutchy, conſulting on their common intereſts, careſſed by the great nobles of the diet, and ultimately received at court with moſt gracious marks of royal favour. That ſome conceſſions ſhould be made to them was agreed on all ſides; but what ſhould be the exact meaſure to be granted occaſioned ſome difference of opinion, though even the moſt cautious politicians profeſſed to wiſh that it might be liberal. Such however was the fermentation excited by their preſence, and by falſe reports of a plot againſt the popular party, that on the anniverſary of the king's

25th Nov. king's coronation, when the delegates were introduced to pay their compliments at court, the council of war judged it prudent to diſtribute ball cartridges to the troops, and to order that the artillery ſhould be loaded. But the peace of the capital was diſturbed by no other tumult, than the loud and enthuſiaſtic expreſſions of loyalty and joy.

At length the delegates humbly repreſented their caſe in a long memorial to the king and the diet. With a ſobriety of mind, highly honourable to them, they did not aſcend to theories of natural equality; they inſiſted only on the abrogation of invidious laws, and the reſtitution of their rights under an earlier and more equitable juriſprudence, with ſuch a fair extenſion or accommodation of the principle, as circumſtances might demand. They ſtated the proſperity which the cities and royal towns formerly enjoyed under the Jaghellon family, and even ſo low down as the reign of Stephen Bathori, while they ſtill preſerved any remains of thoſe privileges which they now reclaimed; they traced their preſent decay in wealth from the extinction of their political importance; and they propoſed the means of reeſtabliſhing them in their former flouriſhing condition. They not only deſired a general recognition of their ancient rights; but inſiſted alſo on the ſpecific declaration of various points in their favour. The principal were, that every individual, foreigner as well as native, ſhould be entitled to full protection and ſecurity; that the nobles ſhould not hold the burghers in contempt, nor loſe their own rank by exerciſing trade or commerce, but that the two orders might intermarry, and mutually inherit; that the army, the church, and all civil employments under the treaſury, ſhould be thrown open to the burghers, and that they might be at liberty to purchaſe lands of noble tenure, in Poland as well as in Lithuania: for, while the burghers of the grand-dutchy had this road to nobility acceſſible to them, the burghers of the kingdom (excepting thoſe of Cracow) were reſtrained from purchaſing more than about ten acres within a limited diſtance of their reſpective towns, for their ſubſiſtence and convenience merely, and without deriving from thence a qualification to vote as landed proprietors in the dietines.

There were ſome other articles deſigned to regulate the juriſdiction to which the burghers ſhould be excluſively amenable, and to give them immediate weight in the commiſſion of treaſury on all queſtions of trade and commerce. But that which moſt deſerves attention, is the article relative to their ſhare in the national repreſentation. Their prayer was, "That not only ſome cities and "royal towns, but all, each in its "reſpective waiwody, ſhould have "the right of electing deputies to "the diet, and of charging them "with proper inſtructions; and in "caſe the ancient privileges of the "cities and towns ſhould be renewed, that they ſhould be no more "impeached or diminiſhed, but on "the contrary be extended, particularly in all reſpects that might "tend to render the form of go-"vernment more perfect." The former part of this demand gave ſome alarm to the graver members of the legiſlature, who knew not how to calculate, and who feared

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to hazard in a rash experiment, the possible consequences of admitting at once a new interest in the state to so large a portion of the supreme power. It was this proposition, therefore, which was the only real source of difficulty, and which finally was modified, as we shall hereafter see, with the full acquiescence of the burghers, who did not think themselves justified in refusing much, because they could not obtain all. They acted on the occasion with the wisdom and sound sense which tempered all their notions of alteration in their constitution, and which are most conspicuous in the latter clause of this same article, where, instead of vainly holding forth an immediate and absolute perfection, they limited their wishes and hopes to a principle of growing improvement, springing from the root of past experience. This is truly to imitate the English constitution, as in their subsequent work the Polish nation professed to do: it is to do more; it is to emulate those well-disciplined and good habits of mind, which have hitherto qualified the people of this country for the enjoyment of their own excellent form of government.

The delegation which presented this memorial originated in assemblies not convoked by any regular authority, and consequently had no character of a legal body. Probably it was to be ascribed to this defect, that the subject was not brought forward in the shape of a direct motion. It slept nearly three weeks, when an order being made for the city of Warsaw to pay 400,000 florins in the current month on account of the new taxes, the opportunity was dexterously seized to bring the memorial under discussion. The informality already mentioned was objected to it; but it was answered, that the demands of the burghers, if they were substantially just, should not be rejected, from a pedantic adherence to form. The majority, however, were firm in maintaining the due order of proceeding. So after a long debate it was resolved, with the express approbation of the king, that the memorial should be referred to the several chancellors, who were the proper channels of communication from the cities and towns, to examine the facts contained in it, and report their opinions upon it to a committee; that the subject should there be re-considered, and finally brought, with all the information thus collected, before the diet. And the next day the king named this committee, which he formed of such members only as were known to favour the pretensions of the burghers.

17 Dec. 1789.

It was on the same day, when the claims of the cities were debated, that a report was at length made from the committee of the constitution. Scarcely had they begun their sittings, but speculators without number overwhelmed them with plans, and some of these, as might be expected, were deeply tinctured with the political philosophy of the times. The committee, however, seemed to be fully impressed with the magnitude and moment of their task. They paused and deliberated. Their progress in no degree kept pace with the public expectation. Impatient of the delay, the marshal of the diet, count Malachowski, lamented to that assembly, that he had so long filled his high office in vain. A year, he said, had elapsed, and yet he had not seen one of the ar-

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dent wiſhes of his heart accompliſhed. He exhorted them not to loſe moments ſo precious to the liberty and proſperity of their country, and he reminded them of the dangerous ſituation in which they would ſtand, if the enſuing winter ſhould bring peace to the belligerent empires: Poland would find no protector among the neighbouring powers; ſhe muſt again bend her neck to the yoke which ſhe had ſo lately caſt away with generous indignation.

Whether this intimation of diſtruſt rouſed Frederick-William, or whether it was in the regular developement of the ſentiments before expreſſed by him, we know not, but ſome little time after he made a formal offer of his alliance, promiſing to defend the independence and ſovereignty of the republic with all his forces againſt every attack; and he made it a preliminary demand, that beſides the augmentation of her army, ſhe ſhould adopt ſome better and more ſtable form of government. This well-timed declaration gave a new ſpring to the public ſpirit of the diet. Immediately the committee of the conſtitution was called upon for a report; but they excuſed themſelves as not being yet ready. At laſt, on the day above mentioned, the reſult of their deliberations was communicated to the legiſlature, and prefaced by their chairman with a long ſpeech ſuited to his mature age and experience, in which he endeavoured to impreſs his countrymen with the wiſdom and moral duty of caution on a ſubject ſo directly involving the laſting happineſs or miſery of themſelves and their poſterity.

11th of Dec.

The committee in this report took a very different courſe from the national aſſembly of France. They attempted no abſtract declaration of the rights of man, no metaphyſical maxims, no logical definitions; they ſimply enumerated in a ſingle article what they conſidered as the practical rights and duties of the particular nation for which they were preparing the materials of a better conſtitution; and then proceeded to arrange, what to them ſeemed the beſt means of exerciſing thoſe rights, and fulfilling thoſe duties in provincial dietines and national diets. Theſe principles of melioration (ſo they were called) were comprized * in eight articles, which were ſtill very diſtant from the conſtitution ultimately adopted.

The elective monarchy, to which ſo many of the calamities of Poland have been commonly attributed, ſeemed at the firſt glance to be confirmed; for among the rights of the nation was reckoned that of electing its kings. But no limitation was put upon this right; there was nothing to confine the choice to an individual rather than to a dynaſty; and accordingly the ſubſequent conſtitution of 1791, where it profeſſed to introduce hereditary ſucceſſion, began by declaring the crown to be elective—with regard to families.

If this point, however, was left for the preſent ambiguous, much was immediately gained in other

* There is a ſhort abſtract of theſe in the octavo hiſtory of Poland, lately publiſhed; but it is very inaccurate and unſatisfactory. They have never appeared in Engliſh at full length that we know. Nor do they ſeem very important, as they were ſo much varied in the detail of the meaſures afterwards taken.

reſpects.

reſpects. The diet was purified in its very origin by making a qualification of property neceſſary for a vote in the dietines, and thus ſtriking off the poorer nobles, great numbers of whom, unable to engage in trade or commerce, had been reduced to become the menial ſervants of the more opulent, and were thus expoſed to eaſy corruption alike from foreign or domeſtic enemies to the peace of the republic. This was followed too by a meaſure calculated to embarraſs the operation of corruption, and make it leſs compendious. It was propoſed to take away the abſolute negative which every ſeveral nuncio claimed a power of exerciſing in free diets at his diſcretion, and which, once interpoſed by any one perſon on any one matter of ſtate, diſcuſſed in the courſe of a ſeſſion, annulled all the proceedings of the whole ſeſſion. Unanimity for the future was only to be required in altering the cardinal laws of the new conſtitution. In conſequence all diets of confederation were to be aboliſhed, which were at beſt but aukward expedients, to evade the neceſſity of unanimity, and gave a ſanction to all thoſe inferior confederations which though a ſuperceſſion of all law, yet having been acknowledged by the law, had long torn the kingdom in pieces.

When this report was taken into conſideration, the ſecond article, which narrowed the right of ſuffrage before poſſeſſed by all of the equeſtrian order, gave riſe to warm debates: but the principle was ſtrenuouſly and zealouſly ſupported by the eloquence of the king, who * was known long to have meditated ſuch a meaſure, as of the higheſt utility to the ſtate. The article therefore paſſed, and though ſome diſcontent on the ſubject ſoon after ſhewed itſelf among the poorer nobles, and was even ſaid to be encouraged by the princeſs Sapieha, ſiſter to the grand general Branicki, and mother of prince Sapieha, marſhal of the diet for Lithuania, yet it was afterwards incorporated into the laws for the regulation of dietines, and made part of the popular conſtitution of 1791. The reſt of the report was received without difficulty. The corner-ſtone of the new edifice being thus laid, the diet adjourned for the holidays, after having directed the marſhals to acquaint the ſeveral palatinates, by their circular writs called *univerſals*, with the fortunate reſult of the national councils.

The language of this addreſs was plain, grave and dignified. It enumerated ſuccinctly what had been done, and what ſtill remained to be done. Dated 31ſt Dec. 1789. "Poland (it was ſaid) "has withdrawn herſelf from the "yoke of the guarantee, reſumed "her independence, ſent away the "foreign troops, and ſuppreſſed "the permanent council, that ma"giſtracy no leſs diſagreeable than "dangerous to the nation; in fine "ſhe has laid to reſt all her domeſtic "troubles, ſhe has provided for her "defence by augmenting or rather "creating an army, and has at"tended to the proceedings of fo"reign powers, by legations and "by ſending miniſters to their re"ſpective courts." The conſequent exaltation of the national character in the eyes of other ſtates, the reſpect paid to the republic by the

* See Coxe's Travels, vol. i. p. 183.

Ottoman

Ottoman Porte, and the approbation of their neighbour and friend, as he is more than once called, the king of Prussia, are next pointed out; the offer of alliance and protection on the part of the latter, his preliminary condition, anticipated by their own desire of a good and stable government, and the principles of melioration, unanimously adopted, are then severally impressed; and an affectionate appeal is finally made to the feelings of the people. "May "you, dear countrymen (say the "two great officers of the republic, in the name of the king and "the diet) may you receive these "pledges of our solicitude with the "same effusions of heart with which "we offer them to you! But much "still remains to be done, before "the power and happiness of the "republic will be established. Prejudices, jealousies, and injurious "misinterpretations must no longer "be admitted into your hearts; "dissensions must cease for ever, "and especially in the moment "when union is so necessary for "defeating every design, and every "surmise against the welfare of the "country: foreign powers, who may "take umbrage at our strength and "independence, must not be able "to build a hope on misunderstandings and divisions among us. "When the time shall come (as "the enlightened wisdom and virtue of our countrymen promise us "it will come) that public opinion "shall be directed solely by pure "patriotism, be founded solely on "reason and justice, and have no "interest but the common interest "of all, then will our labours receive their sweetest reward, and "we shall find in the general confidence the most powerful incentive to a steady perseverance in "the discharge of our momentous "duties." To make these sentiments sink still deeper into the bosoms of all, the solemn authority of religion was also employed; and the king, agreeably to a resolution of the diet before their departure, appointed a general thanksgiving to be observed in all churches for the union of mind, and concord of public spirit, with which the divine goodness had vouchsafed to inspire the assembled states in the auspicious commencement of their great work.

CHAP. II.

Frederick-William possesses the confidence of the Polish government. Great offers of the Emperor Joseph rejected by the Republic. Object of Frederick-William discovered to be the acquisition of Dantzic and Thorn. Review of what had passed respecting Dantzic and Thorn, and the Polish trade, from the time of the partition under Frederick II. M. de Launay, a French œconomist, and financier of Prussia, the author of the system. Its ruinous consequences. Committee appointed on the accession of Frederick-William, to examine the report of M. de Launay on the state of the finances. Their opinion. Policy of count Hertzberg favourable to Poland. Cession of Dantzic and Thorn insisted on. Large compensation offered in exchange, together with a loan from the bank of Berlin; but rejected. Stanislaus-Augustus presents his jewels to maintain the army. Other large donations or loans for the

the same purpose. Russian agents raise a ferment against Prussia. Prussia desists till it subsides. Sudden change of opinion respecting Prussia. Prussian treaty becomes popular. Diet vote it without a division. Correspondence between Stanislaus-Augustus and Frederick-William on the subject. Motives of the latter for hastening the Polish treaty. Sixth article of that treaty binds Prussia to defend Poland. Polish army becomes respectable. Cession of Dantzic and Thorn introduced in the negociations of Reichenbach. Leopold embarrassed by it. Intrigues of prince Kaunitz, produce a breach between Frederick-William and his minister Hertzberg. Consequences of that breach. Poland observes neutrality: meditates treaties with the Porte and Sweden. Diet employed in forming a constitution. Russian minister demands satisfaction for the violation of his chapel. Revival of the accusation, and sentence of prince Poninski. Lenity shewn to him by the king. Catholic church acknowledged as the dominant religion of Poland. Greek archbishop of Kiow, notwithstanding, admitted as a member of the senate. Unity of domains of the republic, established by a cardinal law: evidently intended to secure Dantzic and Thorn. Exercise of legislative and executive power confined to the equestrian order. Prerogatives of the crown attacked. Defended by Stanislaus-Augustus. Other cardinal laws passed. Question of hereditary monarchy again agitated. Effect of the king's speech on that subject. Elector of Saxony proposed. Much warm debate. Project of a commercial treaty between Poland and Prussia. Dantzickers take alarm: they remonstrate: are favoured by Stanislaus-Augustus. Diet draws near its termination. Double diet resolved on. State of parties. Several merchants and others ennobled. Sentence of Poninski extended to all his adherents. Meeting of the dietines. Prince Potemkin proposed as a candidate for the succession. Nephews of Stanislaus-Augustus also proposed. Objected to by Stanislaus, who recommends elector of Saxony. Diet ends its sessions.

THE king of Prussia lost no time in strengthening the impressions which he had already made in his favour. He seemed studiously to display his hearty co-incidence with the sentiments of the nation, and interfered in a manner which would probably have disgusted a people, not used like the Poles to be governed as a province of a foreign state: he charged his ambassador at Warsaw, the marquis Luccheſini, to convey his acknowledgments and congratulations personally to all the members of the diet. On the other hand, the Polish government manifested, by a clear and unequivocal conduct, their stedfast reliance on the sincerity of the court of Berlin.

The emperor Joseph had long shewn a disposition to conciliate the affections of Poland. Some injury having been done to the territories of the republic, in the siege of Choczim, he not only on the first application was ready to name commissioners for an equitable adjustment of the affair, but when some difference ultimately appeared between their estimate and the demand, he without hesitation took the latter as the measure of restitution. Now, almost in the last moments of his life, he proposed through his prime minister a treaty of alliance and

and commerce which he engaged to make more advantageous than the offers of Pruſſia. But it was conſidered by the Poles as a ſnare, and on the firſt mention rejected. Yet the propoſal may have induced them to rate too highly the intrinſic value of their friendſhip; and the rejection, perhaps, made them too much expect, becauſe they had ſo well deſerved, a pure and diſintereſted return from Frederick-William.

They were however very ſhortly undeceived. The great object of his policy, the price of his protection, was now diſcloſed. During the receſs, while the committee for foreign affairs were occupied at Warſaw, in forming their project of the intended treaties, the marquis Luccheſini was called to Berlin, and on his return, when the diet reaſſembled, propoſed, as the baſis of the new connection, that the republic ſhould cede Dantzic and Thorn. As the deſire of poſſeſſing theſe cities, and more eſpecially the former, ſeems to have been the hinge on which turned all the future conduct of Frederick-William towards Poland, it is neceſſary here to trace the ſubject a little higher, from the time of the late partition under his predeceſſor.

Frederick the Second at that period laid claim * to Dantzic, as well as the reſt of Pomerellia, of which it was the antient capital. He did not, however, inſiſt on his pretended rights, ſuch as they were, but relinquiſhed, or rather, as he ſays himſelf, *poſtponed* them, with an affected moderation, on † the remonſtrances of the two imperial courts, and the interference both of Great Britain and France. Yet by poſſeſſing the circumjacent territory, he was maſter of the port. For ‡ the natural mouth of the Viſtula, called the Norder-gatt or Fahrwaſſer, having in the laſt century been choaked up with ſand, a new opening had been made by another channel, named the Weſter-gatt or Weſter Fahrwaſſer, and ſometimes New Fahrwaſſer: and for the neceſſary works a long leaſe of the ground adjoining had been obtained from the abbey of Oliva, to which the property of the weſtern bank of the Viſtula, of the ſeaſhore for a conſiderable extent, and of the little iſle of Plate formed by the two Fahrwaſſers, ſeems certainly to have belonged. Frederick, therefore, having now become territorial ſovereign of all the abbeylands, exerciſed his dominion, by erecting a cuſtom-houſe, and exacting what dues he pleaſed for the paſſage of veſſels to Dantzic.

His revenue was at this time under the management of a French œconomiſt, Mr. de Launay, with whom it was a leading maxim, that § whatever is done againſt foreigners, is done in favour of the nation! By this principle the financier ſquared all his regulations re-

* *Preuves et Defenſe des Droits du Roi ſur le Port et Péage de la Viſtule*, p. 4. This pamphlet, with many other documents, was ſent to Mr. Dodſley, for the uſe of the Annual Regiſter, by the late Pruſſian miniſter count Hertzberg, in 1774.

† See for the hiſtory of this period, *Membires de* 1763 *juſqu'a* 1775, under March 1773.

‡ *Preuves et Defenſe*, p. 8, and the following pages.

§ Examen du Compte rendu au Roi, par M. de Launay.

lative to the trade with Poland, and the navigation of the Viſtula. In conſequence his maſter was for ever involved in commercial hoſtilities with Dantzic, which was conſtantly patronized and ſupported by the empreſs of Ruſſia; for it was the policy of Catherine, as Frederick himſelf was ſenſible *, "to leave "that thorn in the foot of her ally, "rather than pluck it out; and to "keep in the diſputes of Pruſſia "with that city a perpetual ſubject "of chicane, ever ready in the event "of a breach with the king." Thus emboldened, and availing themſelves of ſome favourable circumſtances, in the year 1783 the magiſtrates of Dantzic endeavoured to appropriate to themſelves and their fellow-citizens excluſively the whole trade of Poland. With this view they prohibited the paſſage of Pruſſian ſhips through that part of the Viſtula which is wholly within their juriſdiction. Repriſals followed, and Frederick might perhaps have proceeded to greater lengths, had not the court of Peterſburgh interpoſed, and at laſt prevailed upon him to recede from his threatened meaſures. New jealouſies again aroſe in 1785; but Frederick put an end to them by † a ſettlement, which his prime miniſter conſidered as "more than generous!" Diſtruſt, however, and animoſity continued mutually to prevail. He ever repreſented Dantzic as turbulent and tricking: Dantzic ſaw in him only a robber and oppreſſor. The trade of Poland indeed ſeemed naturally to belong to a Poliſh free city, but the ſituation of that city itſelf was unnatural; inſulated as it was, in the midſt of a ſtate of which it formerly was the capital, yet dependent on a foreign power: for ſuch Poland was in effect become. The conſequences of theſe relative circumſtances, and of the reciprocal embarraſſments ariſing out of them, were, as is not uncommon, very injurious to both parties. The traffic of Dantzic §, which had employed a circulating capital of ten millions of crowns, had dwindled away to one-fourth, while the merchants of Elbing || and Kœnigſberg, two Pruſſian cities, into which it was the aim of Frederick's meaſures to force the Poliſh trade, were equally loud with thoſe of Dantzic in complaints of their diſtreſs and ruin.

Still, decreaſed as it was, the whole of the Pruſſian trade with Poland was conſiderable, and highly beneficial, ſince it conſiſted, beſides grain, in the raw materials of manufactures, and coarſe fabricks ſuited to many foreign markets. It drew, therefore, the attention of the Pruſſian government, now aſpiring to commercial importance; and, even ** before the death of Frederick, it was laid down as a principle of policy to favour it in every poſſible manner.

When his ſucceſſor aſcended the throne, a committee was named

* Memoires de 1763 juſqu'a 1775, under the year 1774, towards the end.

† Diſſert. Academ. de M. Hertzberg, for the year 1784, pp. 34 and 35.

‡ Ditto, for 1786, p. 23.

§ Examen de Memoire ſur les Affaires actuelles de Pologne, 1791—a pamphlet attributed to Mr. Alteſti, Ruſſian ſecretary of legation at Warſaw; and Replique a l'Examen.

|| Examen du Compte rendu au Roi, par M. de Launay.

** Hertzberg, Diſſert. Acad. 1786, p. 36.

to

to inquire into an account of the finances presented by M. de Launay to the king *, and a report, which, among other things, strongly condemned the whole system under the Polish commercial treaty, was made and printed with the approbation of the court. It was declared that to give facility and freedom was the only way of restoring a trade once so flourishing, but now in a rapid decay. With this strong confirmation of his own opinions, count Hertzberg, who still retained his situation and influence, was sincere in wishing an intimate and liberal intercourse with Poland: and the terms in which he had spoken publicly of her political misery, from the want of † "liberty, "property, and a good constitution "of the kingdom," give us sufficient reason to believe, that he also saw the true interests of his master in this respect.

Indeed Frederick himself, though he had contributed to her debility and distractions, till he had gained his point of uniting and consolidating his own dominions at her expence, yet seems immediately after to have endeavoured, not wholly without effect, to ‡ cultivate her good opinion. He was ready on the first remonstrance to desist from new pretensions, which he had advanced in imitation of the court of Vienna; and made it the single stipulation of his own concession that the house of Austria should in like manner retire from its recent usurpations. He did actually surrender a part of the lake of Goplo in Cujavia, the left bank of the river Drevenza, and some villages in the neighbourhood of Thorn; and § in the latter years of his life terminated with the republic some remaining disputes concerning their respective limits, as he intended and believed, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. The fact is, at the very moment of his first proposing the partition he was not ignorant of his danger from the nearer approximation of the two imperial powers. He has || owned his sense of the embarrassing situation in which he stood, (and a king of Prussia must always stand) between two such neighbours. To the house of Austria he was an enemy from habit and upon principle; and though against her he allied himself with Russia, yet he saw, that consulting his own interests on that side, he ought not to wish any increase to the power of his ally, which he thought already too formidable. He could not therefore but have been desirous of preserving what remained to Poland in a respectable condition of independency and strength, as an useful and necessary barrier.

The present juncture seemed to afford the most favourable opportunity for establishing the common interests of the two states in concert, on a firm and permanent basis. The war in which the two imperial courts were involved, the rising spirit of Poland against Russia, and

* Examen du Compte rendu au Roi, par M. de Launay, already quoted.

† Dissert. Acad. 1786, p. 7.

‡ Coxe's Travels, vol. i. note in p. 75; and Memoires de 1763 jusqu'a 1775, just before May 1774.

§ Hertzberg, Dissert. Acad. 1786, p. 37.

|| Memoires de 1763 jusqu'a 1775, under June 1771.

the neceſſity of her having ſome other foreign protector; the participation of Great Britain and Holland in the views of the cabinet of Berlin; the co-operation of the Porte; and the temporary annihilation of France, who had long been anxious to regain her former aſcendency in the affairs of that quarter; all ſeemed to concur in pointing out this as the moment for the Pruſſian miniſter to carry into effect all his plans on this ſubject, ſo important to the proſperity of his own country in the firſt inſtance, and of a tendency perhaps no leſs ſalutary to the permanent tranquillity of the North. But to make way for the introduction of an uniform, equal, and mild ſyſtem of fiſcal regulation, to remove all future cauſe of diſcord with Poland, and to leave no pretence of perpetual interference to Ruſſia, the acquiſition of Dantzic and Thorn, or at leaſt of Dantzic, ſeemed to be eſſential. The propoſition therefore was made in a manner the moſt likely to invite acceptance. Not only a beneficial treaty of commerce, an alliance and a guarantee, but an equivalent in revenue to the royal treaſury, and in territory to the ſtate, was alſo mentioned, and a conſiderable loan was added for the maintenance of the army.

Nothing, however, could induce the people and the diet of Poland to liſten with patience to ſuch an overture. Jealouſy, alarm, reſentment, agitated and divided their minds. They beheld in imagination a new partition. They cheriſhed the two free cities as the laſt relics of their former rank in Europe; they held them doubly dear, from the memory of the other loſſes which they had ſuffered; and ſhould they ſurrender theſe, they ſaw that they muſt be in a manner ſecluded from the world, having no intercourſe but with their three powerful neighbours, in neither of whom they could in future have any cordial confidence. It was in vain to remind them that they poſſeſſed rather the name than the reality of a port in Dantzic, ſubject to innumerable vexations of the cuſtomhouſe in time of peace, and incapable of any ſerious reſiſtance on the breaking out of war; that the exchange now offered was in itſelf a proof of the fair intentions entertained by the court of Berlin, ſince the lands to be yielded and guaranteed to the republic, which were ſituated about the lake of Goplo, were a part of the late diſmemberment; and in a quarter where the king of Pruſſia would be moſt likely to meditate an extenſion of his territories, had he any ſuch purpoſe; that towards Ruſſia there was no retreat open to them; and that the barren and litigious ſovereignty of two cities was of little value, compared with the permanent liberty and ſecurity of the whole ſtate. But, vehement and haughty, they diſdained to bow before the exigency of their ſituation; they conſulted only that generous ſenſe of dignity, without which neither individuals nor nations can be truly great, yet which, in difficult circumſtances, often precipitates the ruin both of one and the other.

The committee for foreign affairs declined giving their ſanction, ſo far as even to communicate the propoſal to the diet. The king, in the debate on the ways and means for the army eſtimates, glanced at the ſubject. He delivered his opinion againſt

26th Feb. 1790.

againſt accepting the loan from the bank of Berlin, and calling on the nation to teach foreign powers that they had within themſelves the means of vindicating their own rights, preſented a conſiderable ſum in jewels to the public treaſury. The marſhal count Malachowſki caught the ſpirit of the example, and offered to lend a million of florins without intereſt. Great Poland engaged to pay within one month the amount of the new tax on chimnies for three years, and Little Poland and Lithuania for two years to come. There was a general emulation in providing for the demands of the ſervice by extraordinary contributions. The agents of Ruſſia did not miſs the opportunity. Every thing was ſaid, every thing was written, which could influence all ranks of people againſt the alledged treachery of the court of Berlin.

The Pruſſian miniſtry found it prudent to let this fermentation ſubſide. The marquis Luccheſini declared accordingly, in the name of his maſter, that he withdrew his project of a treaty, and was contented to let every thing remain on the old footing, till Poland could find ſome fair equivalent for the defalcation of the royal revenue, which would follow from an alteration in the exiſting duties. A promiſe was even made to lower the rates at New Fahrwaſſer very conſiderably; and to allow other advantages to the Poliſh commerce. This conduct, backed by the influence of the Britiſh miniſter, gave another turn to the ſudden paſſions of the verſatile multitude. The Pruſſian alliance was again popular. In conſequence the diet unanimouſly reſolved to conclude that treaty without delay, and then to proceed with the treaty of commerce. Two days afterwards, the queſtion came on in a full aſſembly. The Pruſſian party managed with great dexterity to bring before the houſe the evidence which had been taken by the eccleſiaſtical tribunal, againſt the abbot of Sluck, arreſted the year before for attempting to excite an inſurrection. The traces of the hand of Ruſſia, which appeared in the conſpiracy, raiſed a violent indignation againſt that power; and inſtantly the order of the day was moved, and the treaty with Pruſſia approved by univerſal acclamation.

15th March, 1790.

What paſſed on this occaſion was directly communicated from Staniſlaus-Auguſtus, in a letter perſonally addreſſed to Frederick-William. Reminding him at the ſame time of the other points in diſcuſſion between them, he made a forcible appeal to his liberality and generoſity: "The more theſe points of "commerce (ſays he) are eſſential "to us, the more highly will your "majeſty appreciate the eagerneſs "of a free and generous nation, to "unite with you, while they repoſe "entirely on the perſonal equity of "your majeſty's known character.

"With a king ſuch as you, the "ſureſt way is to addreſs him di"rectly, by intreating him to "weigh, in the balance of his juſt "mind, the claims of a nation who "give him all their friendſhip, "while they depend on the clear "letter of treaties, and on the ſuf"ferance of ſeventeen years. The "idea which they have conceiv"ed of the reigning Frederick-"William is, that born to equal "his anceſtors in every ſort of "glory, there is one which he "wiſhes to render peculiarly his

" own, by ſetting his grandeur " above this fatal maxim, that the " proſperity of our own ſtate can " only be promoted by the misfor- " tunes of our neighbours."

If he was ſincere in paying this homage, as he calls it, to the virtues of Frederick-William, his confidence muſt have been ſtaggered by the anſwer. It coldly expreſſes a ſatisfaction in the late conduct of the Poliſh nation, but demands juſtice and impartiality to Pruſſia; and then enters at much length on a dry recapitulation of the ſeveral remonſtrances and memorials on both ſides. It again preſſes the ceſſion of Dantzic and Thorn, a requeſt which, it is ſaid, cannot be attributed to any unjuſt and inordinate ambition, as theſe cities are of little comparative value to Poland, naturally belong to Weſtern Pruſſia, and were only excepted on the ſurrender of the circumjacent territory for reaſons no longer of any moment. The backwardneſs of the king and the diet to liſten to this propoſition when made before is even conſidered as a behaviour unfriendly, unreaſonable, and unjuſt. The king of Pruſſia, however, had the caution not to ſend this anſwer till after he had formally ratified the treaty of alliance.

The anxiety ſhewn by Frederick-William for the inſtant concluſion of this treaty, aroſe from the menacing appearances of hoſtilities, for which he ſeemed to be now ſeriouſly preparing, in conſequence of his late engagements * with the Ottoman Porte. Had he been compelled to have recourſe to arms, he would thus have gained a vaſt outwork, and a brave though undiſciplined people, who, ſupported by the ſteady ſkill and trained courage of his troops, would have preſented a formidable obſtacle to their common enemies, and have kept the ravages of war at a diſtance from his dominions. But in truth, he moſt deſired to avoid, what he wiſhed others to think that he intended. By an oſtentation of his force he hoped to make the trial of it unneceſſary, and to drive the new king of Hungary and Bohemia into his terms, by the acceſſion of Poland to the confederacy formed to maintain the balance of the North. On the other hand, the Poles imagined themſelves to have ſecured the ſuccour of his armies, in defending whatever better conſtitution they might ultimately frame for the future government of their country. They were willing to riſk a foreign war, if they could obtain protection to their happineſs at home.

The article which applies to this ſubject is the ſixth. It is in itſelf important, and different interpretations were afterwards put upon it by the contracting parties. It may be proper, therefore, to inſert the words. It engages, that " if any " foreign power whatever ſhould, by virtue of any preceding " acts or ſtipulations, or any interpretation of them, aſſume the right " of interfering in the internal affairs of the republic of Poland, " or its dependencies, at any time, " or in any manner, his majeſty the " king of Pruſſia would firſt employ " his moſt efficacious good offices to " prevent hoſtilities ariſing out of " ſuch a pretenſion; but if his

Concluded 29th March.

* See vol. xxxiii. Hiſt. Art. p. 164.

" good

" good offices ſhould ſtill fail of ef-
" fect, and hoſtilities againſt Poland
" ſhould be the conſequence, his
" majeſty the king of Pruſſia, conſi-
" dering this as a caſe falling within
" the meaning of the alliance, would
" aſſiſt the republic, according to
" the tenor of the 4th article,"—
that is with 30,000 men, or his whole force, if neceſſary.

That they might be in a condition at once to merit good faith by obſerving it, and to defend their own liberties againſt all aggreſſion, the Poles inſtantly redoubled their efforts to ſtrengthen and diſcipline their army; for which purpoſe the king of Pruſſia lent them officers: and he did this in a manner the moſt gracious to his new allies. When he gave a diſcharge to prince Louis of Wurtemberg, who was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general in the ſervice of the republic, it was conveyed in a letter highly flattering to the Poliſh nation. One of the armies ſoon after collected was put under the command of this officer; but the principal force, which was ſtationed near the frontiers, at the poſt of honour and danger, was given by Staniſlaus-Auguſtus to his own nephew, prince Joſeph Poniatowſki.

The late treaty, and the behaviour of Frederick-William in conſequence of it, ſeemed to have produced perfect harmony between the two allies; and in this temper, leave having been requeſted for the paſſage of a Pruſſian detachment ordered to Sileſia, it was immediately and unanimouſly granted. But the natural character of the Poles is quick and impetuous. In the negociations which preceded the convention of Reichenbach, they found freſh cauſe of violent offence againſt Pruſſia.

Theſe negociations afforded count Hertzberg an opportunity, as he thought, of forcing the court of Vienna into his plans *. He propoſed therefore the ceſſion of Dantzic and Thorn as the only mode of repaying the expence of his maſter's armaments, and as the ground-work of the peace; while to recompenſe the republic he required, that Leopold ſhould reſtore to her a tract of 200 ſquare leagues in Gallicia, comprehending particularly Zamoſk, Zelkiew, and Brody; and he promiſed, in addition, that Pruſſia would lower the duties on the tranſit of goods through Sileſia to one-third, and grant other relief to the Poliſh trade. Averſe as he was from increaſing the power of Pruſſia, and knowing how much his ally the empreſs would be hurt by the ceſſion of Dantzic, Leopold did not ſee how to extricate himſelf but by clogging his conſent with ſome condition, which it would appear unreaſonable for the cabinet of Berlin

* In the French Mercury for January 1792, M. Mallet du Pan, referring to count Hertzberg's own private papers, repreſents the propoſition to have come from Pruſſia, as it is here ſtated, but makes no mention of Leopold's conſent on any conditions. On the other hand, the official paper, publiſhed in the Berlin Gazette in April 1791, aſſerts the whole arrangement to have been voluntarily offered by Leopold. We have here endeavoured to reconcile the two accounts as we believe the fact to have been, and as the internal evidence of the tranſaction, ariſing out of the circumſtances, objects, and ſentiments of the different parties, convinces us that it could only be. At the ſame time we thought it right to give our readers notice of this variation in our authorities.

to refuſe, and embarraſſing to admit. He did not object therefore to this arrangement in favour of Pruſſia, but complaining of it as contrary to all equity that he ſhould give up a part of his own dominions, and all his conqueſts too, he demanded as a compenſation an extenſion of his own limits on the ſide of Turkey: at the ſame time he took good care that through general Woyna, the Poliſh ambaſſador at his court, the great object of all the Pruſſian politics ſhould be known at Warſaw, and probably not in a way moſt likely to facilitate its acquiſition *. The diſtricts intended to be given to the republic were worth ſix times as much as Dantzic and Thorn, in extent of territory, in population, and revenue; and had been a part of her former domains. But it was not by ſuch calculations that ſhe eſtimated the value of the two cities. They were the moſt ſplendid appendages of the Poliſh crown, and ſhe would not barter them for any advantage in a mere bargain. The exchange was not to be mentioned.

It is probable, nevertheleſs, that the firm and ſyſtematic policy of count Hertzberg would not have ſo eaſily receded, and that finally Leopold muſt have given way, to have done what depended on him without any compenſation from the Porte; and to have uſed his influence with Poland for the completion of the whole arrangement; but the fickleneſs of Frederick-William here began to diſcover itſelf. The ſubtlety and intrigue of prince Kaunitz, unable to make any impreſſion on the Pruſſian miniſter, long uſed to penetrate and traverſe them, were applied with more ſucceſs to divide the maſter from an old and faithful ſervant of his crown; and all the young courtiers, who had hardly been initiated in the ſchool of the great Frederick, as well as all they who hoped to build their own fortunes on the ruin of the miniſter's influence, readily lent themſelves to the plot. The glory of giving peace to Germany, and a ſettlement to the civil commotions in the Netherlands, was painted in flattering colours; the prudence of ſtopping a contagion, which, aided by the recent example of France, might otherwiſe endanger the ſafety of Holland, was urged; and the enormous expence of continuing armaments, for which there was no proſpect of reimburſement, was not forgotten. The motives of count Hertzberg, in oppoſing this train of reaſoning, were then artfully diſtorted. He was repreſented as the inveterate enemy of Auſtria, as a man warm, bold, rejoicing in troubled ſcenes, and the inſtigator of a fatal war. The king heard this inſidious language with growing complacency. He was led into a ſecret correſpondence with Leopold; and the ſtipulations of the convention, ſuch as it was concluded, were agreed without the concurrence of the Pruſſian miniſter, who to the laſt moment remonſtrated againſt it, and only put his ſignature to it in conſequence of an expreſs order from his ſovereign.

From that inſtant the power of count Hertzberg was gone, though

* See the official explanation before mentioned, relative to Dantzic and Thorn, publiſhed in the Berlin Gazette early in April 1791.

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he continued some little time longer in office. They who succeeded to the favour of their prince wanted either the enlargement of mind to comprehend, or the dexterity of management to pursue, all the parts of his system, which seems to have regarded the support of Poland, as no less essential than the acquisition of Dantzic and Thorn.

July When it was officially notified at Warsaw, on the part of Frederick-William, that all question of the two cities was dismissed from the conferences at Reichenbach, the diet and nation seemed for a short time to return to their former temper. But a new effervescence was excited, as soon as the actual terms of the convention were known. No regard whatever appeared to have been had to the interests and pretensions of Poland; and this omission occasioned a diffidence, as to the politics of Prussia, which never was removed. Nevertheless the republic did not relax in the measures which she had before been taking to put herself in a state of readiness, should she ultimately be called upon, for the performance of her obligations to Prussia. Orders were also sent from Warsaw, much to the satisfaction of the court of Berlin, for the immediate conclusion of treaties of commerce and alliance with the Porte; and a treaty with Sweden was likewise in contemplation.

Nor was the great work of their constitution neglected by the diet. A plan of considerable length was now brought forward, materially differing from the principles of melioration before voted. It held forth to the peasants the immediate protection of the laws, and the means of gradual enfranchisement; it professed to give to the towns all the privileges necessary to encourage industry and population, but without going to the full extent of their former memorial; it confirmed all the rights of the nobility; and above all, it contained a proposal to render the throne hereditary, under some restrictions, and after the death of Stanislaus-Augustus. As soon as it had been read, the consideration of the whole was adjourned for a short time, and the adjournment was afterwards still farther continued, that the members might be enabled to examine and understand it in all its parts. The opinions of the people varied. Some thought it too oligarchical in its tendency; others disapproved the accession of strength which the crown was likely to derive from it. The greater part however viewed it with hope and affection, and already, with fancies a little too sanguine, anticipated the day when, the work having acquired consistence from time, and improvement from experience, Poland would enjoy one of the best governments in Europe.

5th Aug.

But while they were indulging these pleasing speculations, an incident happened, which was treasured up as a precious pretence for the future destruction of that very constitution. A subaltern officer, and some soldiers had violated a Greek chapel belonging to the Russian embassy in the suburbs of Warsaw, and arrested a criminal, who had taken sanctuary there. In truth they were deceived by the appearance of the building, as they proved on their trial, to which they were brought on the repeated demand of the Russian minister for satisfaction. The officer was broken, and the men severely

verely punished; but none of the offenders were delivered up to undergo the knout, or be sent to Siberia; and two years after the empress complained that justice had been refused to her.

It was probably to silence the outcry of the Russian party on this misadventure that the proceedings against prince Poninski, which had slept for many months, were now suddenly resumed. He was under bail to abide the decision; but foreseeing the event, privately withdrew from the capital. He was met, however, by the very officer from whom he had escaped the preceding year, and by him re-conducted to the diet. There was no hesitation about his conviction; the only question was whether he should receive sentence of death or banishment; and it was with difficulty carried for the latter.

30th Aug. He was decreed to lose his rank, honours, and employments, and condemned to have his orders of knighthood torn away by the common executioner; to be led through Warsaw, and proclaimed a traitor; to leave the capital in twenty-four hours, and the country in four weeks; after which time, if found within the territories of the republic, he was to suffer death.

From the same lenity, however, to which he owed his life, the degradation and infamy pronounced against him were confined to his own person, and declared not to affect his family: indeed the judgment itself, from the mercy of that very monarch, whom he had little less than dethroned, was not executed in the rigour of the letter. His orders of the White Eagle and of St. Stanislaus were not torn from him, but carried by his son to the king; and after having been served at table from the royal kitchen, he was permitted to remain till it was dark before he was led through the streets, that his shame might be the less exposed, though darkness could not save him from the reproaches and insults which were showered upon him by the people, and the very women, as he passed along.

With this example before their eyes, the diet took into consideration the plan of the constitution submitted to them. Their first measure was to acknowledge the catholic church as the dominant religion of the state; but at the same time, to manifest the charity which they felt towards their fellow citizens of other communions, a decree which they had some little time before passed in favour of the Greek archbishop of Kiow, was carried into effect, and he was admitted a member of the senate; an honour which his predecessor with all his endeavours had never been able to obtain.

The project of a cardinal law now followed, establishing the unity of the domains of the republic for ever. It was perhaps unwise, and such as no state ought to adopt, as it did not leave that discretion which the supreme power in every country must have for the general good. But it fell in with the public alarm relative to the designs of Prussia on Dantzic and Thorn, to which it plainly pointed, and in consequence it was highly popular. The proposed law ran that "the kingdom of Poland and "grand dutchy of Lithuania, with "their respective principalities, palatinates, territories, districts, fiefs, "towns and ports, united reciprocally for ever by solemn conventions, should remain always in "that

"that union and accord, and in an "indiſſoluble integrity of all their "parts: and that it ſhould not be "lawful for any diet, nor for any "power whatever, to make any "change, and ſtill leſs to detach or "cede any member of the body, or "any part and parcel of the eſtates "of the republic, nor to entertain "the propoſition of any ſuch ceſ- "ſion or exchange."

This ſolemn declaration was given to the wiſhes of the whole nation: Sept. 9th. the next reſolution was calculated to gratify the nobility at ſome hazard of diſſatisfaction to the third eſtate, who were already offended at the poſtponement of a propoſition which had been made in their favour, immediately after the new plan of a conſtitution had been produced, and which was founded on their memorial of the preceding year. In addition to this they now beheld the exerciſe of the legiſlative and executive powers confined by law to the equeſtrian order alone, in conjunction with the king. The developement of this principle gave occaſion to very ſpirited debates in the two next ſittings, a queſtion being raiſed, Whether places vacant in the ſenate and the miniſtry ſhould be left to the nomination of the king, as well as the great offices of dignity around the throne, and of truſt in the provinces? It was ſtrenuouſly contended, that by the abolition of the permanent council, all its powers fell to the nation; but the king, on the ſecond night, having patiently heard all the arguments againſt himſelf, at laſt aroſe to vindicate this prerogative. "It had expreſsly been guaranteed to him (he obſerved) by the nation in the *pacta conventa*, which, as he had never infringed, he could not have forfeited. He declared, that he had never ſought the increaſe of his own power; he had never in any inſtance wiſhed even the maintenance of that power to which he had the moſt indubitable right, if it ſhould fairly appear to be inconſiſtent with the public welfare. Did he believe the prerogative in queſtion to be of that nature, he would be the firſt to move its extinction. But it could not be of advantage to the nation to take from him the means of rewarding merit and conferring bounty: and if the country had ſuffered miſery, all the world knew the cauſe, which could not be aſcribed to that prerogative of the crown."—This appeal to their juſtice and their conſciences prevailed: and ſoon afterwards the reſt of the article, comprizing the remaining cardinal laws of the future conſtitution (freedom of ſpeech in the diet and dietines, the liberty of the preſs, and other proviſions in favour of the ſubject) paſſed without oppoſition.

But the great reform of all in the government now came Sept. 20th. to be diſcuſſed: whether the elective monarchy, which had ſubſiſted ever ſince the death of Sigiſmond-Auguſtus, in 1572, and which Poland had now generally learned to conſider as the ſource of her calamities, ſhould not be changed for an hereditary ſucceſſion? The point had been before incidentally agitated, and the elector of Saxony mentioned, whoſe lineage and education were in a great meaſure Poliſh; who was deſcended from the family of Jaghellon, and had in his veins the blood of the great Sobieſki; whoſe grandfather and great-grandfather had reigned over the republic, and who himſelf ſpoke the language of the country with fluency and elegance. But a preliminary meaſure

measure was first to be carried: it was necessary that it should be previously resolved to name a successor in the life of the king.

When this was moved, instead of a direct opposition, an artful alarm was professed for the safety of the king. It was said, that to name a successor and founder of a future dynasty, was to open a door to all sorts of intrigue, to divide the affections of the people, and create a sort of rival to the throne, who might not be contented to wait the course of nature. This drew up the king, who avowed that, "confident in the affection of the nation, he did not feel the slightest suspicion of such a danger. But if it was a question, whether the safety of his own person or that of his country should be exposed, no man could hesitate without a crime. Granting even, that his life was actually endangered by the law now to be passed, he would a thousand times prefer that it should be daily put to the most imminent hazard, rather than that his country should be deprived of the only law, which could for ever preserve it from the horrors of civil war, and for ever withdraw it from foreign dominion, from which Poland now had the honour of having effected her emancipation. At the same time he declared, that bound as he was by the original pact of his own elevation to the throne, he had never taken a single step relative to the succession, nor would he have any share in such a measure, unless he were set at liberty by the express will of the nation."—The assembly was deeply impressed with his generous disdain of all personal considerations, his religious regard to his faith, and his deference to the public will. As by an instant impulse the members all crouded round the throne with an enthusiasm which his speeches on many occasions excited, and entreated to have the honour of kissing his hand. When the ceremony was over, prince Sapieha, the marshal of Lithuania, proposed that provincial assemblies should be called together, for the purpose of asking their consent to chuse a successor in the life of the king. It was resolved accordingly, without a dissenting voice; and two days after, universals to that effect were dispatched to the several palatinates, states, and districts.

The next step, of recommending the elector of Saxony as the successor, occasioned warm debates on the 25th and 26th; but this too, having the approbation of the king, was carried at last without a division; and the wishes of the representative body in this respect, were made known by new universals. No previous care however, seems to have been taken for the purpose of engaging the elector himself in the scheme of the future constitution, at the head of which he or his descendents were hereafter to be placed. It was even said at the time, that his determination, not to accept the throne unless with the common consent of the three great conterminous powers, was no secret. But perhaps it was thought that a sceptre voluntarily offered to his hand might invite him, though a prince of moderate ambition, to incur some little hazard for the happiness of a whole nation, that had shewn so noble a confidence in him: and Stanislaus-Augustus felt that to tender it at least to a foreign potentate, who, besides his natural connection with the country, had shewn himself so worthy to reign, was the surest test

Dated Oct. 9th.

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to prove the purity of his own motives in exerting himself for the aggrandisement of the crown.

Since the convention of Reichenbach, the king of Prussia had not given any direct intimation of his desire to obtain Dantzic and Thorn: but while he seemed most indifferent about them, he most plainly shewed that they were never out of his sight. A scheme of a commercial treaty was brought forward, by which the inhabitants of Poland were to be allowed the right of importing and exporting through New Fahrwasser without touching at Dantzic, on paying a duty of only two *per cent.* while Dantzic was still to continue paying 12 *per cent.* till future provision should be made on that head. The merchants of Dantzic saw this insidious liberality in the light of a bribe, intended to purchase the acquiescence of their fellow subjects in their ruin. Immediately the city was in a high ferment; and a deputation, charged with instructions of rather a violent nature, was sent to Stanislaus-Augustus, against the remonstrances of the council and the magistrates, who in vain endeavoured to persuade moderation. These delegates were well received not only by the king but the committee who had the conduct of the negociation; and Stanislaus-Augustus addressed to the council and magistrates a royal rescript, full of that paternal solicitude which he never failed to express towards all his subjects; but containing sentiments which could not be pleasing to Frederick-William. "Even to this moment (said "the king) no ill success has been "able to make us renounce our intention and desire of coming to "your succour; neither shall any "thing turn us from it in the end; "and this resolution, fixed and unchangeable, will excite and encourage us to attempt all possible "means for effecting it." Nor were promises all that was obtained. The project of a free navigation of the Vistula was abandoned; and a counter-project, highly advantageous to the trade of Dantzic, was substituted. This of course was communicated to the court of Berlin; but no answer for the present was given.

Dated 22d Sept.

The legal duration of the diet was now nearly at an end, and none of the details of the constitution were definitively settled. To have left this important part of their work wholly to the chance of the same members, or a majority of them, being returned to serve in the next diet, would have been to endanger all their past labours, as well as their remaining designs. This had been early foreseen. So long since as the preceding June, a general resolution on the subject had been passed, after a discussion of eight days. The sentiments of the king on that occasion deserve to be recorded, as strongly marking his disinterested zeal for the good of his country. Being asked by some of his friends, Why he wished to prolong a diet which had given him so many mortifications, when he might hope to see one so much more favourably disposed towards him? "That is true," replied he, "but then I should risk "the overthrow of many things "well done by this diet, because "they have not had time to com"plete their plans, and to reconcile "the nation to their work by the "experience of its utility." The mode in which the existence of the present diet was to be continued, now pressed itself on their consideration. It was first resolved that notwithstanding

notwithſtanding the meeting of the dietines, the exiſting diet ſhould ſtill continue to ſit; and ſtrong proteſts being entered againſt this unuſual courſe, a temporary and particular law was made to legalize it on this occaſion, and to fix the convocation of the dietines for the 16th of November. It was then moved by M. Matuſcwitz, nuncio of Brzeſc in Lithuania, that it ſhould be recommended to the palatinates to reelect the ſame repreſentatives, unleſs they had ſpecial reaſons for changing individuals, and to continue the diet under the ſame confederation and the ſame marſhals. The king ſupported the propoſition, and it was taken to be debated on a future day. It was diſcuſſed two days, and ultimately paſſed almoſt unanimouſly. At length the addition of an equal number of new members was ſuggeſted, and enforced with all the perſuaſion and authority of the king. The double diet in conſequence was decreed. It was ordered that under this form the preſent confederation ſhould laſt two years more, during which period it was hoped that the conſtitution would not only be finiſhed, but time be allowed for ſome ſhort trial of its practical effects.

The moment was not favourable to the intereſts of the dominant party. Their foreign politics in connection with Pruſſia had no longer the public opinion on their ſide; and the citizens and burghers began loudly to proclaim their confidence ſhaken, by the paſſing of the cardinal law which excluded them from all ſhare in the legiſlative power. A letter on this ſubject, written by M. Decker, late preſident of the burghers, and addreſſed by him on his death-bed to the marſhal Malachowſki, was printed, and read with great eagerneſs. It contained a ſolemn remonſtrance and affecting adjuration; it indirectly charged a breach of faith in not granting the effect of the memorial formerly preſented. In the mean while count Szizneſa Potocki, who was at the head of the ordnance department, and all his connections, were indefatigable in publiſhing and ſpreading proteſts, manifeſtoes, and libels of every form, againſt the late proceedings of the diet; eſpecially againſt their prolongation of their own exiſtence, and this new monſter, as they conſidered it, of a double repreſentation. The great popular leader M. Suchodolcki began to abate of his enthuſiaſm in the Pruſſian cauſe. The oppoſite party viſibly gained ground among the nuncios; and the grand general Branicki, who had married a niece of Prince Potemkin, openly and ſtrenuouſly ſupporting that ſide, left Warſaw to cultivate his intereſt, and influence the approaching elections.

The Pruſſian party, however, had ſtill a clear majority, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their adverſaries: and immediately before the opening of the dietines they had recourſe to a meaſure, happily and wiſely calculated to conciliate the mercantile intereſt. Two hundred of the principal bankers, merchants, and artizans were admitted in one day into the order of nobility; and ſhortly afterwards this liſt was followed by another, as well as by a reſolution opening a wide entrance to ſtill greater numbers from all the provinces.

At the ſame time, to ſtrike terror into the party of the grand general Branicki, who had been accuſed by the brother of the late grand treaſurer, and who was now purſuing a line of politics connected with the

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ſame foreign intereſt which had been ſo fatal to prince Poninſki, the puniſhment of that nobleman was by a decree declared to be extended to all his accomplices and adherents. The purport of this meaſure could not be miſunderſtood. It did not, however, ſeem to abate the courage and activity of thoſe againſt whom the blow was ſo manifeſtly aimed.

Under theſe circumſtances the dietines met. In the circle of Warſaw every thing went without obſtruction in the manner moſt agreeable to the ruling party. But at a diſtance from the capital, the opinions of the voters were more divided. It was even reported (though a contradiction, or rather an explanation of the report, was afterwards circulated) that at Lublin prince Adam Czartoriſki, the king's uncle, experienced ſome ill treatment for having propoſed an hereditary monarchy. In other places, burthenſome and offenſive conditions were annexed to the future throne of the elector of Saxony; and in ſome of the dietines in Volhinia, where all the property and influence of the grand general Branicki lay, prince Potemkin, who was a native of Poland, and ſtill poſſeſſed an eſtate and reſidence in Poliſh Ukraine, was put in nomination as a candidate for the ſucceſſion. On the other hand, many members of the provincial aſſemblies applied to Staniſlaus-Auguſtus, and offered to vote for the nomination of a ſucceſſor, if that ſucceſſor might be one of his own nephews, and not the elector of Saxony. But in anſwer to all theſe applications, he perſiſted in making the ſame noble, diſintereſted, and truly patriotic declaration: "Know gentlemen," ſaid he, "that I had no ſhare in the deſign of "nominating my ſucceſſor during "my life; notwithſtanding which, "if the nomination ſhould fall on "a prince of my own blood, it "would give riſe to a ſtrong ſuſpi- "cion that I had been clandeſtinely "the author of the project. Be- "ſides, it is my opinion, that in "chuſing for your future king, "a potentate whoſe riches, rank, "and connections would give a "luſtre to the choice, in addition "to the virtues and political ta- "lents which diſtinguiſh the elector "of Saxony, you would greatly "contribute to the dignity, power, "and advantage of the republic." —Surely if this conduct be not pure and ſplendid, there is no purity or ſplendour in political virtue.

Nov. 16.

Finding the king immoveable as to the perſon of his ſucceſſor, all the provincial aſſemblies, except thoſe of Volhinia, confirmed the recommendation which had been made to them, of the elector of Saxony, and conſented that he ſhould be named to the ſucceſſion in the life of Staniſlaus Auguſtus. Some went ſo far as even to inſtruct their repreſentatives to vote for a law not confined to the immediate caſe, but eſtabliſhing an hereditary monarchy. This queſtion, however, it muſt be obſerved, was not properly before the dietines.

The old diet adjourned for eight days, while the elections were proceeding in the neighbourhood of the capital; and it never afterwards entertained any queſtion of magnitude, though it continued to ſit, till the new members were arrived at Warſaw. At length it terminated an honourable and (had it ſo pleaſed Providence) an uſeful career, to make way for the double diet, the firſt of the kind in the hiſtory of Poland.

Dec. 13th.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

State of affairs at the meeting of the double diet. Motion that all the members should take an oath to receive no gratuity from any foreign power, warmly debated, but rejected. Order of business taken into consideration. Violent disputes in the diet. Tranquillity restored by Stanislaus-Augustus. Answer of the elector of Saxony. Diet proceeds to the regulation of future dietines. Motion for referring the subject to a committee. Inconsistent with a law of 1768. The whole code of 1768 repealed. Object of the allied powers, England, Holland, and Prussia, with respect to Poland. Commercial treaty proposed by the English envoy, and seconded by the Dutch. Calculated to give Poland a participation in the trade of naval stores. Observations on that trade. Official note of the English envoy to the committee of foreign affairs. Their answer. Confidential note, more explicit, from Mr. Hailes. Pamphlet attributed to him makes a great impression. Cession of Dantzic an essential part of the system. Russian agents excite alarm on that subject. Ridicule the idea of England attacking Russia. Try to intimidate Poland. Pamphlet in answer to Mr. Hailes, ascribed to M. Altesti, the Russian secretary. Able reply of the former. Solemn warning from him to Poland. Different public conduct of the several powers concerned. Committee reports the propositions of the allies to the diet. Violent debates on the question of ceding Dantzic. Resolution at last not decisive. Proceedings at the same time in the British parliament respecting the affairs of the North. Immediate completion of the new Polish constitution indispensably necessary. Favourable reception of a political drama, shews the people disposed to hereditary monarchy. Motion for impeaching the author laughed at by the diet. Substance of the law for regulating dietines. Of that for settling the privileges of free towns. Universal joy on passing these laws. Public thanksgiving on the occasion, and address to the marshals and the king. Fifth of May fixed on for completing the revolution. Reasons for anticipating that event. Takes place on the third of May. Proceedings on that day variously reported. King's speech to the diet. New constitution passed. King takes the oath first in the house of assembly, and afterwards in the church. Speech of prince Sapieha on taking the oath. Eighteen nuncios publish a protest. No bloodshed or tumult. Remarks upon the code, especially on the new powers of the crown, and the provisions in favour of the peasants.

Dec. 16th. THE moment when the double diet met was highly critical to the affairs of the north, and loudly demanded prompt and decisive measures on the part of the allied powers. The Russian armies were in the full career of victory; the Ottomans, broken and dispirited, soon after received a blow almost irreparable, in the loss of Ismailow, and its brave garrison. The king of Sweden had not only made a separate peace with Russia, but * was giving direct admonitions

* Rescript presented by M. Hadenstein, the Swedish envoy at Constantinople, on the 27th of Sept. 1790.

to

to the Porte not to place any truſt in allies, who, he ſaid, "had made him many promiſes, without performing any," and "who were ſeeking their own intereſt, rather than that of the Porte." On the other hand, Leopold, having now gained the hearts of his Hungarian and Bohemian ſubjects, and entertaining little doubt of his final ſucceſs in the Netherlands, ſhewed a diſpoſition to chicane with the allies. France, in the mean time, more and more fixed the attention of Europe. M. Necker and his friends had been exchanged for a miniſtry, who (in their own language) were more on the level of the revolution; and the national aſſembly began to look to the early termination of their labours, in the completion of the conſtitution.

Under theſe circumſtances, it was neceſſary for the allies, on all accounts, to bring matters to a ſpeedy iſſue; and from the conduct of the king of Sweden on one hand, and the court of Vienna on the other, the decided co-operation of Poland became of more moment than ever.

The increaſed number of the diet ſeemed only to bring an acceſſion of energy and determination, which diſplayed themſelves in all their force, as ſoon as, having gone through the requiſite formalities, ſubſcribed the acts of confederation, and judged the double returns the ſtates proceed to the conſideration of the great work which lay before them. Many of the inſtructions from the dietines required, that an oath ſhould be taken by all members of the diet to maintain the future conſtitution, and to accept no penſion or gratuity from any foreign power. The motion was accordingly made, and was popular. It was reſiſted however, and by the king himſelf, as tending to hold up the whole of that illuſtrious body to unjuſt ſuſpicions in the eyes of the world; to ſuppoſe the neceſſity of ſuch a general teſt, it was argued, would be to give no little colour to the charge of corruption, which had been ſo often made againſt the nation. Theſe conſiderations prevailed, and after a debate of ſome length, the queſtion was loſt by a ſmall majority. But on a ſubſequent day, the receiving of ſuch a bribe was made a capital offence. Dec. 27th.

The order of their future proceedings now came to be diſcuſſed. The king and the ſenate wanted to reſume the conſideration of the cardinal laws; but it was inſiſted by the leaders among the nuncios, that they ſhould inſtantly go to the eſtabliſhment of the new form of government, and begin with the regulation of the future dietines. The tumult towards midnight roſe to the higheſt pitch; and ſome of the nuncios, it is ſaid, even talked of retiring to their own proper and ſeparate houſe, and thus diſſolving the confederation. But at length the king, with his uſual preſence of mind and conciliation of addreſs, reſtored tranquillity; and it being determined by a ſcrutiny, in the nature of a previous queſtion, that the votes ſhould be taken upon the main queſtion at the next ſitting, it was put to the vote accordingly, and a majority was found of three to two for the latter order of proceeding. Jan. 7th.

Neither did this ſpirit appear to be abated by the anſwer which ſhortly after arrived from the elector of Saxony, to whom, as ſoon as

the ſenſe of the dietines had been aſcertained in his favour, an application had been made on the ſubject. His letter was highly flattering indeed, full of gratitude and affection to the republic, but it decided nothing. It contained only a conditional acceptance, provided ſuch a ſtep did not give umbrage to the neighbouring powers.

In purſuing the courſe which they had marked out to themſelves, the ſtates were for many different days occupied in diſcuſſing and ſettling the privileges to be exerciſed by their conſtituents in dietines. But at length perceiving that much other important buſineſs was preſſing upon them, and fearing that many parts of the detail then before them might give riſe to miſrepreſentation, and excite much embarraſſing agitation in the public mind, M. Soltyk, a nuncio of Livonia, recommended that the whole matter ſhould be referred to the conſideration of a committee. The ſuggeſtion was approved, but a cardinal law in the conſtitutional code of 1768 ſtood in the way. Immediately the repeal of the whole code was moved. The independent ſpirit of the nation was rouſed at the mention of that laſt remaining badge of ſervitude. No man dared to undertake its defence or apology, and it was repealed without a diſſenting voice.

Feb. 21ſt.

This was a favourable prognoſtic for the allied powers, who were now making one final effort to unite Poland with themſelves in a permanent ſyſtem, the bond of which was to be the mutual benefit expected to be derived to the commerce of all. Some meaſure of the kind had long been in contemplation. So early as the year 1789, when the committee of foreign affairs received from the diet their full powers to negociate with Pruſſia, they were alſo proviſionally authorized to treat with England, and this was regularly notified to Mr. Hailes at Warſaw, and again to the Court of London by M. Bukati, the Poliſh envoy in this country. But no ſtep was taken, while the commercial treaty between Poland and Pruſſia, which was to be the corner-ſtone of the ſyſtem, was ſtill in negociation. That now ſeemed in a manner to be at an end. Various propoſitions on the part of Frederick-William had been made, and rejected with more or leſs ill-humour; and a counter-propoſal, as we ſaw towards the concluſion of the laſt chapter, had been for ſome time under his examination. At length count Goltz, in an official note, beginning and ending with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of amity, and of a deſire for a commercial connection on terms of mutual benefit, declared, that his ſovereign could not ſubſcribe to the propoſed treaty without ſacrificing his own revenues, and ſubverting from the very bottom the principal branches of the induſtry, agriculture, and commerce of his own ſubjects. All the advantages, he remarked, were on the ſide of Poland, and no compenſation was given to Pruſſia.

Under theſe circumſtances, the Britiſh miniſter at Warſaw took the lead, and was ſeconded by the Dutch miniſter, [illegible] commercial treaty, of which a fundamental condition was to have been the ceſſion of Dantzic; for to that ſingle city the views of Frederick-William were now ultimately confined. The maritime powers were not only to have been guarantees

tees, but to have had voices at a board of conſuls, who were to have cognizance of all diſputes ariſing out of the treaty. A rate of duties was to have been eſtabliſhed in perpetuity; under which the trade of Poland would have found eaſy acceſs to the ſea through the whole extent of coaſt ſubject to the houſe of Brandenburgh, and over land to Germany through Sileſia. This treaty was to have been followed by others of political alliance, to have ſecured the liberty of Poland.

Such a commercial ſyſtem was expected to break the monopoly of Ruſſia in the ſupply of naval ſtores, for which we were wholly dependent on the policy or caprice of that domineering power, who not only refuſed to renew her expired treaty with us, but had granted to our great rival France the conditions which ſhe denied to us. Stimulated by this conduct on her part *, we had ſent agents to examine the interior of the Poliſh territories, and report on the products of the ſoil, and induſtry of the inhabitants. It was found in conſequence that many of the articles, for which we had long been at the mercy of Ruſſia, were to be obtained more advantageouſly from Poland through the ports of Proſſia. Flax of the fineſt quality grows in Lithuania, between the Niemen and the Duina †. The beſt ſorts, and the greateſt quantities of hemp are produced in the palatinates of Polock, Wilna, Minſk, and Novogrodek. Maſts are cut in the greateſt abundance between the Duina and the Prypecz, in Lithuania; and oak-timber to the ſouth of the 53d degree of latitude, principally in Volhinia, and on the borders of the Bog. From the geography of the country, the former commodities could arrive ſeveral weeks ſooner at the Pruſſian ports than at Peterſburgh, or even Riga; and the difference of time with regard to the materials for ſhipbuilding, would be ſtill more conſiderable. The oak, which is ſaid to be two years on the way to Riga, might get to Memel in three or four months; and the firs felled on the banks of the Berezyna, which deſcend that river, and again mount the Dnieper as high up as Ortza in Ruſſia, which are then carried over land the next year to Babinow, a place ſituated on a branch of the Duina, and thence reach Riga only in the following June, might be tranſported a whole year earlier to Memel by a branch of the Niemen. It was not imagined that the trade of Ruſſia in naval ſtores would be totally transferred at once to theſe new channels, yet it was an object of the firſt magnitude for the maritime powers to erect, if they could, a nearer and cheaper market, to which they might have recourſe, and which being in the hands of ſtates naturally hoſtile to Ruſſia, would leave England and Holland more at liberty to act on either ſide in the affairs of the north as juſtice and policy might require. At the ſame time, it is impoſſible to caſt an eye upon the map, and not perceive at the firſt glance, how boundleſs is the ſpeculation of advantages, which time might have opened from this ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe. Poſſeſſing ſoils of every kind, and ſtretched out beneath

* Replique a l'Examen, p. 14.

† Ibid. p. 12. and 13.

climates of very various temperature, the territories of the republic are watered by innumerable ſtreams, which riſing near each other towards the centre of the country, run different ways, and collecting themſelves on one ſide into the great rivers of the Dnieper, the Bog, and the Dnieſter, fall into the Black Sea, and on the other ſide forming the Niemen, the Pregel, and the Viſtula, which again at one of its principal ſources approaches the Notec, the Warta, and the Oder, flow through diſtant mouths into the Baltic. Very little art would be requiſite to effect a complete communication through all theſe by means of canals, and very little induſtry of the people would furniſh abundant employment to an extenſive and buſy navigation. Already, indeed, with a view to improvements of that nature, M. Czacky, a member of the treaſury-board, had been ſent in the year 1787 to examine the courſe of all the rivers of the kingdom. The report which he made of that journey had lately been brought forward in the diet, and plans for rendering different rivers navigable had been entertained, and were now depending in that aſſembly.

Jan. 17th.

Mr. Hailes having received the fulleſt approbation of his court, loſt no time in acquainting the committee of foreign affairs, that the king his maſter had an ardent deſire to enter into political and commercial connections with Poland, and that definitive propoſals were ready to be made. But he expreſſed an intention of deferring this ſtep till the republic had ſhewn a reciprocal inclination to adopt a ſyſtem, in which their natural ally the king of Pruſſia, as in all juſtice he ought, ſhould be *eſſentially* included. With this ſlight intimation alone it was left to their wiſdom to inquire into, and conſider of the moſt efficacious means for bringing about ſuch an arrangement; but they were warned, that the practicability ſeemed altogether to depend on the circumſtances of the moment.

Dated Jan. 8th.

To this note, which bore date the 28th of January, the committee ſent an immediate anſwer. They ſtated the good diſpoſitions of the republic from the year 1789, and obſerved that theſe had even been increaſed by ſubſequent events. The participation of Pruſſia, from her local ſituation, and as the ally of both powers, was admitted to be very eſſential to render any commercial arrangement between Poland and England, ſtable, uſeful, and reciprocally ſatisfactory. But as the ſyſtem on which the Britiſh court wiſhed to proceed was not diſtinctly announced by Mr. Hailes, the committee hoped that he would be more explicit on that head, as they could not otherwiſe learn the diſpoſitions of the ſtates.

This application induced Mr. Hailes, in a confidential note, to open a little more of the ground, much to the ſame effect with the ſtatement of the project already given. The expediency of ceding Dantzic was reſted on the neceſſity of gaining Frederic William to make a conſiderable reduction in the duties of tranſit; without which meaſure on his part it was abſolutely impoſſible for England and Holland to purchaſe what they wanted from Poland. And though ſuch an alteration might prove ultimately beneficial to himſelf, yet he was repreſented as

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apprehenſive of a derangement in a ſyſtem of finance, vicious indeed, yet inveterate, and immediately productive. It was therefore not thought unreaſonable that he ſhould have a direct compenſation in Dantzic. The concluding admonition of the former note was alſo explained. Should the preſent opportunity be neglected by Poland, it was ſaid, that England muſt return to her old connection with Ruſſia, and ſo augment, by her vaſt commerce, the power of a country which might fairly be conſidered as the natural enemy of Poland.

Copies of this note having got into circulation, Mr. Hailes himſelf, or ſome perſon in connection with him and under his influence, publiſhed it with a ſort of introductory expoſition, ſhort, ſimple, and perſpicuous, under the title of a Memoir on the actual affairs of Poland. The whole of the argument on the ſubject was there forcibly though plainly put to the good ſenſe of the Poliſh nation. This little piece was written in the aſſumed character of a native Pole, and, probably to give it a more impoſing air of authority, it was ſent into the world through the king's bookſeller. Though the current of popular prejudice ran ſtrongly againſt it, yet it was read with avidity. The weight of its arguments was felt and confeſſed: it was allowed to repreſent with ability the connection of the intereſts of Poland with thoſe of Pruſſia; and an anſwer was expected and demanded.

The agents of Ruſſia were not wanting to themſelves and their cauſe in this juncture. They eaſily ſucceeded in alarming the inferior ranks at Dantzic. To enflame the Poles, they bruited about the tale of another arbitrary partition. They cried out againſt the perfidious duplicity of the court of Berlin, and even ventured to contraſt it with the open dealing, as they affected to call the late undiſguiſed domination, of the court of Peterſburgh. What was the probability, they aſked, that Pruſſia would alter her bad ſyſtem of finance for the ſake of Poland, ſince ſhe had ſo long acknowledged its vices, yet had not reformed them for the ſake of her own ſubjects? Dantzic in their opinion was wholly inadequate to fill the void which would be left in the Pruſſian coffers from the propoſed reduction of duties; and they laughed at the guarantee of the two maritime powers, as any ſecurity againſt the infraction of the moſt ſolemn compacts, whenever they ſhould be found not to anſwer the hopes of Pruſſia. With ſimilar ridicule too they treated the notion of England going to war with Ruſſia, though, it was obſerved, that to ſeduce the Poles, the probability of ſuch an event had long been inſinuated in confidential notes and friendly letters. The parade of an Engliſh fleet in the Baltic, was made the ſubject of ſome pleaſantry, as dangerous only to itſelf, among the rocks and ſhoals of that tempeſtuous ſea; the utmoſt that it could do was ſaid to be no more than throwing half a dozen bombs to deſtroy the country houſes or warehouſes, poſſibly of as many Britiſh merchants, in Riga, Revel, or Cronſtadt. Againſt England they were peculiarly violent, in proportion to the confidence which was repoſed in her by Poland. They retaliated on her the accuſation of pride and haughtineſs, brought by all the combined powers againſt Ruſſia. If they were

to be credited, the cabinet of London insulted all mankind, and set the whole world in combustion. On the part of Russia, they endeavoured at once to intimidate and soothe. It was remarked that she had been outraged in a hundred different shapes by Poland, that she had now on the frontiers a victorious army of a hundred thousand men, and on the approaching peace would have in her hands the destiny of half the republic, by retaining the command of the Black Sea, and the rivers which empty themselves into it. At the same time, construing into a moderation of principle the necessary submission of that power to the exigency of her situation during the war, they represented that she had let Poland remain in peace; had not taxed the products of the Ukraine which she purchased, had demanded no sacrifices, and had entered into no unfriendly intrigues with foreign powers.

Most of these topics, and many more, were urged with much vivacity by M. Alteſti, the Russian secretary of legation, in a professed answer to the memoir ascribed to Mr. Hailes. He wears the same mask as the author of the memoir, but in such a manner that his own character is distinctly visible from beneath. It is this which gives weight to one passage too remarkable to be omitted, where the force of truth has extorted from him a strong testimony to virtue. He bestows much merited praise on the excellent temper shewn by the diet in the conduct of the revolution, which in fact had now taken place, and of which all that followed was only the necessary result *. "All "Europe (says he) is still in asto- "nishment at having seen a revo- "lution brought about with so "much tranquillity and good or- "der, in a country where hitherto "the least difference of opinion "produced discord and civil com- "motions. With the exception "of some tempestuous debates, "which have arisen in the bosom of "the assembled states, and which "the general opinion has always "stifled, it must be owned that "Poland on this occasion has given "an example worthy of being fol- "lowed by the most enlightened "nations."

The reply which soon appeared from the author of the Memoir, and which was written with great perspicuity and strength of reasoning, fully agreed in this praise of the diet. It justly describes "the "Polish revolution as the most use- "ful (if not the most striking) of "all that have taken place in Eu- "rope;" and remarks, to the credit of the nation, "that although a "foreign servitude is the most gal- "ling of all, and a people seldom "shakes off a yoke of that kind, "without running into some ex- "cesses, yet not a single Russian "had suffered from popular vio- "lence in his person or property, "since the commencement of the "great work of Polish indepen- "dence." The writer however foresaw the danger which soon overwhelmed all the labours of the diet, and in a more solemn and impressive tone, enforces the admonition which Mr. Hailes had given in both his official notes. "*The pre-* "*sent* (says he) *is big with the fu-*

* Examen du Memoire, &c. p. 6.

"*ture.*

"*ture* *. Never was there an epoch "so critical to the Poliſh nation. "On the approaching deciſion of "the diet reſpecting the queſtion "which we agitate, will depend "the happineſs, and perhaps the "exiſtence of the republic. Hea- "ven grant that every man who "is to give his voice on this occa- "ſion, may conſult only his con- "ſcience and his reaſon! He will "have to anſwer to God and his "country, if inconſiderately or "curruptly he concurs in the re- "fuſal of the offers, which are "made to the nation, in a moment "that never will return."

While this controverſy was proceeding, the courts moſt concerned took ſuch meaſures as might beſt ſuit the purpoſes of their reſpective partizans in Poland. The empreſs Catherine endeavoured to inſpire fear, by ſhewing, that what might be paſſed in ſilence at the moment, was not therefore buried in oblivion; and by accumulating pretences for a future quarrel. Her miniſter at Warſaw, after a lapſe of eighteen months, now demanded ſatisfaction for the condemnation and execution of ſome Ruſſian merchants in Volhinia, found guilty of the conſpiracy and rebellion in 1789. Frederick-William, on his part, endeavoured to remove whatever diſtruſt of him might have been occaſioned by miſrepreſentations, now artfully propagated. Count Goltz, who had ſucceeded the Marquis Lucheſini as miniſter from Pruſſia, formally and repeatedly diſowned the charge of a partition, which was ſaid to have been propoſed by his court to that of Vienna. He declared that his maſter had no intention whatever of obtaining Dantzic, but by the free conſent of the republic. In this he was corroborated by the aſſurances of the Engliſh and Dutch envoys, who now, in their conferences with the committee, preſſed in the moſt urgent manner the ceſſion of Dantzic, as the corner ſtone and eſſential baſis of the projected commercial and political alliances. A ſimilar requeſt too was reported to have been made by the divan. The members of the committee were in ſome degree ſhaken, and undertook at leaſt to bring the ſubject before the ſtates, by reporting what paſſed with the miniſters of the maritime powers.

On this report the queſtion came to be diſcuſſed. Two nights were occupied with it in tumultuous debates; the firſt with locked doors. Staniſlaus Auguſtus felt all the difficulty of his ſituation. He well knew that every hope of effective and ſyſtematic ſupport from the allies, depended on the adoption of the overtures now made. If they were rejected, the nation, which had gone too far to retreat, muſt rely chiefly on her own internal means, for the final eſtabliſhment of her independency and happineſs. On the other hand, the cardinal law lately paſſed with ſuch prompt unanimity, and attended with ſo general a popularity, forbade him to recommend the ceſſion of Dantzic. Had he attempted it, he would have had little chance of prevailing, and the certainty of loſing the affections of his people. He ſpoke twice; but embarraſſed by this alternative of March 29th.

* Thoſe words are ſo marked with Italics in the original. See Replique a l'Examen, &c. pp. 37 and 38.

evils, so distressing in either choice, he confined himself to a statement of the reasons on both sides, and ended without pronouncing any decision of his own. Yet even to have been undecided, after the sentiments which he had expressed or implied on former occasions, shewed how much he thought the question varied by the intervention of the two maritime powers. It was in effect a declaration in favour of the proposals made by them. Had he seen an opportunity, from the disposition of the diet, it is probable that he would have more openly taken that line which his prudence approved, of sacrificing a part for the safety and well-being of the whole. But the spirit which reigned among the nuncios did not permit him. Their language was warm and lofty, and they threatened to break off all ulterior negociation. Nothing more could be effected by the influence of the king, and the moderation of the more sober-minded of the senators, than to procure an answer, which avoiding a direct refusal to cede Dantzic, did not absolutely preclude a future re-consideration of the subject; though the majority of the states certainly regarded their own vote as a final rejection, and it was so interpreted by the cabinet of Berlin. A resolution was passed, instructing the committee of foreign affairs * to acquaint the envoys of the maritime powers, "that the negociation would be continued on matters of policy and commerce, but that they had obtained no resolution of the states concerning the cession of Dantzic."

March 31st.

It was upon one of the days when the diet was thus employed, that the British parliament for the first time debated the message from the throne which called on the nation to support by arms, if necessary, the balance of the North. It professed indeed another ground of interference, but an opinion has been already intimated that it looked also toward Poland; and all the circumstances and dates more and more confirm that opinion. The event has been already related in the last volume of this work. The minister, in the midst of apparent victory, felt himself too weak to proceed, and to this failure the Polish envoy here did not scruple to attribute the subsequent calamities of his country.

Thus, in one and the same day, the king of Prussia was baffled in the great objects of his plans and intrigues for years: Poland refused the cession of Dantzic, under circumstances which hardly left the hope of a future change in her sentiments; and England, though for political purposes making a shew of vigour, gave him to understand that she could afford him no aid in case of an actual rupture. From Holland, without England, he knew that he had little to expect; and about the same period he learned that the government there also was unable to carry the nation along with it into a war.

* In the official paper published at Berlin some few days after, this answer is made a little more direct, it is there stated to have been, "that they had obtained "no resolution of the states concerning the cession of Dantzic, and that the negociation *could not* be continued, *but* simply on matters of policy and commerce." But all the letters and advices immediately from Warsaw, seem to agree in representing the vote rather in the manner stated above.

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The ultimate determination however of the two maritime powers was not yet known. But after the ceſſion of Dantzic had been denied to the united inſtances of all the allies, Staniſlaus Auguſtus ſaw that what remained to be done muſt be accelerated. Prudence, which before dictated caution, now urged diſpatch. New impediments were every day ſtarting up in the congreſs of Siſtovia, and it became more and more manifeſt, that the preſent ſituation of things could not laſt: it muſt ſoon reſolve itſelf into a ſettled peace or actual war; and it was of the firſt importance to the future proſpects of Poland, that either event ſhould find her new conſtitution eſtabliſhed. The king therefore now began to purſue a more explicit and ſteady conduct.

In truth a ſlight incident had early encouraged him, by ſhewing how well affected the whole body of the diet was to the increaſe of the royal power, and in a manner deciding by anticipation the great article of the hereditary ſucceſſion, which had ſo long been before the public, but which hitherto none had thought it wiſe to bring to a direct queſtion. M. Niemecewitz, a young man of wit and talents, who had been elected to ſerve for the palatinate of Livonia, had written a little dramatic piece, in which he introduced the political topics of the day. It was called, "The young "Nuncio's Return to his Father in "the Country." The plot of it was a mere vehicle to contraſt the prejudices of an old Sarmatian with the more liberal ſentiments of the riſing generation. Of courſe one principal point in the dialogue was the diſcuſſion about the power of the crown, and the hereditary ſucceſſion to the throne, on which, as on all the other points, the ſuperiority was given to the young nuncio. The piece fell in with the prevalent notions, and was received with great applauſe. This irritated the ſmall party who had been inſtructed by their conſtituents to oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of an hereditary monarchy, and M. Suchorzewſki, a man of vehement and popular eloquence, ſeriouſly moved an impeachment againſt the author. He ſupported his motion by the authority of the *pacta-conventa*, by which any attempt to introduce an hereditary ſucceſſion was declared to be treaſon. His accuſation however was only treated with laughter.

The opinion thus ineffectually attacked daily gained ground. It was recommended in various publications, which as the diſcuſſion proceeded increaſed in ſpirit and energy. The majority of the diet now grew more and more importunate with the king, no longer to reſiſt the wiſhes of his people. They loudly declared that the deareſt intereſts, and even the ſalvation of his country depended on his compliance. But ſome few preparatory meaſures were ſtill requiſite.

The law for regulating the future dietines had been reported from the committee, and received by the diet. It confirmed all the ancient powers and privileges of the equeſtrian order, except that it made a qualification of ſome real landed property indiſpenſable, unleſs in the caſe of brothers not having divided their inheritance, all of whom had votes, and the eldeſt ſon of a landed proprietor, who voted in right of his entail, though he had no ſeparate eſtabliſhment. At the ſame time proviſion was made for letting

letting the monied intereſt, by a future law, into a ſhare with the landed intereſt. All perſons being in poſſeſſion of lands under a judgment in an action of debt, voted as the legal proprietors, and all mortgagees and life-holders of lands, paying fifty ſhillings a year to the land-tax, had votes alſo. Theſe regulations were the more important from the power of the dietines, ſince in them was the right of electing not only deputies to the diet every two years, but commiſſioners alſo, of very large authority in the internal adminiſtration of their reſpective diſtricts: who as well as the nuncios were to account for their conduct to the dietines at certain intervals.

This law was ſoon followed by another, long and anxiouſly expected, to fix and ſettle the privileges of the royal free towns, and their inhabitants. The ſubject was reſumed on a report of the vice-chancellor count Creptowitz. The heads of all parties ſeemed to be united in favour of the citizens and burghers. The king himſelf earneſtly eſpouſed their cauſe. M. Niemecewitz emulouſly contended on the ſame ſide with his late accuſer M. Suchorzewſki, and the latter is ſaid to have been aſſiſted by prince Adam Czartoriſki, who to conciliate him as much as poſſible to the king's views, put the buſineſs more immediately into his hands. A committee was appointed, and a law at length paſſed on the motion of M. Suchorzewſki. All the articles of the memorial preſented in 1789, (except only the demand that the cities and towns ſhould all be repreſented) were granted, and many important conceſſions added. As to their ſhare in the repreſentation, they were to have only twenty-one plenipotentiaries in all, ſeven from each of the three provinces; who were to have a power of voting in the diet on queſtions of trade, commerce, and all regulations of towns; but on other more general ſubjects could only adviſe; and theſe plenipotentiaries, after ſerving two years, were to become actually ennobled. Every citizen or burgher (to whom the profeſſions of arms and the law were now open) became in like manner actually ennobled as ſoon as he roſe to the command of a company in the army, and at the bar to the rank of a regent or recorder. All of this claſs could now hold lands under an adjudication for debt, and thus obtain votes in the dietines; by the law juſt paſſed they could alſo purchaſe lands, and if they became proprietors of eſtates paying five pounds a year to the land-tax, they acquired nobility at the ſame time: to which muſt be added, that thirty other citizens, poſſeſſing landed property of inferior value, were to be ennobled at the beginning of every diet. The principle of combining and amalgamating the two intereſts of landed and monied property, was thus wiſely carried into effect, and while the neceſſitous part of the nobility might have retrieved the ſplendor of their families by the arts of induſtry, without degradation from their rank, the more eminent individuals of the mercantile claſs would have furniſhed gradual and regular ſupplies of new merit to the equeſtrian order.

March 1ſt.

April 18th.

The joy of the citizens was now equal to their former ſolicitude and deſpondence. Nothing was heard but gratitude to the nobles, and the moſt enthuſiaſtic effuſions of loyalty

to

to the king. The ſacrifice of pious praiſe was offered up to the Divine Goodneſs in the churches of Warſaw for this new revolution, as it was called, without bloodſhed, without recourſe to any of thoſe extremities which at that moment diſtracted and convulſed other nations. After this firſt duty had been performed, deputations were appointed to return formal thanks to the marſhals of the diet, and "the beſt of kings," as he was ſtyled in the addreſs. On receiving the deputies, Staniſlaus Auguſtus aſked one of them, If they would always continue equally to love him? To all eternity, anſwered the citizen, embracing the king's knees. The palace rang with cries of "long live Staniſlaus Auguſtus;" and the king, turning to one of the lords in waiting, ſaid "Now do I "feel myſelf doubly a king." Still farther to mark his ſerious approbation of the new law, the king conferred a vacant blue riband on M. Suchorzewſki, the mover of it.

Little now remained to be done but to ratify by law the change in the tenure of the crown, and the ſecurity for the gradual emancipation of the peaſantry, both of which had been propoſed in the report on the conſtitution made the preceding year, though neither of them had yet been expreſsly diſcuſſed; and to arrange the diſtribution of power between the legiſlative, executive, and judicial bodies. The moment was preſſing. The two main pillars of the ſtate, the landed and the monied intereſts, were yet warm with the firſt glow of gratitude for the benefits enſured to them. Nothing was wanted to attach them more. On the contrary, every delay brought freſh danger both from within and without.

From the moment that the diet, on its firſt opening, determined to proceed at once to the practical form of the future conſtitution, meetings and conſultations were had to digeſt a plan in detail, and the king himſelf now took a lead in them. The marſhal Malachowſki was a principal adviſer, the other marſhal, prince Sapieha, from his near relation to the grand general Branicki, and the line of politics which he generally purſued, was not truſted. It was determined to bring forward this plan, though not wholly perfect in all its parts. The 5th of May is ſaid to have been fixed for that purpoſe. But a diſcovery having been made of ſome political intrigues employed, and money diſtributed, to prevent, or at leaſt to retard the plan, it was reſolved to haſten the execution. Accordingly about ſixty members of the diet aſſembled in the king's chamber early on the morning of the 3d of May, May 3d, and there took an oath, in the preſence of the king, to effect the revolution that day, nor ſeparate till it was completely eſtabliſhed.

A general expectation of ſome important event that day prevailed. The galleries of the hall where the diet aſſembles were crouded at an early hour, and a multitude who could not gain admiſſion ſurrounded the doors. The proceedings of this memorable day have been variouſly related. The beſt * accounts publiſhed in France tell us, that the minds of the audience were prepared by one of the nuncios entruſted with the ſecret, who proclaimed the deſign of a new partition by the three

* La Croix ſur les Conſtitutions des principaux Etats de l'Europe, tom. 3. p. 284.

neighbouring

neighbouring powers, and called for official explanations on the ſubject; which having been given in a manner calculated to excite alarm and indignation, a ferment enſued, and in the midſt of it the plan of the conſtitution known to be under conſideration was demanded. One of the members is ſaid to have then moved to clear the galleries, but in vain. The plan was read; and a tumultuous debate enſued, till the king aroſe, and delivered his opinion with great force for the immediate adoption of the plan. But it has been generally received here, that as ſoon as the diet was opened by the marſhals, the king himſelf, changing the order of the buſineſs for that day, called their attention to the ſtate of the nation. He ſaid in ſubſtance, that, notwithſtanding all aſſurances to the contrary, there was an alarming rumour, confirmed by the advices daily received, that the three neighbouring powers would make up and terminate all their jealouſies and diviſions at the expence of the poſſeſſions of the republic; that the only method of aſſuring to Poland the integrity of its dominions, and of preſerving it from the ruin which foreign politics were preparing for it, was, to eſtabliſh a conſtitution which would ſecure its internal independence; that in this view, there had been prepared a plan of a conſtitution, founded principally on thoſe of England and the united ſtates of America, but avoiding the faults and errors of both, and adapting itſelf, as much as poſſible, to the local and particular circumſtances of the country. In ſupport of the information relative to the foreign powers, the king communicated to the diet ſome diſpatches received from the miniſters of the republic at foreign courts, ſtating how eager they were to oppoſe all ſettlement of the conſtitution, and that every thing ſeemed to announce deſigns hoſtile to Poland: and in concluſion he directed the plan of the conſtitution to be read, and recommended it to their inſtant acceptance.

A long and warm diſcuſſion now took place. One of the minority ſeemed deſirous of provoking violence; and the other ſide of the houſe was endeavouring to ſilence him with clamour, when the king interfered to obtain for him a fair hearing. Indeed he exerted himſelf, through the whole buſineſs of the day, to preſerve order, decency, and freedom of debate. Neither did he manifeſt any eagerneſs to avail himſelf of the ſentiments of a very decided majority. He declared, that as to himſelf individually, he could not accept the new conſtitution unleſs he were fully abſolved, by the general will of the ſtates in diet aſſembled, from the engagement to which he had ſworn, of not giving his ſanction to the nomination of a ſucceſſor during his own life. "We abſolve you!" was the immediate cry of the diet, "and we farther bind ourſelves not "to ſeparate till a final deciſion on "the preſent debate be obtained." The king then reſumed his ſpeech, and directed the marſhals of the diet to take the opinion of the members individually, that the ſenſe of the nation might be better known. The marſhals, in conſequence, ordered ſuch as were adverſe to the new conſtitution, to ſignify their determination ſeverally and aloud.

All the deputies of Volhinia and Podolia oppoſed it, and M. Suchorzewſki combated it with vehemence,

mence. He advanced, and threw himself at the foot of the throne, beseeching his majesty not to consent to the establishment of an hereditary monarchy. It would be, he said, the grave of the liberty of Poland. Others of the representatives, who were on the same side of the question, alledged the want of instructions from their constituents; while some, unwilling directly to object, desired time to deliberate, according to the usual forms of the diet. But M. Zabiello, a nuncio of Livonia, arose and conjured the king no longer to hesitate in gratifying the wishes of the majority. At the same time the greater part of the nuncios, the senators and ministers, rose from their seats, and pressed towards the throne, joining with loud and importunate intreaties in the request of M. Zabiello.

Overcome by their solicitations, Stanislaus Augustus at length called to him the bishop of Cracow to administer the oath; and, that he might be more conspicuous, stood upon one of the seats while he was taking it. The majority imitated his example, holding up their right hands: "Now let all who love their country," exclaimed his majesty, "follow me to the church, and "there, upon the altar of God, re-"peat this oath." Between thirty and forty only of the nuncios remained behind. In the mean time an immense multitude flocked round the king to the church, where the oath was renewed. When it came to the turn of prince Sapieha to swear, he made a short speech; "I never followed (said he) the "impulse of any party, foreign or "domestic, but have always governed my conduct by my own "internal conviction, and my sincere love of my country. In "conformity with these principles, "I advised time to deliberate on a "constitution, which I had seen "and heard read for the first time. "It contains some points, which, in "my opinion, might be mended. "But since the king, since my colleagues, and so many respectable "nuncios have approved it; as "moreover the misfortune of any "intestine dissention is more to be "feared than that of a constitution "in some points imperfect; I am "willing also to make my offering "on the altar of my country." He then took the oath, and was followed by all the remaining nuncios. After the ceremony was concluded, solemn praise was given to God, and the celebration of this most acceptable service to the Author of all good, was announced to the people by the discharge of 200 pieces of cannon. The king afterwards returned, and adjourned the diet to the 5th of May, charging the marshals in the mean time to take measures for giving the new oath to all the departments. The minority entered into a resolution to protest against the proceedings of the day, and then retired to their own houses, without suffering any injury, or even insult. In the streets of Warsaw reigned a joy sincere and pure, unalloyed by a single act or word that might disgrace the auspicious occasion. Nor did any accident happen, worthy of being mentioned, except one little circumstance, which was interpreted into a prosperous omen to the king. He lost his hat; but, it was added, * he found a crown. Perhaps at

* La Croix, ib. p. 286.

the

the preſent moment a ſuperſtitious mind might ſee a very different prognoſtic in that loſs. Many trifling incidents of a ſimilar kind, which have been recorded by hiſtorians, might have equally borne a meaning accommodated to either event.

The code of this new conſtitution comprized the ſubſtance of all the cardinal laws which had been paſſed the preceding year, that relative to the integrity of the domains of the republic alone excepted; it incorporated into itſelf the two laws recently paſſed, and was in all points the fair ſequel and reſult of the project ſubmitted to the diet nine months before. It has been inſerted at length in * another part of this work. They who wiſh to be acquainted with it in its whole ſcope and extent, will conſult it there: ſome few remarks only ſeem to be demanded here, on the prerogatives and franchiſes which it gave to the two remaining ſtates, the higheſt and the loweſt in the community, the king and the peaſant.

The power of the crown under it was not great in direct prerogatives, but in the ſhape of indirect influence very conſiderable. All the ſenators were of the nomination of the king, in virtue of offices which they held, and which though not revocable at pleaſure, yet differing in dignity and emolument, kept all in a ſort of dependence from the hope of promotion; and from its number the ſenate would principally have decided all *particular laws*, a large claſs, comprehending all the diplomacy of the country, and indeed every thing except civil and criminal juriſprudence, conſtitutional ſtatutes, and perpetual taxes, which were to be reckoned *general laws*. The king had not indeed any negative, but he had an important prerogative of directing in ſome degree the courſe of buſineſs in the diet; ſince among general laws, the ſubjects propoſed in the royal writs to the dietines, and among particular laws, all meſſages from the throne, were to have a priority of diſcuſſion and deciſion; and the legal duration of an ordinary diet was only for ſix weeks, of which not more than half was uſually ſpent in buſineſs. In his council the king alone was to determine; though if no miniſter would make himſelf reſponſible for carrying the royal determination into execution, the matter was to be finally referred to the great national council of the diet; and to the king in his council were to be ſubject the four great commiſſions of the treaſury, of war, of police, and of education. The king was alſo to have the command of the troops in time of war, if he pleaſed to take the field, and to have the whole patronage of the army and the church.

It is true, that the code referred to ſubſequent regulations affecting this patronage, as well as to a law reſpecting the diets, by which the number of members in each houſe reſpectively, and the duration of the ſeſſions were to be ſettled. Theſe might make much difference in the extent of the king's influence. There was alſo a very important queſtion hanging over, concerning the ſtaroſties or crown fiefs, which, under one of the conſtitutional codes im-

* See State Papers for 1791, from p. 177 to 200.

poſed

poſed on the republic by the neighbouring powers, but lately abrogated, were to have ſunk, as they became vacant, into the coffers of the ſtate. Still the influence of the crown would be great, and in the reign of the future dynaſty, would naturally be ſtrengthened by the hereditary ſucceſſion. It was a great ſtep to have ſurmounted the prejudices of the Poliſh nobility, who had long been accuſtomed to conſider the debility of the royal prerogatives as neceſſary to the ſecurity of their own liberties.

What was gained to the peaſants ſeems indeed to be little; but was of the higheſt moment. They were taken under the protection of the law, and courts of juſtice erected for them. This was before the privilege of the royal peaſants only. But that which moſt intereſted them and the country was the enactment, that all grants, contracts, and agreements, even with their lords, were to be binding in perpetuity. To enfranchiſe peaſants was become * a ſort of faſhion among the better and more enlightened nobles; but the next heir coming into poſſeſſion, might reduce them to bondage again. Now their liberty was fixed for ever by the conſtitution of their country.

In this part of the conſtitution, however, there was one paſſage, which, juſt and wiſe as it was in itſelf, cannot but have excited jealouſy and alarm in the neighbouring ſtates: it is that which publiſhed and proclaimed "a perfect and entire liberty to all "people, either who may be newly "coming from whatever part of the "world to ſettle, or who, having "emigrated, ſhall return to their "native country." This would have made Poland an aſylum to the peaſants of the ſurrounding nations; that claſs of men, in the conterminous poſſeſſions of the great neighbouring powers, being for the moſt part in a ſtate of ſlavery. It would have operated ſtill more powerfully on the diſtricts diſmembered by thoſe powers from Poland. A ſimilar edict of the Empreſs Catherine in 1766, gave great diſquiet to ſeveral of the circles of Germany; ſo much ſo that the directors of Bavaria addreſſed a letter to all the ſtates of their diviſion, as well as to the circles of Franconia and Suabia, pointing out to them how much the drafts made in conſequence on their dominions had "diminiſhed the po-"pulation of the country, rendered "the peaſants who remained diſ-"contented and ſeditious, and in-"ſpired them with revolutionary "notions againſt their lords."—Such notions were much more eaſy to be inſpired now; but Ruſſia, at leaſt, could not blame the adoption of her own meaſure: nor would the general ſpirit of the times ſuffer any power that felt to avow ſuch an objection; though it may not the leſs have been a motive of ſubſequent conduct.

* See ſome ſtriking inſtances mentioned in our laſt volum. Hiſt. Art. p. 207.

CHAP. IV.

Re-acceptance and enforcement of the new conſtitution by the diet. Good reception of it by the nation. Letter of Staniſlaus-Auguſtus to Frederick-William on the ſubject, and his anſwer of congratulation. The reſerved laws paſſed by the diet. Subſtance of thoſe laws. Diet proceeds on the civil and military codes. Army recruited and diſciplined. Propoſal for ſelling the ſtaroſties, and ſuppreſſing the orders of knighthood. King oppoſes both. Diet adjourned. Conſpiracy ſaid to be formed for carrying off the king. People ſhew much loyalty on the occaſion. Seditious movements in the Ukraine, Podolia, and Volhinia, ſuppreſſed by prince Joſeph Poniatowſki. Threatening aſpect of foreign affairs. Supposed treaty of Pilnitz. Rumours reſpecting it. Obſervations on the ſubject. Re-aſſembling of the diet. King announces that Leopold and Frederick-William had both expreſſed themſelves in favour of the new conſtitution. Declares his own adherence to it. Exhorts his people to defend it to death. States vote him a ſtatue. Faction againſt the new conſtitution. Cloſer union between Poland and Lithuania decreed. Sale of the ſtaroſties again agitated. King offers to the treaſury a tenth of lands aſſigned to maintain his table. Declined by the diet. Committee to inquire into the value of the ſtaroſties. Their ſale decreed by a ſmall majority. Proviſion in favour of poſſeſſors. Objections of the elector of Saxony to accept the reverſion of the crown, probably increaſed by ſale of the ſtaroſties. The terms of his acceptance ſtated. Auſtria and Pruſſia diſpoſed to diſarm after the conference at Pilnitz. Affairs of France prevent that meaſure. Smooth progreſs of the treaty between Ruſſia and the Porte. Catherine diſapproves the new conſtitution of Poland. Urges Auſtria and Pruſſia to a war with France. Draws her troops to the frontiers of Poland. Her emiſſaries excite diſcontents in that country. Has ſeveral partiſans of rank there. Diet makes a law to prevent proteſts againſt the new conſtitution. Minority becomes deſperate. Tumultuous debates in the diet. Appointments held by non-conformiſts declared vacant, and ordered to be filled up. Diet proceeds with the new code. Politicians of a dangerous claſs begin to take the lead among the people. Adopt French principles, and ſpread diſcontents. Nobles alarmed at the increaſe and influence of clubs. Dietines meet. Ratify the acts of the double diet. Approve all its proceedings. Give the king the title of "Benevolent Father of his people." Diet meets. A temple to be erected to Providence, and a feſtival decreed on the 3d of May. Several nuncios withdraw their proteſts. Diet prorogued. Poliſh and French revolutions, though widely differing in principle, yet very generally confounded. King of Pruſſia diſguſted with French principles. War inevitable between France and the empire. Frederick-William not inclined to aſſiſt Poland. Probable reaſons for this diſinclination. His intention of not aſſiſting Poland officially notified at Warſaw. Auſtria evades giving a direct anſwer on the ſubject. Plenipotentiary from court of Dreſden to that of Warſaw on Poliſh affairs. Peace between Ruſſia and the Porte ratified. Noble Poliſh emigrants invited to Peterſburgh. Well received by Catherine. Inſulted by

the populace. Catherine's conduct hoſtile to Poland. Poland prepares for her defence. Sends an army of obſervation to the Ukraine. Diet meets. Decree for completing the army to 100,000 *men. Means of farther augmenting the armed force of the republic. Staniſlaus-Auguſtus makes farther ſacrifices of his rights and poſſeſſions. Decree reſpecting confiſcated property. Ruſſian armies march towards Poland and Lithuania. France declares war againſt Auſtria; and immediately on that event, Ruſſia declares war againſt Poland. Invades Poliſh territories. Poliſh hiſtory concluded for the preſent. French affairs reſumed.*

THE poſt, which had been ſtopped on the day of the revolution, was permitted to depart on the following day, when diſpatches were ſent off in every direction. On the ſame day eighteen of the nuncios publiſhed a proteſt; and M. Suchorzewſki returned to the king the blue riband with which he had ſo lately been honoured.

May 5th. When the diet met on the 5th, the code of the new conſtitution was again propoſed, and ſubſcribed by all the members then preſent. It was read and paſſed, article by article, and ſentence by ſentence.

The ſtates, on this ſecond reading, added a manly and ſpirited declaration. They confirmed by it every paragraph of the articles; recommended to the executive power to put the council of inſpection immediately in the exerciſe of its functions; and renewed their oath, commanding all magiſtrates and troops preſent to take the ſame without delay, and the reſt of the army within a month. Nor did they forget to give glory, in the pious humility of true virtue, to the Supreme Diſpoſer of nations. They deſired the biſhops to appoint a public thankſgiving on the ſame day throughout the kingdom; ordered the future celebration of an anniverſary, in memory of the mercies thus ſhewn to them; and decreed the erection and conſecration of a church, inſcribed "to the Divine "Providence, in order to eternize "the remembrance of a revolution "effected almoſt unanimouſly, and "without the loſs of a ſingle drop "of blood."

Having thus ſatisfied (as they ſay) their general feelings on the event, they turned their attention to ſecure the conſtitution, by declaring and enacting, that whoever ſhould dare to oppoſe it, ſhould be puniſhed as traitors to their country; and they ordered immediate proceedings to that end before the comitial tribunal at Warſaw, which was to ſit without interruption. The army, under the orders of the executive power, was to aſſiſt in ſeizing all perſons indicted by the law-officers. This was a vigorous meaſure, and, in conjunction with the language of the preamble, evinced a reſolution to defend, againſt all internal factions as well as external enemies, the truly glorious edifice which they had raiſed.

The reception of love and gratitude which the new conſtitution had already experienced among all ranks in the capital, worked as it ought to do on the minds of the minority in the diet. Count Branicki, whom the king on this occaſion particularly courted, on account of his connection with prince Potemkin, and his authority among the

Ruſſian party in the diet, now ſubſcribed the act; and chancellor Malachowſki, brother of the marſhal, having reſigned the ſeals immediately on the event, ſoon after re-accepted them, as the miniſter of juſtice.

May 7th. Univerſals were now diſpatched by the marſhals to tell the nation what had paſſed, and to direct the obſervance of the new conſtitution. In theſe the project of a partition was aſſerted to have been entertained by foreign powers, and the conduct of the king was the theme of much praiſe and veneration. There were very few places which did not clearly and ſtrongly mark their ſatisfaction in all that had been done. In Warſaw particularly, a club was formed, under the name of The Friends to the Conſtitution of the 3d of May 1791; medals were ſtruck; and inſcriptions, expreſſive of loyalty to the king, and attachment to the conſtitution, were worn on various ornaments of female dreſs. Yet there was a ſurd murmur that ran through ſome of the diſtricts where Ruſſia had moſt influence, and many anonymous libels of a virulent kind were from time to time publiſhed.

To the king of Pruſſia the intelligence was not only communicated by count Goltz, but Staniſlaus-Auguſtus himſelf addreſſed a letter to him on the ſubject, and ſent it by count Staniſlaus Potocki, a nobleman who, it has been ſeen, was not only much in his maſter's confidence, but had been a principal actor in the revolution. The anſwer to both was favourable. Count Goltz loſt no time in delivering to

May 16th. the king and the diet the congratulations with which he was officially charged by his ſovereign. The approbation there contained ſeemed to be ſufficiently full; but what paſſed immediately between the two monarchs was ſtill more apparently ſatisfactory. "The earneſtneſs dated
"which I ſhewed (ſaid May 23d.
"Frederick-William)
"to make my manner of thinking
"known with regard to that event,
"ought to convince you and the
"whole Poliſh nation of the in-
"tereſt which I take in it. I feli-
"citate myſelf on having been able
"to contribute to the maintenance
"of the liberty and independence of
"the republic, and one of my moſt
"agreeable employments will be
"that of preſerving and ſtrengthen-
"ing the bonds which unite us. I
"could not but applaud more par-
"ticularly the choice which has been
"made of a prince, whom his vir-
"tues render worthy of the throne
"that awaits him. It is my wiſh,
"however, that your majeſty,
"through a long ſucceſſion of years,
"may continue to beſtow happineſs
"on your people." It ſhould however be obſerved, that it does not appear whether the king of Pruſſia had then the whole code, together with the two incorporated laws, before him, ſo as to have examined it deliberately in all its bearings and coincidences. From the correſpondence itſelf, it is rather to be collected that he had not.

The laws for which a reſervation had been made, as neceſſary to complete the conſtitution, proceeded all this while with little obſtruction; one to regulate the future diets; another to define the duties of the king's council; and a third appointing an extraordinary diet, after a period of twenty-five years, to reviſe the conſtitution. Some progreſs

too was made in the civil and criminal code, which, in honour of the king, was to be called the code of Staniſlaus-Auguſtus. The miniſters who were to form the new council were named; the committee of foreign affairs was in conſequence ſuppreſſed, but with honourable teſtimony of its ſervices; a project for the new commiſſion of police was approved unanimouſly, notwithſtanding that ſeveral of the nobles thought they perceived in it ſomething derogatory to their privileges; comitial judges were choſen from the diet to take cognizance of all ſtate crimes, eſpecially againſt the new conſtitution; and the commiſſion of war was ordered to do its duty, in calling all abſent officers to their corps for the purpoſe of taking the new oath; a reſolution, intended to lead to the removal of count Szizneſa Potocki from the command of the artillery, and his friend general Rzewuſki from his military rank. Though the probability of peace among the neighbouring powers every day increaſed, yet the recruiting and diſciplining of the Poliſh army went on with redoubled alacrity.

It cannot be matter of ſurpriſe, if, heated by all that had been done, and eager for diſtinction, ſome men ſhould attempt things more popular than conſiſtent with the ſober principle which had hitherto characterized the acts and proceedings of the diet. One of theſe ſchemes was to convert the ſtaroſties into immediate profit to the public treaſury; but the king ſtrongly reſiſted the propoſition, contending, for that time victoriouſly, in a very affecting ſpeech, that every thing ſhould be left on the ancient footing. And upon another occaſion, when the abolition of the orders of knighthood was propoſed, he ſtill more diſtinguiſhed himſelf, taking that opportunity of introducing his ſentiments on the French revolution. "Characteriſtic marks of the orders "of knighthood (ſaid he) are uſed "in all countries. I did not introduce them in Poland. They "are of no prejudice to civil equality, rightly underſtood; and I "ought not to be envied the ſatisfaction of being able to decorate, ſince I have it ſo little in "my power to reward, thoſe who "do ſervice to me and to the ſtate. "We ſee a recent example, in a "country late ſo flouriſhing and "rich, where the principle ſo agreeable to the multitude, that every "thing ſhould be put on a level, "has been puſhed to the extreme; "the reſult is, that every thing "there has been overturned; and "that ſtate, which properly held "the balance among the powers of "Europe, is actually become of as "little importance, as if it had no "real exiſtence."

The middle of July was now come, and the meetings growing daily thinner, the diet was at length adjourned. The king went to reſide at Lazienſki, a ſmall palace not far from Warſaw; and whether the memory of his former danger worked on the preſent anxiety of his people for his ſafety, or that a conſpiracy was actually formed to ſeize and carry him thence, is uncertain; but an alarm of ſuch a deſign was ſpread. The guard was doubled; the artillery loaded; and the citizens of Warſaw crowded to the palace to manifeſt their zeal for their beloved monarch. The young men

inſtantly aſſociated in defence of his perſon, and the conſtitution, which ſeemed to be menaced in him. About the ſame time prince Joſeph Poniatowſki ſucceeded in ſuppreſſing ſome ſeditious movements in the Ukraine, and ſhortly after in Podolia and Volhinia.

Such were the pleaſing appearances at home; but the complexion of affairs abroad diſquieted the king and his new council. It had become ſufficiently evident by this time, that the allies were not inclined to riſk a war with Ruſſia in favour of the Porte; beſides, the captivity of Louis the XVIth. and the actual ſituation of France, imperiouſly called the attention of them all to that quarter, and left them, in the affairs of the North, at the mercy of the empreſs Catherine. Neither had Poland in particular given them any great inducement to venture much in her favour, beyond what their immediate intereſts or their poſitive engagements demanded. The commercial treaties had ſlept, ſince the refuſal to cede Dantzic. Nothing had lately been ſaid on the ſubject by Frederick-William; but he was neceſſarily more and more diſſatisfied in that reſpect, from the manner in which that city was mentioned in the law concerning the privileges of cities, and the confirmation of that law by the new conſtitution, now made unalterable for five and twenty years. The Porte had ſuſpended all negociations, becauſe Poland had refuſed to make her treaty offenſive as well as defenſive; nor could any protection indeed be expected from that broken, exhauſted, and diſpirited power, whatever might have been the inclination of the divan. On the other hand, Ruſſia, more triumphant in the cabinet than ſhe could have promiſed to her own moſt ſanguine hopes, at the period when the new conſtitution was accepted by the diet, could not be ſuppoſed likely to ſuffer in quiet the eſtabliſhment of independency, and the formation of a reſpectable army, in a country which ſhe had before governed almoſt as one of her own provinces; and the hoſtility, or even the neutrality of which, in future wars, would always embarraſs her operations againſt the Ottoman empire. In this arduous ſituation the king thought it moſt prudent to call around him the marſhal Malachowſki, and ſome of the leading members of the diet, that he and his council might be aſſiſted with their advice.

The acquieſcence of the allies in the terms offered by Ruſſia to the Porte, was ſoon followed by intelligence of a cloſer approximation between the emperor Leopold and the king of Pruſſia. Their purpoſe, as it was communicated by the Poliſh miniſter at Vienna to his court, was to conclude a treaty of mutual guarantee, on account of the democratic fermentation then working on all ſides. It was not known (he ſaid) whether any ſtipulation in it would relate to the new conſtitution of Poland. In truth the preliminary articles of an alliance, which* has always been repreſented by the contracting powers themſelves as *defenſive*, were ſigned about that time. July 25th. No copy of theſe articles was ever

* See the inſtructions of prince Kaunitz to M. Blumendorf, among the State Papers, p. 222. and the circular letter addreſſed to all the miniſters of the emperor and empire, ib. p. 229.

publiſhed

publiſhed by authority; no paper, purporting to be a copy of them, was ever circulated. The only part that we know, is a ſhort abſtract of one article relative to France, which was cited by prince Kaunitz, in his official correſpondence that preceded the war with that country. Indeed, the approaching interview, which was already fixed to take place at Pilnitz, attracted the eyes of all mankind; and, as muſt always be the effect of ſuch congreſſes, filled every ſtate in Europe with curioſity, ſuſpence, conjecture, and jealouſy. It was thought impoſſible that two great potentates could meet without ſome important and extraordinary ſubject of ſuch a conference; and whatever has followed in the north or in the ſouth, has been aſcribed to ſome ſecret treaty then ſigned.

A paper, conſiſting of ſix articles, has been ſent into the world, as containing the ſubſtance of that treaty, but it remains to this day wholly unauthenticated: elſe the contents of it are not abhorrent from the circumſtances and ſentiments of the ſuppoſed parties. The ſecond and the ſixth articles only, in any way relate to Poland. By the ſecond the contracting powers engage to uſe their endeavours for bringing the empreſs of Ruſſia into their deſign of raiſing the houſe of Saxony to the hereditary throne of Poland. This, as far as it goes, is in direct confirmation of the new conſtitution. By the ſixth article indeed, Leopold was to exert all his influence, both with the republic of Poland and the court of Peterſburgh, in favour of Frederick-William's pretenſions to Dantzic and Thorn; but this was by no means to be done in the way of a violent partition among the three neighbouring powers. It profeſſed amicable negociation on the face of it; and the conſideration to be received by Leopold, was not a new portion of territory around Cracow, but the ſupport of Frederick-William in the election of the arch-duke Francis to be king of the Romans, and his interpoſition with the other allies, for ſome modifications in the convention, guaranteed by them, concerning the Low Countries.

It is, however, almoſt evident, that no ſuch paper was ſigned at Pilnitz. Prince Kaunitz, in his official correſpondence before mentioned, refers to no document as executed at Pilnitz, except "the "declaration ſigned in common" by the two monarchs on the affairs of France; though he ſtates, and with apparent truth, all the different ſecret engagements on the ſubject of that country; and the firſt article of the pretended treaty not only is of that deſcription, but is leſs offenſive than other meaſures which he does mention. The preliminary articles of a defenſive treaty, he tells us, were ſigned a month before, on the 25th of July; and in the beginning of the following December, it appears from * a circular letter of the emperor, and another of the king of Pruſſia, that the defenſive treaty, of which the preliminary articles had been long ſince ſigned, remained ſtill to be definitively concluded. In fact, the firſt of the ſix articles called the treaty of Pilnitz, bears a near reſemblance to the preliminary article cited by prince Kaunitz as ſigned in July, and the whole ſet

* See our State Papers, p. 229, and p. 230.

of articles, if they be in any degree genuine, is more probably to be referred to the earlier date; but without some better authority *, the paper altogether must be excluded from a place in history.

The result of the new obligations contracted by the two monarchs, whatever they were, and of the interview at Pilnitz, whatever actually passed there, was understood in Poland to be favourable to her cause: it is indeed impossible to believe it to have been what has been commonly represented by the democratical faction all over Europe; an agreement for the actual partition of Poland, which has since taken place. No such plot could have been carried on and settled in two or three hours (for no longer were the illustrious guests in private) under the roof of a prince like the elector of Saxony, moderate, good, just, a paternal sovereign to his actual subjects, and who has gained nothing by the supposed sacrifice of a people entitled to his protection by all the claims of blood and gratitude. His conduct, as well as his declarations, shewed the fact to be otherwise. His minister at the court of Petersburgh was instructed officially to acquaint the Russian ministry with the events of the third of May in Poland, and the consequent interest of his highness in the fate of that country.

It is true, that to count Dzieduczyski, the Polish envoy at his court, the elector had started some objections, which made him hesitate to accept the crown. He thought the royal power too much enfeebled by limitations. But this was a fair subject of compromise; and on the re-assembling of the diet, Stanislaus-Augustus found himself war- September 25th.

* As the paper is not long, though, unauthenticated as it is, it cannot be received into our collection of state papers, we have thought right to preserve it here, that the reader may judge for himself:

I. To undertake in concert effectual measures *for the maintenance of treaties which exist with France*, to give weight to the representations yet to be made to that nation, and to invite all Europe to concur therein, in case these friendly representations should be unproductive.

II. The two parties, as soon as possible, will *endeavour to bring the court of Petersburgh into their design of raising the House of Saxony to the succession of the crown of Poland.*

III. They respectively reserve to themselves the power of changing, at their pleasure, any of their present or future acquisitions, observing in these changes the extent of the revenue, and likewise the constitution of the Germanic body. And in consequence they will treat with whomsoever this exchange may concern.

IV. They will also *treat respecting the diminution of their different armies*, as soon as their concerns with foreign powers will admit.

V. His Prussian majesty promises to the archduke Francis his vote to be king of the Romans, and likewise that he will not oppose any thing that may be provided for any of the archdukes, upon condition that it does not infringe on the Germanic constitution.

VI. In return, *the Emperor will employ his good offices with the court of Petersburgh and the republic of Poland in favour of the king of Prussia's pretensions to the cities of Thorn and Dantzic*; but again, in return, his imperial majesty expects that his Prussian majesty will exert himself with Britain and the states general of the United Provinces, in behalf of the wished-for modifications concluded in convention at the Hague on the subject of Belgic affairs.

ranted,

ranted, from the whole of the correſpondence with Dreſden, to announce his perſuaſion of a happy concluſion to the negociations in that quarter. He gave, as the reaſon of his expectations, that the emperor and king of Pruſſia had both declared themſelves, in reſpect to the ſucceſſion, agreeably to the wiſhes of the Poliſh nation. At the ſame time he expreſſed his own adherence to the new conſtitution in the ſtrongeſt language, and exhorted all his people to join with him in the reſolution of defending it to death. An unanimous approbation followed his ſpeech; and the ſtates voted a ſtatue to be erected to him.

But notwithſtanding this auſpicious re-commencement of buſineſs in the diet, every opportunity was taken, during the remainder of the year, by a ſmall but determined party, to attack the new conſtitution. It gathered ſtrength, it is true, from all theſe trials, in the public opinion; yet if its enemies thus ſhewed their weakneſs, they ſhewed alſo the violence of their animoſity againſt it. The king on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſtanding forth the warm and eloquent defender of his own work.

A meaſure which the king had much at heart, was to draw the bonds of confederation more cloſe between the kingdom of Poland and the grand dutchy of Lithuania, which together conſtituted what was properly called the republic of Poland; and to ſmooth the way for a perfect and intimate union. With this view, a propoſition was made for uniting the treaſuries and armies of the two nations, by means of joint commiſſioners, conſiſting of an equal number of both nations. At firſt it was ſtrongly oppoſed by the nuncios of Lithuania, but they afterwards gave their conſent; and an act was accordingly paſſed, profeſſedly looking forward alſo to other magiſtratures which might in future be formed for the two nations in common. It was declared to be an integral part of the act of union between the two members of the republic; to be taken as an article of the *pacta conventa* by the preſent king; and to be inſerted in thoſe of all his ſucceſſors. Octob. 20.

On the other hand, the queſtion of the ſtaroſties was renewed, and much perplexed the king. He had before ſtopped it by his interference in the manner already related. But now, the ſale of the foreſts and other demeſnes of the crown in France, ſuggeſted again to the heated minds of ſome of the nuncios, a ſimilar project with regard to the crown-fiefs of Poland. The prince primate, brother of the king, on this occaſion took the lead in reſiſting this ſcheme of ſpoliation. He conſidered it as an attack upon property, every kind of which was ſtrongly guaranteed by the new conſtitution. "He liked "not the principle; he ſtill leſs "liked the precedent on which this "act of oppreſſion and injuſtice was "to be reſted. He was afraid that "a habit of imitating the revolution "of another country, might in the "end introduce thoſe fatal lamps, "by the light of which the French "had extinguiſhed religion, ho-"nour, and common ſenſe." The ſubſtance of his ſpeech was afterwards put into a regular proteſt, and recorded. It made much impreſſion on the public. But the facility of acquiring to the ſtate a fund, which ſeemed in its origin to belong

to the ſtate, ſeduced too many to regard convenience rather than juſtice.

When the queſtion had been again and again debated, in the hope of prevailing on the ſtaroſts to come forward, and by the ſacrifice of a part to defeat a project, which was a pillage both of them and of his crown, Staniſlaus-Auguſtus made an offer of one tenth from the lands aſſigned to maintain his table; and new duties at the ſame time were propoſed to fill up all deficiencies in the public revenue. But this offer was declined by the diet, and none of the ſtaroſts manifeſted any readineſs to follow the royal example. Perceiving the queſtion growing more popular from every diſcuſſion, the king at length, however reluctantly, gave way a little, and appointed a committee to inquire into, and report on the value and other circumſtances of theſe fiefs. Three perſons were accordingly named by him, of high rank and office, and of unimpeached integrity; yet ſuſpicions were openly levelled at him for naming them, as being notoriouſly adverſe to the project of a ſale. Conſcious of his own purity, yet more alarmed by ſuch a ſymptom of diſunion, than hurt by the imputations caſt upon himſelf, he conjured them to drive all party-ſpirit from among them, and watch in union over the public weal. This produced for the inſtant the deſired effect. But when the ſubject came the next time to be debated, all the crown-fiefs were decreed to be ſold for the benefit of the public; with a proviſion however, that all perſons having an intereſt in any of them, ſhould have compenſations proportioned to their ſeveral rights. By this deciſion the influence of the crown was very materially weakened, at a moment when the elector of Saxony was already objecting to the want of power in the monarchy, as originally ſettled by the new conſtitution.

Nov. 11th.

December.

The correſpondence into which the two courts had entered on this ſubject, has been already noticed. It had not been entirely ſucceſsful; but * by making the parties more intimately acquainted with their mutual ſentiments, it had produced an increaſe of confidence on the one ſide, and of gratitude on the other. In conſequence they had gone the length of naming plenipotentiaries to meet and confer at Dreſden, on the means of obviating all difficulties. Beſides the previous approbation of all the three neighbouring powers, the points on which the elector chiefly inſiſted were, that the king ſhould have a direct negative in the paſſing of all laws; that he ſhould have the ſole power of declaring war; and that the army ſhould ſwear fidelity to the republic and the king, not to the king and the nation, a word of an ambiguous meaning, which might lead to much miſchief in the ſtate;—that the education of the prince royal ſhould be entirely ſubmitted to the diſcretion of the king, or in default of a king, to the queen or neareſt relation; and that the crown ſhould be entailed on the male branch of the Houſe of Saxony. The plenipotentiaries were ſtill occupied, at the cloſe of the year 1791, in aſcertaining theſe articles

* See note of the count de Leſs on the part of the elector, dated October 23d, 1791.

of objection, and in negociating to remove the obſtacle which they occaſioned.

The courts of Vienna and Berlin, ſoon after the interview of the two ſovereigns, and in conſequence, as was generally believed, of ſome agreement there made, took ſteps for putting their reſpective armies on a peace eſtabliſhment. They ſeem to have indulged the hope that the acceptance of the new French conſtitution by Louis the XVIth. would allay the ferment in that miſerable country. But the ſpirit which ſoon manifeſted itſelf in the ſecond national aſſembly, and the conſequent ſituation of the German empire in regard to France, quickly turned the vigilance of Leopold and Frederick-William towards that ſide, where the danger plainly began to thicken.

On the other hand, the empreſs Catherine grew daily more diſembarraſſed. As the negociation of the definitive treaty with the Turks proceeded with little or no impediment, ſhe expreſſed her diſapproval of the Poliſh conſtitution, firſt in terms admitting of explanation, but afterwards with leſs ambiguity. She avowed that ſhe did not conſider it as binding upon her in her ancient relations to the republic; and ſhe praiſed the caution of the elector of Saxony, in pauſing on his acceptance of the crown. Though from the reduction of their military forces, and the reſt of their conduct, ſhe had no great reaſon to be apprehenſive of Auſtria and Pruſſia, yet ſhe ſeemed anxious to engage them, in a manner which would not allow them to interfere, had they been ſo diſpoſed. The moſt remote from the danger, ſhe was apparently the moſt ſtrenuous againſt the ruling faction in France. It was in purſuance of her example, and at her inſtance, that the king of Sweden refuſed to open the diſpatch communicating the acceptance of the conſtitution by Louis the XVIth. She haſtened to ſend a miniſter with letters of credence to the French princes at Coblentz; aſſiſted them with money, and preſſed them to enter on their expedition. At the ſame time ſhe upbraided her old ally the Emperor for his coldneſs in a cauſe ſo nearly and perſonally touching him; reminded him of his letter from Padua, which called on the different powers of Europe, to act in concert for the ſafety of the royal family of France, declared her preſent adherence to it, and urged him ſtill to perſevere. She prevailed too on the king of Sweden to addreſs ſimilar language to the ſame court. Nevertheleſs, from the moment that the war actually broke out, ſhe has furniſhed neither pecuniary nor military aſſiſtance.

In the mean while her troops collected on the frontiers of Poland, and preparations were made for bringing a ſtill larger force to act, when required. Her emiſſaries in Poland redoubled their efforts, and ſome few more perſons of rank and weight appeared openly on that ſide. M. Suchorzewſki quitted the country to join the counts Potocki and Rzewuſki at Jaſſy, where they now reſided, and were treated with great diſtinction. The conduct of the biſhop of Wilna and the biſhop of Kaminiec gave much diſquiet, eſpecially as the part which was played by the latter, in the confederation of Bar, was ſtill remembered, and he announced a new confederation in his neighbourhood. The preſs teemed with productions adverſe to the

the new order of things; and several partisans of the discontented nobles entered protests in the chanceries of the palatinates. A new and highly inflammatory manifesto, among the rest, having appeared in the names of count Szizneſa Potocki and count Rzewuſki, the buſineſs was taken up in the diet. A law was propoſed to puniſh, as diſturbers of the public peace, every perſon who ſhould write, and every chancellor who ſhould receive any ſuch proteſt or manifeſto; and to annul all ſuch as had been already made: ſaving nevertheleſs to the members of the diet, and other public aſſemblies known to the conſtitution, a perfect freedom of thinking, ſpeaking, and recording their proteſts on the queſtions before them, agreeably to ancient and modern laws. A debate of ſix hours was cloſed by the king, who in a ſpeech of ſome length, and much powerful impreſſion, exhorted the diet to diſplay a manly energy of character in their own cauſe; and having proved the propoſed declaration to be, not the inſtrument of perſecution, but the only expedient to bring back the oppoſing party to a ſenſe of their duty, and to ſpare the diet the ſad neceſſity of reſorting in the end to a more rigorous procedure, ordered the votes to be taken. Of the ſenate, no more than one ſingle caſtellan, the prince Certwertynſki, oppoſed it; and among the nuncios, about twenty out of three hundred. The law was exceedingly popular in Warſaw; but in the diet, the minority grew more deſperate in proportion as the general ſenſe of the nation was more clearly againſt them; and on a ſubſequent night, in the abſence of the king, the contention nearly roſe to the old barbariſm of a Poliſh diet. Hats were put on, and ſwords half drawn; nor was it without much difficulty that the aſſembly was ſaved from the pollution of blood.

Dec. 6th.

Dec. 9th.

Early in the next year, as a laſt experiment to recal the fugitive nobles to the boſom of their country, count Staniſlaus Potocki went himſelf to Jaſſy, and endeavoured to diſſuade his relation from his continuance in a cauſe which muſt terminate in the deſtruction of himſelf, or his country. But all his affectionate inſtances were fruitleſs. When therefore the time allowed for taking the military oath had expired, the diet, after a long diſcuſſion, and notwithſtanding the interceſſion of the king for the delay of one month more, declared the appointments of count Szizneſa Potocki and count Rzewuſki to be vacant, and directed theſe, as well as the places of all officers who had not taken the oath, to be immediately filled up.

Jan. 1792.

The diet took ſome few, and but few, meaſures to give ſtrength and conſiſtency to the revolution. The provincial tribunals were organized to the ſatisfaction of the king. Some regulations of police, connected with finance, were adopted with reſpect to the Jews, who thus obtained a legal eſtabliſhment in the country. The erection of a biſhopric for the Greek united church was under conſideration. Some progreſs was alſo made, though many difficulties continually preſented themſelves, in the labours of a committee appointed to examine the whole body of conſtitutional laws, and reconcile all ſuch as they were able to the new code; the reſt, which claſhed with it, being intended to be ſpecially repealed, agreeably to a clauſe of that code, by which they had been generally abrogated.

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The diet, however, deſerved leſs to be blamed for doing too little, than praiſed for not doing too much. The triumphs of the conſtitution, over all the attacks repeatedly made upon it in this ſeſſion, were not unattended with ſome internal danger. Theſe perpetual conteſts brought more forward into public notice and confidence a claſs of politicians who commonly riſe to the ſurface in times of ferment; men of ſanguine complexions and ardent minds, buſy, eager, violent; ſupplying what they want in wiſdom, by an exceſs of zeal. To ſuch men the boldeſt projects come always the beſt recommended: and they were not now deſtitute of teachers, who could make them acquainted to the bottom with the ſecrets of a revolution much more complete than their own. The French ambaſſador, M. Deſcorches, had been ſent to them for the purpoſe. Renouncing his nobility and title, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his activity in the democratic faction of his own country, and was therefore choſen as a proper perſon to re-knit, and ſtrengthen with the new bond of fraternity, the ancient connection of France with Poland. It was ſoon after his arrival, and moſt probably with a view to his expected intrigues, that the king, in the manner already related, took an opportunity of holding up the French revolution as an example not to be followed, but ſhunned. But not ſo thought the clubs of the friends to the conſtitution of the 3d of May. The mother-ſociety of that name at Warſaw was much frequented, and cultivated with great aſſiduity by M. Deſcorches; and from that time the meaſures of the popular party had a more manifeſt, and ſometimes an avowed reference to the proceedings of the national aſſembly in France. Thence was derived the precedent under which the crown fiefs were decreed to be ſold: and there was a talk of following up that with another imitation, by propoſing the iſſue of aſſignats upon that fund. The proſpective regulations of the biſhoprics, paſſed in 1789, were not thought ſufficient; a partial confiſcation of abbey-lands, and ſome other eccleſiaſtical property, more on the French principle, was now demanded by many. Some exiſting inequalities in their repreſentation began to diſturb their minds with ſpeculations of reform. A ſmall meadow, with a ſhed upon it, ſituated in Livonia, on the Ruſſian ſide of the Duina, is ſaid to have ſent repreſentatives, for the election of whom a few of the neighbouring gentlemen met, ſometimes with, and ſometimes without the conſent of the Ruſſian government. This, on the authority of the parliamentary reformers in England, was conſidered as a monſtrous grievance, and a more equal diviſion of the diſtricts, on the plan of France, was mentioned as an eſſential improvement. The chiefs of the Jews had expreſsly conſented to the late meaſures relative to their nation; yet the reſtrictions impoſed upon them were thought, by the party of which we are ſpeaking, not to be compatible with the liberality of modern philoſophy; and in the ſame ſtyle, the citizens and burghers were told, that the plenipotentiaries aſſigned to them by the late law were not real and efficient repreſentatives. But the good management of the king, and the ſounder part of the diet, for the

the preſent diverted the miſchiefs to be apprehended from this ſpirit. On the other hand, the ſale of the ſtaroſties gave ſerious and deep diſguſt to the great families who were in poſſeſſion of them; and who felt the more, as their liberal conduct * on this very ſubject, in an earlier ſtage of the revolution, had deſerved a very different return. Many of the other nobles too in the provinces were highly diſſatisfied with the doctrines and influence of the clubs, which ſeveral of the cities and great towns had eſtabliſhed in imitation of Warſaw, and which were daily multiplying.

Such was the ſtate of the country when the dietines met, which were to inquire into the conduct of their repreſentatives from the opening of the double diet, and conſequently to pronounce the judgment of the nation on the new conſtitution. They had been a little poſtponed by an act of the diet, to the end that they might be better qualified to decide on this great queſtion, by ſeeing a longer trial of the conſtitution in actual practice. A majority of theſe aſſemblies, without heſitation, and with enthuſiaſtic eagerneſs, ratified what had been done. In ſeveral an oppoſition was attempted on ſome points; but finally, all the ſeventy-five dietines, without a ſingle exception, voted their approbation and praiſe; expreſſed their conviction of the beneficial conſequences likely to reſult from bettering the condition of the mercantile order; and enjoined their repreſentatives to confer on the king the title, moſt dear and honourable to him, of "the Benevolent Father of his country."

The effect of this national unanimity was felt on the meeting of the diet. The marſhal Malachowſki now reminded the ſtates of their reſolution to erect a temple to Providence; and count Staniſlaus Potocki (who had been made general of the ordnance in the room of his relation) moved that the firſt ſtone ſhould be laid on the 3d of May, as well as that deputations from the dietines ſhould be annually admitted on that day to teſtify their inviolable attachment to the conſtitution. Both theſe motions, which were introduced with a ſplendid panegyric on the conſtitution, were decreed without oppoſition. The ſite of the temple was ſoon afterwards marked out. A public feſtival was fixed to be celebrated on the anniverſary of the independence and happineſs of the republic, and it was ſaid to be in contemplation to create two new orders of knighthood in commemoration of the event. Moved by theſe expreſſions of the public ſentiments, and ſtill more by the deciſion of their conſtituents in the late dietines, ſeveral of the nuncios, who had originally proteſted againſt the conſtitution, withdrew their objections, and eraſed them from the journals of the diet. They declared that, convinced by what they had ſeen of the ſenſe of the nation, they would no longer impede or retard, by a vain reſiſtance, the effect of a revolution, commenced, conducted, and accompliſhed with ſo much good fortune. They even ſaid that they ſhould heartily concur in it; congratulate their country on the event, and return their moſt ſincere and unfeigned thanks to thoſe who had March 15th.

* See p. [5.]

contributed

contributed to the happy change, especially to the king, who had been the chief author and promoter of it.

The diet, during a short session of a fortnight, attended to very little other business. It was then prorogued to the 16th of April. From the spirit that now reigned, it was probable that the virtues and wisdom of Staniſlaus-Auguſtus would have ultimately preponderated, againſt the intrigues of the French ambaſſador, and the native impetuoſity of the Poliſh character, eſpecially if the neighbouring powers would have thrown the weight of their influence into his ſcale. But ſome of them perhaps really felt, and ſome pretended to feel, an alarm on the other ſide. It was remarked, that in the ſurrounding countries, the two revolutions of Poland and of France, though allowed by all thinking men to be widely different, yet among the many, had the ſame friends and the ſame enemies; and this was ſtrikingly the caſe in the political writings of the French themſelves. The king of Pruſſia at this time appears to have conceived a ſerious diſguſt at the principles of the French; and the whole German empire had found it neceſſary to have recourſe to ſtrong meaſures for preventing the propagation of thoſe doctrines. War was become inevitable between France and the empire. Frederick-William would not have been able, had he been diſpoſed, to give his promiſed ſuccours to his new ally the emperor, and at the ſame time make head againſt Ruſſia in Poland. But in truth he was not ſo inclined. He knew not to what pitch ſucceſs in arms might exalt the volatile ſpirits of the popular party in Poland. There was nothing which in his apprehenſion was not to be dreaded from it. The increaſe of thoſe principles at his very door, for the extirpation of which, in another quarter of Europe, he was preparing to march on a diſtant expedition, ſeemed likely to be an immediate conſequence; and ſhould that not follow, he could not ſee without jealouſy the eſtabliſhment of a victorious military force in a nation, which was for ever adverting, with ſo much ſore ſenſibility, to a diſmemberment, from whence he derived no inconſiderable portion of his faireſt territories. He was conſcious that he was enjoying the fruits of violence and rapine; and injury is too often added to injury, from a fear leſt they who have ſuffered may not forgive. Should he leave the Poles to their fate, he had no doubt but the empreſs would compound for his inactivity, by allowing him more than the two cities for which he had ſo long intrigued in vain: her invaſion and uſurpation of the Poliſh provinces contiguous to her own, would afford him one of the falſe pretences of the former partition, the plea of keeping up a balance of power againſt his rivals by a proportionate addition of territory to himſelf; and he choſe rather, in poſſeſſion of all his immediate objects, to take his chance of maintaining himſelf hereafter at the point of the ſword againſt an aſſociate in wrong, than at ſome coſt and hazard, to put thoſe, who had a righteous cauſe againſt him, in a condition to exact future juſtice. The marquis Lucchesini, who had now returned as ambaſſador to Warſaw, officially notified, in the beginning of the year, that his maſter would

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not ſupport the new conſtitution by arms.

As to the court of Vienna, whatever Leopold might have ſaid to catch Frederick-William, at Pilnitz, he could not be ſuppoſed very earneſt in the eſtabliſhment of a great force on his weakeſt ſide, eſpecially when he knew that the natural rival and enemy of his houſe, the king of Pruſſia, was more likely than himſelf to reap the benefit. Nor did Leopold's death, which happened ſoon after, make any change in the politics of that court. They were the politics of prince Kaunitz, who remained in power.

The elector of Saxony appears to have been in ſome degree encouraged by the late votes of all the dietines. He now advanced one ſtep further, and ſent the count de Loeben as his plenipotentiary, to treat directly at Warſaw on the ſubject of his objections.

On the ſide of Ruſſia every thing conſpired to bring the queſtion to a point. A formal notification of the events of the 3d of May had been made from the court of Warſaw, at the inſtances of the elector of Saxony, and ſome anſwer could not very long be delayed. The treaty of peace with the Porte had been finally ratified. A proclamation from the Empreſs againſt French principles, "which" ſhe ſaid, "would ſoon ruin Po-"land," had been received with an enthuſiaſm that ſecured the peace of her own country. The diſcontented Poliſh nobles were invited from Jaſſy to Peterſburgh; and the grand general Branicki arrived there about the ſame time, under pretence of ſuing for his wife's ſucceſſion to the fortune of her deceaſed uncle prince Potemkin, having for that purpoſe obtained leave of abſence, for which his nephew prince Sapieha pledged himſelf to the king and his country. The grand general therefore, though he ſhared their private councils, did not take a public part with them. The reſt went in a body to court, where they preſented a memorial to the empreſs, claiming the benefit of her guarantee to reſtore the former conſtitution of the republic. Their reception, it is unneceſſary to ſay, was highly gracious; but as they paſſed through the ſtreets they had a preſage of the infamy which ever awaits thoſe who factiouſly call in the aid of a foreign power to deſtroy the independency of their country. They were hiſſed and reviled by the Ruſſians, attached as all of that nation are to the glory of their ſovereign, and knowing, as they did, what was the tendency of the application made by the exiles.

Jan. 21ſt.

This conduct of the empreſs was equivalent to a declaration of war; it was ſo felt by the republic. Accordingly, preparations for defence had long been making; the plan of a campaign was arranged, and prince Joſeph Poniatowſki, aſſiſted by generals Wielhorſki and Koſciuſko, afterwards ſo well known, had already taken poſt with an army of obſervation in the Ukraine, where the principal attack was apprehended.

April 16th.

When the diet met again, after ſome common buſineſs, the king pronounced a very impreſſive ſpeech on the ſtate of the nation; and the diet, calling God and mankind to witneſs, came to a reſolution "that the republic "intends

" intends not to declare war againſt " any power whatever: ſhe deſires " only to preſerve a good under- " ſtanding with her neighbours, " and to maintain the juriſdiction, " the liberty, and independency of " her own civil conſtitution in " their juſt integrity." This was followed by a decree, charging the king with the defence of the nation, and directing that a loan ſhould be immediately opened and appropriated to that object. Afterwards it was determined to complete the troops of the line without delay to 100,000 effective men, and to raiſe bodies of light troops from among the Tartars and Coſſacks. The domeſtic troops entertained by many of the great nobles, were, if neceſſary, to be taken into the pay of the ſtate; and it was propoſed to arm all the citizens and burghers for the protection of their reſpective cities and towns. It was no longer a moment for Staniſlaus-Auguſtus to temporize with the ſenſe of the diet, and retard the ſale of the ſtaroſties. They were deſtined therefore to be the fund for ſecuring the re-payment of the loan; and that he might conciliate, by ſuffering with them, the minds of thoſe who were aggrieved by the ſale, as well as excite an emulation of generoſity in all ranks of his ſubjects, the king voluntarily ſurrendered his right of preſentation to all the churches dependent on the ſtaroſties, and two whole ſtaroſties which in 1775 had been annexed for ever to the crown. Nor was the example without effect. Gifts of money, plate, and jewels poured in from the great officers of ſtate, and other opulent individuals. To increaſe the fund, the property of all vaſſals of the republic, who ſhould join any foreign enemy, was declared to be confiſcated, but for life only; the king himſelf having procured the inſertion of a clauſe, by which the innocent heirs were to be ſecured in a reverſionary proviſion. On the other hand, indemnification was propoſed to all who ſhould ſuſtain loſs by the invaſion of an enemy.

The period had now elapſed, which the French convention had peremptorily fixed for the categorical anſwer of the court of Vienna to their demand of ſatisfaction; and the demand had been made without effect. No ſooner was this known, than the Ruſſian miniſtry began to ſpeak of the Poliſh conſtitution in a ſtill more deciſive tone, and directly addreſſed to M. Deboli, the miniſter of the republic at Peterſburgh. The imperial armies were put in motion on all ſides, and marched in different columns towards the frontiers contiguous to Poland and Lithuania. Hoſtilities however were not yet commenced *, when intelligence arrived that the national aſſembly of France had actually declared war againſt Auſtria. Then, and not before, M. Bulgakow, the Ruſſian envoy at Warſaw, delivered to the king a declaration of war on the part of his miſtreſs. May 18th.

The pretended grounds of hoſtility ſet forth by the empreſs † were ſome of them falſe, others frivolous, many of an old date, and the greater part ſuch as no ſtate has

* The news of the declaration of war, by the national aſſembly of France, on the 20th of April, reached Vienna on the 30th of the ſame month.

† See the declaration at length among the State Papers, p. *361.

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a right to urge againſt another in the enjoyment of acknowledged independence. All the proceedings of the diet, from the original act of confederation down to the eſtabliſhment of the new conſtitution on the 3d of May, were miſrepreſented, and charged with illegality, uſurpation, and violence. Every thing done or ſaid, offenſive to Ruſſia, was enumerated; the orders for the evacuation of the country by her troops in 1789; the condemnation of ſome of her ſubjects for a treaſonable conſpiracy about the ſame period; the arreſt of the abbot of Sluck, and the violation of the chapel in the ſuburbs of Warſaw; the freedom of ſpeech in the diet; and above all the negociations at Conſtantinople. But all theſe Catherine profeſſed to pardon, in her equity and generoſity to the Poliſh nation. She could not however be deaf, ſhe ſaid, to the claims of thoſe patriots who had demanded the performance of her guarantee, and her ſupport of a confederation in which they had united, for the reſtoration of law and liberty to the republic, deprived of both by the pretended conſtitution of the 3d of May. Her troops came only as friends to co-operate in this good purpoſe.

This declaration was printed in three different languages, and diſtributed in great profuſion; but it made little or no impreſſion; the bulk of the nation remained firm to their duty, and faithful to the oath which they had taken to the new conſtitution. All ranks, all religions, all ages, both ſexes, ſhewed equal ardour in the cauſe of their common liberty and independence. On the very ſame day that the declaration was delivered by M. Bulgakow, the Ruſſian troops, it is ſaid, entered the territories of the republic, and by this invaſion began actual hoſtilities.

Here for the preſent we ſhall pauſe. We have ſeen an amiable and accompliſhed prince, winning his way with cautious dexterity through innumerable difficulties of every kind, uniting to himſelf, and ſubjecting to good order and mild dominion, a people, the moſt diſtracted and unruly on the face of the globe, exerting himſelf with diſintereſted toil, perſeverance, and management, to ſecure his own throne after his death to an alien houſe; but in the end, for his pure and virtuous love of his country, attacked by one foreign power, abandoned by all the reſt to the fortune of war, and preparing, with incomplete levies of loyal but undiſciplined troops, to oppoſe a veteran and victorious army. The ſequel, painful as it is, will too ſoon come to be related. In the mean time, our attention is called to a very different revolution, by which a people diſtinguiſhed for their veneration of their monarchs, and flouriſhing in all the arts of elegance, were plunged into anarchy and barbariſm, and a ſovereign, ſecond to none in gentleneſs and parental affection to his ſubjects, after having been branded with the names of tyrant and traitor, was ultimately forced, by a domeſtic faction, into a war with a powerful concert of foreign princes, that it might afterwards be converted into an engine for his deſtruction. Theſe events, from the cloſe of the year 1790, we are now to develope. It may be of ſome utility to the monarchies, that, under Providence, ſtill are ſuffered to ſtand in Europe, and of much intereſt to all the ſtates that have been parties

parties in the subsequent war, to observe with care the approaches by which the ancient monarchy of France, pressed into the earth (as it has been beautifully said) by the weight of fourteen centuries, was gradually undermined, and finally subverted; and the steps on one side and the other, in consequence of which the peace of Europe was first troubled, and afterwards broken, not to be solidly settled again for years, perhaps not for centuries to come.

CHAP. V.

Account of the French revolution resumed. Popular conduct of M. du Portail on being appointed war minister, and of M. Du Port du Tertre on receiving the seals. Royal councils became what was called constitutional. Châtelet deprived of its jurisdiction in cases of high treason. Evident motives of that measure. Review of the evidence taken at the Châtelet respecting the events of the 5th and 6th of October. Duke of Orleans and M. Mirabeau strongly criminated by that evidence. Indemnity to them and all others concerned. Jails of Paris crowded for want of a criminal tribunal. M. Bailly requests the national assembly to establish one, and has a code of police laws. Attack on the house of the Marechal de Castries. M. La Fayette requests the national assembly to organize the national guards. Influence of M. La Fayette declines. He secedes from the Jacobins. Cause of his seceding. Divisions among the democratic clubs. The most respectable revolutionists disgusted with the Jacobins. They form new clubs. Club of 1789. *Attempt to establish a club in favour of monarchy. Club of the Cordeliers consisting of the most violent Jacobins. Other clubs formed on jacobin principles. Lectures at the Lyceum by Garat and Le Croix. Orators harangue in the Palais Royal. Jacobin club pre-eminent. Committee of correspondence formed. Directed by the Lameths and Barnave. A new faction in the Jacobins under Robespierre and Brissot. Mirabeau quits the club of* 1789, *and returns to the Jacobins. Endeavours to moderate them. His object to govern, not destroy the government. The duke of Orleans his engine. Disappointed, he secretly connects himself with the court. Cry of the Jacobins against moderation. Their complete triumph. Manœuvres of the jacobin leaders to supplant each other. Accounts of the republican faction, their arts and morals, by madame Roland, and by Camille Desmoulins. Views and conduct of the king. Hopes, by patience and submission, to regain the affections of the people. Improved prospect at the end of* 1790. *The king complains of the false reports that he intended to escape. Demands the confidence of the national assembly. Complimentary address of the president to the king and queen on new year's day. The assembly fix the time of calling a new legislature. Persecution of the clergy, and its consequences.*

THE true character of the French revolution, and the essential defect of its principles, which were all principles of demolition without any of construction, began to develop themselves more certainly from the period where this history stopped in the detail of

the affairs of France; that is, from the reſignation and retreat, or rather the diſgrace and flight of M. Necker, in the autumn of the year 1790. The triumph of the leaders of the national aſſembly over the crown was now deciſive. Though the other miniſters lingered a ſhort time in their places, the changes which we formerly noticed ſoon followed*, till M. Montmorin was the only member of the old cabinet who remained in office. One or two of the circumſtances attendant on thoſe changes, will throw a ſtrong light on the ſituation of the court and adminiſtration.

The appointment of M. du Portail to the war department, was diſtinguiſhed by the precedent which he ſet, of "doing homage to "the repreſentatives of the nation." This was "his firſt care," as he tells them in his letter † to the preſident; he ſays, that notwithſtanding ſome heſitation of modeſty, "it was impoſſible to reſiſt "the deſire of taking an active "part in a revolution, which will "be the moſt memorable epoch in "the hiſtory not only of France, "but of the whole world;" and in concluſion he aſſures them, that "to reduce to practice the ſublime "theory of their laws, is the only "glory to which he can pretend, "and that he will ſeek no other." This addreſs was received by the aſſembly with applauſe, printed and publiſhed; and ‡ it was celebrated by the democratic party as a new example of patriotiſm in office, and an excellent leſſon for all miniſters preſent and to come.

But M. du Portail was, ſhortly after, out-done by a miniſter of ſtill higher rank. The ſeals, which had been ſurrendered by the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, were given to M. Duport du Tertre, an officer of the municipality of Paris. Nov. 21. After writing to the aſſembly, he went in perſon to addreſs his brethren at the town-houſe, and reſign his ſcarf, but by ſpecial favour he was allowed ſtill to retain it as an honorary diſtinction, and acquired the § title of the *Plebeian Miniſter*. His aſcendency ſoon prevailed over his colleagues, and the king himſelf ſubmitted to it. The royal councils now became what was called *conſtitutional*. The clerks in the different public departments were taught, under penalty of immediate diſmiſſion, to look up, not to the nominal heads of their ſeveral officers, but to the committees of the national aſſembly, which, like the committees of the long parliament in the time of our Charles the Firſt, exerciſed in effect the whole government of the country, except when any ungracious and obnoxious act of power was to be done, and that was thrown wholly on the king and his miniſters.

In this feeble condition of the

* In following the ſubject of the Spaniſh alliance in 1790 to a concluſion, we were led to relate in that place, thoſe changes which were the immediate conſequences of the attack made upon the naval miniſter M. Luzerne. The reſignation of M. Necker, which neceſſarily came after in the order of our narrative, was however prior in time.

† See Journal des debats and des decrets, 17 Nov. 1790.

‡ Annales Patriotiques & Litteraires de France par Mercier & Carra.

§ French Mercury for July 7th, 1792, p. 59.

royal

royal authority, the capital was left without a tribunal to punish the crime, which the laws of this country denominate high treason. This jurisdiction had been declared to be in the Châtelet, but it was now taken from that court, because it had dared to do its duty with too firm an integrity. The occasion of abolishing that jurisdiction, deserves to be related more fully than it yet has been in our language; because it was professedly considered by the ruling party in the popular societies, the municipalities, and the national assembly, as "*the trial of the revolution itself*"; and from their conduct in that instance posterity must judge, whether all the different factions which then composed the majority in those bodies, did not render themselves morally guilty of all the blood so profusely shed, before and since, in that unhappy country.

* Immediately after the horrible scenes at Versailles on the 6th of October 1789, the commonalty of Paris sent M. Brissot at the head of a deputation, to the bar of the national assembly, with an address of invitation to the capital, in which, after praising the wisdom of the assembly "in calming the minds of "a *deluded* people," as well as the firmness of M. La Fayette, and the national guards of Paris, "in saving the *victims devoted to death*," it was proposed "to throw a veil "over those events, and *the shocking manœuvres by which they had "been prepared.*" But before the end of the month, the speculations occasioned by the submission of the Duke of Orleans, to what was in fact a banishment on account of those very events, the new murder of a baker, and the alarms of a general pillage and massacre in Paris, induced them to appoint a committee of inquiry, which was to sit at the town-house, and of which M. Brissot, and his most intimate friend Garran de Coulon, were members. Scarcely had they met, when M. Mounier's denunciation of the atrocities perpetrated at Versailles was published, and made an impression that compelled them to take some public step, as necessary, in their own opinion, "to clear the "honour of the city from a stain, "never otherwise to be effaced." In consequence, the syndic of Paris appeared before the court of the Châtelet, and denounced "the exe-"crable guilt which polluted the "palace of Versailles on the morn-"ing of the 6th of October, and "which (it was said) had for its in-"struments none but ruffians who, "*pushed on by clandestine manœuvres*, "had mingled themselves with the "good citizens." The law-officers of the crown immediately took up the denunciation in the very words in which it had been presented by the syndic; and proceeded upon it against the unknown authors, abettors, and accomplices, according to the forms of criminal jurisprudence then recently de-

* The account which follows, is formed on a minute comparison of the *Procedure de Châtelet*, in 2 vols 8vo.—The *report of M. Chabroud* to the national assembly.—The printed *protest of the minority*, dated the 6th of October.—A very accurate, detailed, and able examination of M. Chabroud's report, under the title of "*Les Forfaits du 6 Octobre*," in 2 vols. 8vo.—M. Mounier's "*Appel au Tribunal de l'opinion Publique du Rapport de M. Chabroud*, &c.—The *proces-verbal* of the national assembly, and *the Code National*.

creed by the national assembly: by which, among other regulations intended to be favourable to the accused, two persons, under the title of "*Adjuncts*," were to be taken from a list made out by the commons of Paris, and associated with the judges in the admission of the plaint, and the examination of the witnesses. These new popular magistrates, who were upon oath, and were bound to obtain from the witnesses, whatever explanations they might think necessary as well in charge as discharge, seem in this case to have acted with great purity, and brought out some very material evidence. But it was found, notwithstanding, that some of the witnesses from error, and some from a reluctance to discover any thing which they had a fair pretence to conceal, restricted themselves wholly to the events of that single day. Application therefore was made to the committee, requesting them to enlarge their denunciation, so as to comprehend other facts which were connected with those events, and which would shew the clandestine manœuvres wherein they originated. This, however, the committee refused to do, as thinking that "the facts "proposed to be added, whether "true or false, were foreign to the "object of their denunciation, and "that several of them rather deserved public gratitude, than a "criminal prosecution."

It was now plain that nothing serious was meant by the denunciation; but the court feeling itself bound to take care, that justice should not fail, continued to examine witnesses; and as many of these were willing to speak without reserve all they knew, and all their means of knowledge, much evidence had been collected before the middle of April, which threw great light on the various practices employed to debauch the minds of the soldiery and the populace, to excite their fury against the queen in particular, and to teach them to demand the appointment of a council of regency. Several depositions had even been taken, which tended directly to charge Mirabeau and the duke of Orleans.

No sooner was this known (and inflamed as were the passions of all parties it was not possible to keep it secret) but all the agitators of Paris, and their instruments, were busy in sounding an alarm. They cried out, that to let in evidence to this extent was to criminate all Paris, and to prosecute the revolution itself. The accused sate to try their judges, and readily convicted them of partiality and injustice; libels, votes, and resolutions, appeared against the magistrates of the Châtelet; and the committee of enquiry came forward with hand-bills and placards, to defeat the effects of their own denunciation: "to remain silent "now (they said) would be to appear desirous of prosecuting "*those who had taken part in the "most important events of the revolution*: they meant to confine "their denunciation singly to the "facts, of the violent and sudden "irruption into the royal apartments at six in the morning, and "the consequent massacre of some "of the king's life-guards: all "enquiry into any other than those "facts, they declared to be foreign "to their intentions." The meetings of several districts in Paris went further, and actually sent de-

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putations to accuſe the judges of the Châtelet, at the bar of the national aſſembly; and denounce this new plot, as it was repreſented to be, of the ariſtocracy.

Undeterred by this clamour, the judges ſteadily purſued their courſe, but thought it prudent to fortify themſelves, as far as they could, with the authority of the national aſſembly. It appeared in ſome of the depoſitions, that the committee of inquiry appointed by the aſſembly, had been employed on this very ſubject, in conjunction with the committee of inquiry at the town-houſe. The court, therefore, ſent ſome of its members with an addreſs, informing the aſſembly, that it was proceeding only on the denunciation made by the commons of Paris, and requeſting, that ſuch documents might be furniſhed as were in the poſſeſſion of the aſſembly. This prayer was granted, and, in conſequence, it came out from the minutes of the committee of the national aſſembly, as well as from the * depoſitions of ſome of its former members, that declarations in writing, relative both to the 5th and 6th of October, had been taken by the committee of Paris, and that, according to their own avowal in conferences with the other committee, "they had "obtained complete proof of a plot "againſt the life of the queen;" that they had in their poſſeſſion ſome traces which would ſhew the connection of the duke of Orleans with the inſurrections of that period; and that a packet of intercepted letters from him was ſtill unopened. Upon this the law-officers of the crown applied at the town-houſe, for the papers in poſſeſſion of the committee there, but they were anſwered, that the committee had none applicable to the crimes denounced.

In this ſituation of things, on the 26th of June the leaders of the national aſſembly took occaſion, from a frivolous and vexatious proceeding againſt M. Touloufe-Lautrec, to paſs a decree, that before any member could be put on his trial, the aſſembly itſelf "ſhould "ſee the informations, and decide "whether there was room for ac-"cuſation." The conſequence was, that when, on the 4th of Auguſt, the king's law-officers moved the court to decree the arreſt of ſeventeen or eighteen perſons who appeared to have been moſt guilty, the judges could only ſubmit to the aſſembly the evidence againſt Mirabeau and the duke of Orleans. In diſcharging this duty, they added a very temperate complaint againſt the committee of inquiry at the town-houſe, for not having communicated what documents they had, as had been done by the committee of the national aſſembly. A decree was accordingly paſſed, directing the committee of the town-houſe, to furniſh the king's law-officers with all the evidence in their hands. But inſtead of obeying this order, they came three days after to the bar, and juſtified their conduct on the grounds related above; they reminded the aſſembly of the public cry, that the Châtelet was proſecuting the revolution, and of the addreſſes from the diſtricts; and declared, that they ſhould have thought themſelves highly criminal, if they had

* Depoſitions of M. de Longuêve, N° 155, and of M. Turpin, N° 162.

denounced the day of the 5th of October; that they had denounced only the morning of the 6th, and had no papers relative to the crimes of that period. Abbé Maury aſcended the tribune, to enforce the decree ſo lately paſſed by the aſſembly, but before he had finiſhed one ſentence, he was driven thence with laughter, hiſſes, and uproar; the deputies were diſmiſſed; the late decree was neither repealed nor executed; and the magiſtrates of the Châtelet could not venture, on the authority of the king, to puniſh this contempt of the court. The committee of the town-houſe afterwards ſent to the committee, appointed by the aſſembly to report on the communication from the Châtelet, all the papers which were favourable to the two members, from the firſt of October down to the very moment of the king's departure for Paris.

The depoſitions of no leſs than three hundred and ninety-three witneſſes had been taken by the Châtelet. From this maſs of evidence it reſulted beyond a doubt, that the ſhocking ſcenes of the 6th of October aroſe * from a premeditated conſpiracy, and not from a popular commotion. There were ſeveral concurring witneſſes, who ſwore to the diſtribution of money juſt before at the Palais Royal, and to the corrupting of the ſoldiers by all poſſible means of ſeduction; a fact evinced in the moſt ſtriking manner by the remorſe of a chaſſeur, who, in broken ſentences, accuſing himſelf as worthy of death for his villainous deſigns againſt the Royal Family, and naming "Orleans" as the inſtigator, actually wounded, and was with difficulty prevented from killing himſelf. Not only inflammatory ſpeeches of the duke's domeſtics to the populace were atteſted, but various converſations of his confidant Mirabeau, directly manifeſting a purpoſe of raiſing him to the ſupreme power, as regent or lieutenant-general of the realm, if not of placing him on the throne itſelf, and declaring the duke's privity and approbation of theſe projects. Other witneſſes related various ſuſpicious circumſtances of his perſonal conduct on the 5th. Meat, fruit, and wine † were given to the populace on the evening of the 5th in his name, and in his name money ‡ was offered to bribe men to the attack of the palace the next morn-

* Not to mention the evidence reſpecting the inflammatory ſpeeches of Camille Deſmoulins at the Palais Royal, and the attempt of M. St. Huruge to lead the populace to Verſailles in September, the repeated intelligence of the miniſters, and even of the national guards of Verſailles, which occaſioned the ſending for the regiment of Flanders, as well as the general corruption of the ſoldiery, there are *eleven* witneſſes (Nos 40, 48, 85, 101, 129, 201, 211, 225, 311, 355, 376.) who prove the public declaration of an intention to exterminate the life-guards on the 5th of October, before the march of the women began: there are no leſs than *ſeventeen* (Nos 24, 48, 61, 82, 115, 177, 183, 199, 214, 225, 253, 268, 272, 280, 316, 350, 370.) who heard, before and during the march, the moſt horrible menaces againſt the life of the queen, many of them too diſguſtingly ſavage to be here repeated; and from *ſixty* to *ſeventy* depoſe to different facts, demonſtrating the peaceable behaviour of the life-guards, and the repeated provocations, inſults, and aggreſſions of the populace, on their march to and arrival at Verſailles.

† Depoſition of M. Vicomte de Mirabeau, No 146.

‡ Depoſition of M. Diot, No 110.

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ing. As to the very point of the denunciation, moſt narrowly conſtrued, no leſs than * thirteen witneſſes, who all knew him, depoſed to having ſeen him at different times, and in different parts of the palace, early on the morning of the 6th, generally at the head of the populace, with an air of gaiety and ſatisfaction, talking and laughing with them, leading the way, or receiving their applauſes and ſhouts of "long live "the duke of Orleans, long live "the good duke of Orleans;" and as three of the deponents ſay, "long "live *king* Orleans." Some who did not ſee him, heard the ſhouts, or confirmed thoſe who did ſee him by hearſay teſtimony from perſons who were mentioned, and might probably have been produced on an actual trial.

This was particularly the caſe with regard to the moſt important fact ſworn by the chevalier la Serre, a reſpectable old officer, who had attained to the rank of brigadier, and the croſs of St. Louis. He had been led by curioſity to join the crowd, which at ſix in the morning he ſaw ruſhing into the palace. As they were going up the great ſtair-caſe, his attention was excited by a cry of thoſe around him, which having been explained to relate to the duke of Orleans, and the ſituation of that prince having been pointed out to him by his next neighbour, he raiſed himſelf on his toes, ſo as diſtinctly to perceive the duke at the top of the ſtair-caſe, directing the aſſaſſins by a motion of his hand towards the queen's chamber. Now one of the other witneſſes, named a perſon who had related to him the ſame fact from his own knowledge, agreeing perfectly in time and circumſtances with the poſitive teſtimony of the chevalier la Serre; and, on ſimilar authority, another ſaid, that the duke had been ſeen to enter the palace among the crowd. Indeed the account given by the chevalier, ſeemed to be ſufficiently corroborated by two facts atteſted by two different witneſſes from their own knowledge. The duke of Orleans, according to M. la Serre, after he had pointed out the queen's chamber on the left, turned himſelf to the right, as if going to the king's apartment; but the witneſs going thither as ſoon as he could diſengage himſelf from the crowd, learnt to his ſurprize that the duke had not been there. It was indiſputable, from the plan of the building, that the duke, turning as he was deſcribed to have done, might afterwards have paſſed down another way by what was called the Prince's ſtair-caſe; and at the foot of that ſtair-caſe was he actually found ſoon after, by the marquis de Digoine, who marks the time very ſatisfactorily by various circumſtances. When ſeen by this witneſs he was alone, ſtanding in the paſſage between the bottom of the ſtair-caſe and a gate leading into an adjoining court. M. de Digoine

* Vicomte de la Châtre, Depoſition 127. Le Sieur Mericourt, N° 132. La Sieur Guineſſey, N° 133. Le Sieur Eudeline, N° 136. Marquis de Digoine, N° 168. M. de Frondeville, Preſident a mortier au Parlement de Normandie, N° 177. Le Sieur de la Borde, N° 195. Chevalier de la Serre, N° 226. Le Sieur Quence, N° 254. Le Sieur Jobert, N° 256. La Veuve Tillet, N° 365. M. Miomandre de Chateauneuf, ancien officier au régiment du Maréchal de Turenne, N° 381. Le Sieur Mortel, ſculpteur et ſoldat de la garde-nationale, N° 383.

could not be miſtaken. Himſelf a member of the national aſſembly, he muſt have well known the perſon of that prince, he muſt have paſſed near him, and there was no crowd to diſtract his attention. Shortly after this the national guards of Paris arrived, and driving out the populace, mounted guard about the royal apartments. A man of the name of Morlet, was placed ſentinel at the door of the king's guard-room ſome time, from half after ſix to ſeven. He was ordered to allow none to paſs but officers, grenadiers, and the king's life-guards. This man ſwore, that while he was there on duty, the duke of Orleans came to him, and demanded admittance to the king; and, upon being refuſed, aſked him if he did not know him. The witneſs acknowledged that he did, but alledged the particular nature of his orders, and the duke retired into another room. He was not long after ſeen by M. Miomandre, at the bottom of the great ſtaircaſe, in company with two men diſguiſed as women, and was ſaluted by one of the *cent-ſuiſſes* poſted there.

Againſt Mirabeau the evidence was not ſo ſtrong as to poſitive facts, though ſtronger in declarations from his own mouth. In addition to the converſations already mentioned, there was one proved, which applied very cloſely to the tranſactions of the 5th and 6th of October. His bookſeller having carried ſome books to his houſe, about ten or twelve days before that period, was told by him, that there would be ſome unhappy events at Verſailles; "but you," added Mirabeau, "and honeſt men like you, "have nothing to fear." His whole behaviour too in the national aſſembly on thoſe days was certainly very ſuſpicious; but of that a court of juſtice perhaps could not regularly take cognizance. There were alſo ſome overt-acts proved by different witneſſes, eſpecially by three, perfectly acquainted with his perſon. M. Bouthillier, a member of the national aſſembly, ſaw him on the evening of the 5th talking familiarly with the ſoldiers of the regiment of Flanders, which had been corrupted. The lieutenant-colonel of that regiment, M. Valfond, not only ſaw him there about the ſame time, with a naked ſabre under his arm, but even rallied him on his military air; and on the morning of the 6th, immediately after the attack on the queen, he was diſtinctly perceived among the ſoldiers of the ſame regiment, who, at the approach of the witneſs (a committee clerk of the national aſſembly) were endeavouring to conceal him behind their ranks.

Surely, to ſay no more, theſe facts ſolemnly atteſted, required to be encountered by both the parties concerned, with judicial proof, in contradiction to them; and if there exiſted any ambiguities, deficiencies, or ſeeming contradictions in the teſtimony of the witneſſes for the proſecution, they were ſtill in time, according to the old practice, and * to the reformed code of the aſſembly itſelf, to ſupply, vary, or retract as they pleaſed, without being diſcredited; as the court might likewiſe continue, and was actually continuing to examine new witneſſes. Mirabeau himſelf had denounced M. St. Prieſt, for ſome words falſely reported to have been

* Procedure criminelle reformée; decret rendu 8 & 9 Octobre. Art. 16.

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ſpoken by him to the populace on the 5th of October; and on that occaſion he maintained in a letter, to the committee of inquiry, that it was a ſacred duty to accuſe "*on* "*mere ſuſpicions and hearſay.*"

The committee ſpent nearly two months in preparing their report, which was at length made by M. Chabroud on the 30th of September. He laboured to ſhew by argument, ridicule, ſuppreſſions, and miſrepreſentations, ſuch as a bold and dexterous advocate would employ, that there was no immediate plot which led to the horrible day of the 6th of October; and that there was no ground for accuſing the two members for their particular conduct on that day. He aſſerted, in concluſion, that there was one plot indeed, which had been carried on from the firſt againſt the revolution; which had "engendered and foſ-"tered theſe monſtrous proceedings "of the Châtelet; of which (if he "did not deceive himſelf) he every "where ſaw the influence;" and which he ſpecifically charged as the cauſe of the indifference and ſecurity wherein he thought all patriotiſm ſwallowed up, of the want of diſcipline in the national guards of Paris, of the general want of confidence in the true ſervants of their country, and the cruel diviſions among the leaders of the aſſembly itſelf; but that in the events of that fatal day, the 6th of October, he could diſcover nothing but "misfortunes;" and theſe, in the falſe tone of impartial morality, too much uſed to palliate the crimes of the French revolution, "he left to enlightened "hiſtory for the inſtruction of poſte-"rity, as furniſhing uſeful leſſons to "kings, courtiers, and people." To ſupport theſe concluſions, he did not confine himſelf to the regular evidence before the aſſembly, but uſed ſometimes extrajudicial documents, and ſometimes naked aſſertion.

The proceedings of the Châtelet, which altogether filled five hundred and ſeventy pages in a very cloſe and ſmall type, without any index, table of contents, or other means of reference, had then been printed and diſtributed but very few days, and the reading of them to the aſſembly took up two days, ſo that one perſon only, M. Bonney, made a very ſhort ſpeech in defence of the king's life-guards on the 1ſt of October. The next day, the minority repreſented the neceſſity of a little time to compare evidence of ſuch a bulk, with the long report which had taken two months to arrange. But all delay was refuſed, nor were more than two or three members on that ſide permitted to ſpeak, and that only to general points. The majority, indeed, had contrived, by a previous vote, to reduce their numbers conſiderably. It had been reſolved, that all who had appeared as witneſſes, though their depoſitions in no way affected the two members in queſtion, ſhould be precluded from taking any part in this debate; and thus forty-two perſons were ſhut out from the diſcuſſion, among whom were M. La Fayette, M. Clermont de Tonnerre, and ſeveral ſpeakers of ability, more directly connected with the party of the minority ſide. To intimidate the reſt *, the galleries were filled with a riotous multitude, that reviled and menaced ſuch

* Compte rendu par une partie de l'Aſſemble Nationale, &c. Oct. 6, 1790.

of

of them as were permitted to deliver their ſentiments at all; in conſequence of which ſome members, unwilling to participate, even by their preſence, in the diſgrace of ſuch a ſcene, left the aſſembly. They who remained, when they found that all direct reſiſtance was ineffectual, moved, by way of amendment, to have the queſtion divided, as conceiving the weight of evidence to be very different in regard to the two members. It leaned ſo heavy, they ſaid, againſt the duke of Orleans in particular, that nothing but a public trial could relieve him from the load of grave ſuſpicion under which he lay. But this propoſition alſo was negatived.

The duke of Orleans was himſelf ſilent, but the duke of Biron, in his name, promiſed a future explanation which ſhould be ſatisfactory. In the mean time the defence, which he had printed and circulated, had been introduced by M. Chabroud, and conſiſted in aſſerting, that he had ſtayed in his own houſe at Paris on ſome private buſineſs, the whole day of the 5th, and till eight o'clock on the morning of the 6th; and M. Mirabeau's defence was of the ſame kind, that he was looking over ſome maps at home the whole afternoon of the 5th, when he was ſworn to have been ſeen among the regiment of Flanders. Beſides Mirabeau, the ſpeaker who moſt ſignalized himſelf in favour of the two members, was Roberſpierre. A ready majority, pronouncing in reality between their own cauſe and that of their adverſaries, concurred in the reſolution which had been moved by the reporter, declaring, that there was no ground of accuſation againſt the two members, but leaving all the other perſons accuſed to be proſecuted according to law.

Such a deciſion was not likely to meet acquieſcence from the minority, conſcious as they ſeemed to be of the goodneſs of their cauſe. They publiſhed therefore a * ſort of proteſt, wherein they gave an account of their conduct to their conſtituents, the nation, and the world. It recited ſuccinctly, and with fidelity, the ſeveral criminal acts in proof; it recapitulated in the ſame juſt ſtyle, the circumſtances which indicated the actual exiſtence of a treaſonable conſpiracy, and among which a marked ſtreſs was laid on the teſtimony borne by M. La Fayette to the bad diſpoſition of the national guards; and it explained the ſeveral grounds of oppoſition to the vote, as well as the unjuſtifiable means uſed to influence the determination. Other publications followed, apparently from profeſſional men, powerfully and ſucceſſively attacking the report of M. Chabroud in all its parts. At the ſame time the court of the Châtelet was proceeding againſt the inferior accomplices in the alledged conſpiracy; "Nicholas with the long "beard," ſince better known, from his atchievements of that day, by the name of "Jourdan the headſ- "man;" a woman of much ſubſequent celebrity in blood, whoſe real or fictitious name was Theroigne de Mericourt; four others named in the evidence; and fourteen or fifteen more, whoſe perſons were accurately deſcribed, though their names were not known. Their conviction would have been the condemnation of the aſſembly. The

* Dated the 6th of October.

leaders

leaders of the ruling party saw their danger, and were resolved to push their victory to security. Accordingly, by a decree of October the 25th, originally suggested by Robespierre, they deprived the court of all jurisdiction over treasonable offences, and thus put an end to a judicial enquiry, which alone could have vindicated the honour of the nation. How different was the principle of this amnesty, from the generous oblivion of the queen, who, when she was asked if she would give evidence on this prosecution, immediately answered, "* I saw all, heard all, and have "forgotten all!"

By these acts the assembly took upon itself a full share in the infamy and criminality of all the enormities to which they had granted impunity; and gave authority to that most pernicious sentiment intimated by the reporter, Chabroud, that "the return of liberty sanctifies all "efforts made in her favour." Thus it furnished a pretext and incitement to future crimes, and afforded a fruitful precedent for indemnities to a long succession of murders, which, committed by the same or similar assassins, have left an indelible stain of blood on the annals of France, beyond the example of the most barbarous times.

Nor was this the only mischief. The consequences were immediately and universally felt at Paris in the whole administration of criminal justice. The authority of the Châtelet had received a mortal blow. That court was in effect abolished, and it was not a season for the capital to be without a criminal tribunal. Arrests were multiplied, the prisons crowded, and the innocent languished in a tedious confinement, without the prospect of a release, while the guilty hoped impunity from the delay of punishment. At length those evils so forced themselves on the notice of M. Bailly, the mayor, that he came to the bar of the assembly, at the head of a deputation from the municipality, and observing that it was the province of himself and his colleagues to execute, not to make the law, requested a code for the regulation of the police, and a court of justice for the delivery of the gaols in the metropolis. Nov. 18th.

The whole police of Paris rested in effect on the national guards, and they, as we have seen, were by no means sound. Their commander in chief, M. La Fayette, maintained a perfect good understanding with the mayor, but his influence was undermined in various quarters. He had little personal weight at any time in the national assembly, and he had ceased to cultivate the Jacobins. M. Dumourier, who was then in his confidence, tells us †, that it was from no dislike of that society, but from his equal hatred of Mirabeau and the Lameths, between whose rival factions then lay the struggle for superiority in that club, as well as in the national assembly. The emissaries too of the duke of Orleans were numerous among the Jacobins, and they were the determined enemies of La Fayette. They were active against him every where, as were indeed all the turbulent and seditious, whom he endeavoured though feebly, to keep in check.

* See Miss Williams's Letters, Vol. I. p. 86.
† Vie de Dumouriez, l. III. cap. 4.

Many

Many of this deſcription, perſons of the loweſt claſs, without any fixed habitation, had got admiſſion into the ranks of that force, which ought, from its deſcription, to have conſiſted of the citizens of Paris; and upon theſe every art of ſeduction was employed * by M. Santerre, an opulent brewer, then colonel of a battalion belonging to the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and afterwards the ſucceſſor of La Fayette.

The ſtate of the police in Paris, and the little dependence to be placed on the national guards, appeared from an event which happened on the 14th of November. M. Charles Lameth having been ſlightly wounded the day before in a duel with the Duke de Caſtries, the inſtruments of popular commotion, diſappointed of wreaking their fury on the perſon of the Duke in his way to the aſſembly (for hearing of their intention he had withdrawn himſelf from their ſearch) reſolved to deſtroy his father's houſe, where he had reſided; and before they marched, ſtuck up bills "prohibiting the national guards from affording protection to any but true patriots." Nor did any detachment of the guards arrive to interrupt the work, though the debates in the Jacobin club, and the motions made at the Palais Royal the evening before, had given a notice of more than twelve hours. Every thing was plundered or demoliſhed, till the rioters were ſtopped at the apartment of old Marechal de Caſtries, by the gallantry of a ſingle ſoldier, who had ſerved under him.

Preſſed by theſe difficulties, M. La Fayette, as early as the month of June, had employed his thoughts, and conſulted his military friends, on a plan for the better regulation of the national guards throughout France; and now, on the ſame day, and probably in concert with M. Bailly, he appeared, attended by his deputation too, at the bar of the aſſembly, to repreſent the neceſſity of ſome new law for the organization of this armed force. Both deputations were favourably received, committees were employed on the ſubject, thus pointed out to the legiſlature as urgent and indiſpenſable, and meaſures taken, ſuch as ſeemed beſt to the wiſdom of the aſſembly. A new uniform-button was given to the national guards by a decree of the 5th of December, it was altered by a decree of the 23d, and again, by a decree of the 15th of January, the alteration was poſtponed till the 14th of July 1792. This was all that was immediately done towards organizing them; but a national gendarmerie, between ſeven and eight thouſand ſtrong, was formed for the purpoſes of police out of the old Marechauſſee, and other bodies of troops belonging to various great officers of the crown, or to the princes of the blood, all of which were now ſuppreſſed.

The clubs, in which reſided the ruling power of the whole revolution, began in the latter part of this year to ſeparate into factions internally, and new ſocieties were formed. The Jacobins had already diſguſted the great body of thoſe who, from ambition, vanity, or the delu-

* Some particulars of Santerre's conduct in that reſpect, in the year 1790, are ſtated in a declaration of M. Lareynie, annexed to the king's proclamation concerning the events of the 21ſt of June 1792, 4to. p. 79.

ſions

sions of false philosophy, which they followed more from fashion than knowledge, had betrayed the natural and just interests of their own respective conditions in society, and sought popularity and power, by encouraging a spirit which they were unable to controul. Among these were the two Crillons, the dukes of Rochefoucault and Liancourt, M. M. Montmorency, Emery, Beaumetz, Andrè, and others, chiefly members of the national assembly. They absented themselves from the Jacobins, and formed, at the house of the younger Crillon, a private club of their own, whence afterwards sprang the society called the Club of 1789, to which belonged La Fayette, Mirabeau, and Chapelier the founder of the Jacobin club. These, however, were rivals, not enemies of the Jacobins, among whom most of their members were still enrolled, and whose meetings some of them occasionally attended. Their object was to get the formation of public opinion into their own hands, the avowed end of their institution being " * to develop and perfect " the principles of a free constitu- " tion, and to accelerate the pro- " gress of the social art." This was a language of latitude, which would admit every projector; but it was a little too speculative for the multitude, and did not, on the face of it, flatter their passions in practice, like the original declaration of the Rights of Man. The club attempted also to erect a new sort of aristocracy: for it † consisted almost entirely of members of the national assembly, of the department, and the municipality, together with the whole staff and other chosen officers of the national guards of Paris. This, which appeared to be its strength, was in reality its weakness; and notwithstanding the efforts of innumerable runners in the coffee-houses, and all the artifices of the press, it soon languished and sunk into inefficiency. Some of its members fell back from time to time into the Jacobins, some remained, and formed the foundation of the club of *the Feuillants* in the following year, and a small number went over to the *Monarchy-Club*, which was announced, and attempted to meet in the latter end of the year 1790.

This last club was set on foot principally under the auspices of the men who had lent the credit of their names and good intentions to the first stage of the revolution, but who had been early startled by the enormities of October 1789. The press being now the great instrument of all political good and evil, they were to publish a journal as the vehicle of their opinions, which was announced by a committee consisting of M. M. Clermont de Tonnerre, de Crecy, de Rossy, and Cormier. They professed to support the monarchy as

* Recited in the resolutions of the club on a motion of Condorcet. Moniteur, 6th February 1791.

† Le veritable Portrait de nos Legislateurs 1792, p. 28.—This is a book evidently written to prepare the way for the destruction of the king. Its immediate object is to recommend all the most violent men of the first national assembly to public confidence, and to quiet all alarms respecting the duke of Orleans, who is represented as no way formidable. The colouring of the portraits is strong, to produce the effect intended; but the facts related seem in general to be founded in truth.

settled

ſettled by the conſtitution, but to conſider it at the ſame time as an eſſential part of that conſtitution, and as ſuch to defend it with conſtancy againſt the efforts long made to annihilate it altogether. It ſhould ſeem, that none who did not aim at an abſolute democracy, could well object to theſe principles; nevertheleſs, this unfortunate ſociety was perſecuted on every ſide. It is true, the Jacobins, feeling a confidence in their character, affected at firſt to adviſe a toleration of the monarchy-club, but their agitators inflamed the populace: the very charity of that club was made odious to the poor in the midſt of diſtreſs; the perſons of the members were inſulted and endangered by thoſe to whom they offered bread. Sometimes the outrages of the populace, and ſometimes the authority of the mayor and municipality, hindered them from meeting. At length, the maſter of the houſe which they had engaged for their reception, was ſo frightened as to deny them admiſſion; and ſoon after M. Barnave, the organ of the Jacobin club in the aſſembly, denounced them, and the club of 1789 publicly expelled from among them all thoſe who were likewiſe members of the monarchy-club.

In ſome of the provincial capitals ſimilar attempts were made to eſtabliſh clubs in favour of the monarchy, but with no better ſucceſs. At Aix, in particular, the conſequences were tragical. The members of two Jacobin clubs in that city having collected round the door of a houſe where a club of "*king's friends*" held their meetings, a fray aroſe. The municipal officers, as uſual, liſtened to the denunciations of the Jacobins, and committed ſome of the royaliſts to priſon. But the populace having learned that a detachment of national guards was marching from ſome of the neighbouring towns, and fearing that by a legal trial, the objects of their fury would be liberated, broke open the jail, and hanged three perſons whom they found there; M. Guiraman, an old officer of fourſcore, who had the croſs of St. Louis, M. de la Raquette, a counſellor of parliament, and M. Paſchalis, an advocate of eminence, who having been a warm partiſan of the revolution in its earlier ſtages, had nevertheleſs ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt the abolition of the parliaments, and for that offence had been confined before the firſt formation of the obnoxious club. After theſe examples in the metropolis and in the country, none dared to aſſociate under ſuch names, and on ſuch avowed principles; but new ſocieties appeared, calling themſelves "the "friends of peace, or of order."

On the other ſide, was the club of the Cordeliers, which conſiſted of the moſt violent Jacobins, but at this time was not very flouriſhing in numbers or reputation. There was alſo the Fraternal Society, and many other ſocieties and clubs in Paris, which, under different denominations, partook of the ſame common principles with the Jacobins; and the ſeveral ſections of the city met and debated in the ſame ſpirit: to which may be added, as public inſtruments of the ſame cauſe, the inſtitution of the Lyceum, and the groups of the Palais-Royal. At the former of theſe places, which was founded in 1785 for other purpoſes, under the patronage of the king's brothers, lectures, accommodated to the times, were now read by ſuitable profeſſors, for the

instruction of such as had some taste for elegant literature, and respect for erudition. M. Garat, afterwards better known as the minister of justice, who authorized the execution of his sovereign, diserted upon * Roman history, interspersing his narrative with perpetual applications of a popular tendency to his own country; M. La Croix reviewed the constitutions of all the principal states in Europe, to inculcate the superiority of their own rights of man; and others, with the same object, took up different branches in letters, arts, and sciences. In the Palais-Royal, from stools, chairs, and tables, in coffee-houses, and in the open air, the idle, the profligate, and turbulent of every class, were for ever harangued, and every thing violent was counselled, instigated, and set in motion.

Still, amidst all the various factions and cabals which co-operated in their several ways to drive forward the revolution, the great mother-club of the Jacobins stood superior, and was the centre of all the intrigue in France. Their abuse of the press was beyond all imagination. Large editions of no less than † from fifty to a hundred different pamphlets were distributed every month at their door. The Lameths too had introduced a committee of correspondence, which now held communication with ‡ more than two thousand affiliated societies in different parts of the kingdom, besides foreign societies all over Europe. And this intercourse increased so much upon them about this period, that they found themselves obliged to advertise their determination of receiving in future from the clubs of France, no letters which were not post-paid. Of this powerful machine, the Lameths, under the lead of Barnave, were left principal directors, by the secession of the members who formed the club of 1789. But this made room for a new faction to rise into notice; Brissot, Robespierre, Pethion, Buzot, Carra, Collot d'Herbois, Salicetti, and more of that stamp, some of whom made themselves of so much consequence as to get their names on the committee of correspondence. Under these circumstances, Mirabeau, who had attached himself to the club of 1789, for the sake of its weight in the national assembly, but who soon found their insufficiency, and their error in abandoning the Jacobins, returned to the latter, and exerted himself to regain the lead. Yet while he contended with his rival Barnave, and the Lameths, for the ascendency, he did not court the connections of Brissot and Robespierre, who were § then endeavouring to undermine them. He rather pointed his efforts to repress the more violent spirits; for he considered them as the most dangerous §, and he had ‖ conceived a

* See Miss Williams's Letters, Vol. II. p. 132.

† See Mr. Miles's "Conduct of France towards Great Britain," p. 55, note.

‡ Vie de Dumouriez, L. III. c. 5.—But le veritable Portrait de nos Legislateurs, p. 28. makes the affiliated societies only about 600, and the writer does not apparently mean to under-rate their number. Whether more or fewer, it is agreed by all, that they existed in all the principal towns, and most of the considerable villages throughout France.

§ This clearly appears by Brissot's own paper, the Patriote François, of Jan. the 1st, 1791.

‖ Journal de la Maladie & de la Mort de Mirabeau, par Cabanis, p. 41.

hope

hope that the ſociety which had done ſo much to deſtroy, might thus in the end be made the inſtrument of reſtoring order. Indeed his object had never been to overturn the ſtate, but by any means to govern it. And this he originally aimed to do by raiſing the duke of Orleans to be regent, lieutenant-general, or king, as circumſtances might lead to one or the other fortune. Baffled there by the timidity of that prince, and the jealouſy of La Fayette, he had been afterwards diſappointed of making himſelf miniſter through the club of 1789, and the national aſſembly, by the decree which had paſſed on the motion of M. Lanjuinais, ſimilar to the ſelf-denying ordinance of our long parliament, and he now was in ſecret connection with the court through M. Montmorin.

But there was one fatality attending all the endeavours, whether made by M. Mirabeau, the club of 1789, or other individuals, and other factions, at different periods, to ſtop the progreſs of anarchy; they were ſo ſituated as neceſſarily to loſe all their influence the moment they ſhewed the leaſt moderation. They were treated as ſeceders, inconſiſtent men, and apoſtates. They were told of their former ſpeeches and actions. In vain did they talk of the paſt as "*revolutionary meaſures*" no longer neceſſary. They were anſwered, that the revolution was not terminated, becauſe they were at the head of it. * "We will have no "idols," it was ſaid, "we will "have a conſtitution." This laſt word was eternally in the mouths of all the public incendiaries. It was a cry of the populace; it was given in toaſts and ſentiments at civic feaſts; it was the theme of declamations, and the ſubject of ſolemn oaths; yet no man did or could affix any poſitive notion to it; for the conſtituent aſſembly itſelf at this very time confeſſed their own ignorance of it, by appointing a committee to inquire and report what had been done, and what yet remained to be done to the conſtitution. The term therefore was uſed, like the name of liberty, to ſignify every thing hoſtile to the royal power, and the acknowledged government of the country; and it was under the title of "friends of "the conſtitution," that the clubs were ſo buſy every where in demoliſhing all civil and religious authority, old and new alike, to make room for their own tyranny. They had but one principle; that "the "revolution muſt not become retro-"grade." Conſequently none were allowed to tread back their ſteps, or even to remain ſtationary. They who would not lead were dragged along with the multitude, and were perpetually obliged to compromiſe for their own ſafety by joining or beginning cries, which they knew to be abſurd and falſe, againſt ariſtocracy. They never dared to recommend ſubordination, but by inflaming the paſſions and prejudices of the common people in the very ſame breath againſt the court, the nobility, and the clergy, to whom they attributed all thoſe ſcandalous enormities, which were the immediate fruits of their own machinations, played off by newer and more able demagogues. As the authority of rank, riches, learning, and moral character, which in the outſet were uſeful to influence the maſs of the nation, ſo long habituated to regard

* Briſſot's words in the Patriote François, of Jan. 1ſt, 1791.

them

them with more or less reverence, had now ceased to be necessary, men who at first thought themselves honoured by the most distant confidence of the popular leaders, began every where to set up for themselves; agents aspired to be principals; the journalists most distinguished for their democratical zeal, came forward into active life, while all their fellow-labourers of the press made common cause in support of their fame; and every faction which climbed into secondary eminence, had one invariable scheme, of aiming to supplant those who were at the summit, by pushing them on to projects more and more popular, till some one was found, which from opinion, or from consistency they opposed, and by opposing destroyed themselves for ever.

It was by the necessary operation of these circumstances and these manœuvres, that France was so soon after hurried into total anarchy under the name of a republic. Yet among those who were so strenuously employed in unsettling the whole frame of the state, it may be doubted if there was at first, or even at this period, any great number, that systematically aimed at the establishment of a government directly and purely republican in its form. Madame Roland, who was a principal in Brissot's faction, has drawn a striking picture, not only of the original weakness of the patriots, as she calls them, but of their conduct and morals: though, as she wrote when they were under persecution, she colours and palliates as well as she can, what nothing can justify *. According to her information, they "had only their pens and their "voices; but when some popular "commotion came to their aid, "they availed themselves of it with "pleasure, without inquiring how "it was produced, or giving themselves much concern about it. "There was (continues she) behind the curtain, an interested "person, whom the aristocrats accused with such vehemence, that "the patriots were tempted to pardon him, so long as they perceived nothing but what might be turned to the common good: "besides, they could not persuade "themselves that he was any way "formidable." D'Orleans (adds she, a little lower in the same page) "standing singly, was surely "not to be feared: but his name, "his connections, his wealth, and "his advisers, gave him great "means: he acted unquestionably "a secret part in all the popular "commotions: men of pure intentions suspected it, but these ferments they deemed necessary to "raise the inert mass." Camille Desmoulins, on the other hand, who was the champion of Robespierre's faction in the moment of their victory over Brissot, more openly glories in the original paucity of their numbers, and the arts by which they prepared their ultimate success. The true republicans, † he says, did not at first exceed ten in all Paris; but what wonderfully assisted them was the necessity under which all the intriguers lay of courting popular favour. "It was "thus," he adds, "that we were

* Mad. Roland's Appeal, English translation, Vol. I. p. 59.

† History of the Brissotins (published by the Jacobin Club as their manifesto against Brissot) p. 10. and 13, English translation.

" enabled to give battle to the ve-
" terans who deſerted us, by the
" new levy of intriguers who daily
" flocked to the ſtandard of the Ja-
" cobins; thus the Chapeliers, the
" Dumetz, and the Deſmeuniers
" were driven from the club by the
" Barnaves and Duports; and the
" Barnaves and Duports by the
" Briſſots and Rolands. Thus we
" ſucceſſively vanquiſhed Maury
" the royaliſt, by Mounier and his
" two houſes; Mounier and his
" two houſes by Mirabeau with his
" abſolute negative; and Mira-
" beau's abſolute negative by Bar-
" nave's ſuſpenſive veto; and Bar-
" nave and his ſuſpenſive veto by
" Briſſot, who choſe to admit of no
" other negative than that of him-
" ſelf and his friends." " Till our
" days (concludes this author) it
" has been thought, with the legiſ-
" lators of old, that virtues were
" the neceſſary baſis of a republic;
" the eternal glory of the Jacobin
" club will be to have formed one
" from vices." Surely theſe con-
feſſions of the rival factions, which triumphed in their turn, hold forth an awful warning to governments how they neglect, and to all men of influence and fair intentions how they encourage, the firſt ſpecious movements of inſurrections and revolutions.

In the mean time the king, abhorrent in his own nature from meaſures of ſeverity, or even of vigour, and deceived by the ſhort popularity which ſometimes attended for a moment the ſacrifices which he made, flattered himſelf with hopes, perpetually renewed, though as often diſappointed, that by patience and conciliation, he might bring back the affections of his deluded ſubjects. Every ſanction which he gave, contrary to his own feelings and judgment, he truſted would be the laſt extorted from him; yet whatever he had done, he reſolved fairly to maintain, till by time and experience his people ſhould perceive, and the legiſlative powers of the future conſtitution ſhould correct, their errors. The ſchiſm in the popular ſocieties, the new clubs of more moderate principles, which were riſing under different names, the change of conduct in two ſuch individuals as la Fayette and Mirabeau, one at the head of the military force, and the other the greateſt orator of the aſſembly on the popular ſide, gave a deceitful appearance of reality to theſe views, in the cloſe of the year 1790: and placed upon an eminence, as monarchs are, they cannot diſtinctly ſee what paſſes below; they learn it only from the reports of thoſe who approach them, and who are always liable to be warped by their own intereſts, or influenced by their own wiſhes. Louis the XVIth however, was not a ſtranger to the uſe made by the republican faction of their pens and their voices, for the purpoſe of degrading and enfeebling all the authority which the new laws profeſſed to leave him. In their moſt decorous publications, the queen never had her own royal ſtyle and title; ſhe was at moſt the " king's wife," or the " dauphin's " mother," and the king himſelf was ſometimes called by his family-name, ſometimes by the appellation of " the firſt public function-" ary," " the executive power," and in deriſion, the " executive " eaſy-chair;" while the looſer libels heaped names of the coarſeſt ridicule and contempt upon both. What he conſidered, and with juſ-

tice,

tice, as the moſt miſchievous device to keep the Pariſians in conſtant agitation, was the falſe report which was for ever raiſed of a plot for his eſcape, and the commencement of a civil war. He complained of this calumny to the preſident of the national aſſembly, when ſome decrees, and one among the reſt for ſtopping the penſions of emigrants, were brought for the royal ſanction; and he gave, on the part of the queen, as well as himſelf, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their good wiſhes for the quiet accompliſhment of the conſtitution.

Dec. 23, 1790.

About the ſame time, being reluctantly compelled to give his aſſent to the new decree againſt the clergy, he took the opportunity of that conceſſion to repeat his aſſurances under his hand, and to obſerve to the aſſembly, that the beſt and moſt certain mode of calming all agitations, and vanquiſhing all reſiſtance, was to eſtabliſh reciprocal confidence between them and himſelf. "It is neceſſary, (added the "king in his letter) I deſerve it, "and I reckon upon it."

The opening of the new year ſeemed to hold forth a promiſe, that the reliance of the king upon the national aſſembly, as far as they were concerned, would not be wholly vain. The preſident, having been ſent with a deputation to pay the uſual compliments on that occaſion to the king and queen, did juſtice to the amiable character of Louis the XVIth, "whoſe frank "and pure mind (he truly ſaid) "knew no happineſs but the gene-"ral happineſs;" he ſpoke of "the mutual confidence which "reigned between his majeſty and "the aſſembly; and he wiſhed, "that it might ſecure to him that "peace which ſuch a king ſo "well deſerved, and which all good "Frenchmen muſt deſire to ſee "him enjoy." After addreſſing the queen, he turned to the dauphin, who was by her ſide, "and "you, young prince (continued he) "whom Providence and our laws "call to wear a crown embelliſhed "by liberty, imitate the virtues of "thoſe who gave you life; learn "from them that kings are eſta-"bliſhed to make the people hap-"py, and that their true power "conſiſts in obedience to the laws." The anſwers both of the king and queen were gracious and affecting: the king in concluſion invited the aſſembly to unite all their efforts with his to remedy the miſeries, and pacify the troubles which had more or leſs afflicted all the provinces, and "which (he ſaid) had deep-"ly wounded his heart." But unhappily for the king, as the event proved, the leaders of the aſſembly, who, under the name of friends to order, were now coming to the ſupport of government, on that ſame day decreed the termination of their own political exiſtence. Having received a report from the central committee, which had been appointed to examine what progreſs had been made in their great work, they arranged a long liſt of articles, upon which they determined to proceed without interruption, and then to diſſolve themſelves, as ſoon as the conſtitution ſhould thus be completed. In the mean time the meaſures they purſued were very far from giving peace to the provinces, and eaſe to the king's heart. Very few days had paſſed, when a direct perſecution of the clergy was begun, which in the

Jan. 1ſt, 1791.

time of the ſucceeding national aſſembly was carried to the moſt cruel exceſs, which more and more convulſed all the provinces, was made an oſtenſible cauſe of ruining the king, for exerciſing the negative given to him by the conſtitution, and finally contributed to kindle a moſt obſtinate and ſanguinary civil war not yet extinguiſhed. In a former volume, we have touched generally on the ſubject; we are now, in the following chapter, to purſue ſome of the details.

CHAP. VI.

Time allowed the clergy for taking the new oath expires. Fifty only take it. Falſe abſtract of decree reſpecting the clergy ſent to the municipalities; and falſe placard in conſequence poſted up by the mayor of Paris. Clergy inſulted and menaced in going to the national aſſembly. Tumult within and without the aſſembly. Abbé Gregoire's ſpeech. Mirabeau's ſpeech. Biſhops not permitted to ſpeak. M. Dufraiſſe declares the aſſembly not free, and proteſts. His proteſt oppoſed. Tranquillity reſtored. Biſhop of Agen's ſpeech.—M. Fournet's.—M. Le Clerc's. Enemies of the clergy embarraſſed. Tyranny of the aſſembly towards the clergy. Magnanimity of the biſhop of Poitiers. Clergy unanimouſly adhere to his ſentiments. Preſident ordered to demand the execution of the decree againſt non-juring eccleſiaſtics. Affairs of the clergy reſumed in the evening ſitting. Several prieſts retract their oaths. Not ſuffered to lay their declaration of retractation on the table. Conduct of the clergy extorts admiration from their enemies. Endeavours uſed to make the clergy of Paris take the oaths. Artifices to create a belief that they had taken them. Prohibition of marriage within certain degrees aboliſhed. Vacancy of the ſee of Paris. Biſhop of Autun withdraws his pretenſions, and acknowledges himſelf to have won in one month 30,000 *francs at play. Penſions decreed for non-juring clergy. Perſecution againſt them continued. Inſtances of its rigour. Ceremonies at taking the oaths. Treatment of non-jurors at Paris.—In the provinces. Troubles at Vannes and the neighbourhood. Anonymous account of them calculated to criminate the clergy. True ſtatement of the whole affair from the proces-verbal. Magiſtrates of Sarzeau, ordered for trial at Vannes. Commiſſioners and troops ſent to Vannes. Biſhops of Vannes, Treguier, and St. Pol de Leon, ordered to attend the aſſembly. Reſpectable character of the biſhop of St. Pol.—Obliged to fly.—Dangers attending his flight.—Lands in Cornwall. Diſturbances at Uzès and Nimes, and the formation of the camp at Jalès. Review of the troubles at Nimes, the eſtabliſhment of the jacobin club there, and the injuſtice of the national aſſembly to the magiſtrates of that city in* 1790. *Riſe of the Red-Tufts and White-Feathers. Diſputes between them. Attempt to occaſion riots and maſſacres on the* 2d *of May* 1790. *Fruſtrated by the good conduct of the magiſtrates. Takes effect on the* 13*th of June. Abbé Belmont compelled to proclaim martial law.—Barbarouſly treated.* 15,000 *armed men arrive at Nimes. Red-Tufts perſuaded to ſurrender their arms. General maſſacre of them, and pillage of the town enſues. Houſes, property, and perſons of proteſtants ſpared. Horrid acts of cruelty towards catholics,*

catholics, of whom more than 300 are murdered. Correſpondence at this time between the jacobin club at Nîmes, and revolution ſociety of London. Proceedings in the nationl aſſembly reſpecting the troubles at Nîmes. Aunts of Louis XVI. deſirous of going to reſide at Rome. Set out with paſſports. Detained by the municipality of Arnay-le-Duc: Permitted by the national aſſembly to proceed. Tumult at Paris in conſequence. King's life believed in danger. Great numbers of gentlemen fly to his defence. Decree propoſed reſpecting the reſidence of the public functionaries. Spirited ſpeech of M. Cazalès on the ſubject. Important day of the 28th of February. Attempt of M. Chapelier, from the committee of conſtitution, to lay down the conſtitutional principles of order. Petion and Roberſpierre attack M. Chapelier's propoſitions as againſt the rights of man. Barnave and others try to puſh M. Chapelier on adding them, if neceſſary, as explanations and limitations on the declaration of rights. Only one out of ſeven articles paſſed, with great alterations, by M. Deſmeuniers. The friends of order in reality defeated on this queſtion. Project of a law againſt emigration propoſed by M. Chapelier, from the committee of conſtitution, with an avowal that no law on the ſubject could be made without violating all their principles. Mirabeau's opinion to the ſame effect. Violent clamours againſt him, and laughter at Chapelier. Galleries tumultuous. Reſolution paſſed in the midſt of confuſion, that all the committees ſhould conſider the ſubject, ſeparately and together. Riot the ſame day at the caſtle of Vincennes. La Fayette marches with the national guards. Signs of diſaffection in the battalion of the ſuburb of St. Antoine, under Santerre. Riot quelled, and the ringleaders taken. La Fayette's life twice in danger. Alarm about a plot to kill the king, or carry him away. Gentlemen go again to his defence. Found in the palace by La Fayette, who remonſtrates to the king. Louis addreſſes the gentlemen, who in conſequence ſurrender their arms to the king. Arms ſeized by the national guards, and ſome of them broken in the king's preſence. Gentlemen inſulted. Emigration in conſequence of this day, and ſituation of the king. M. Roland firſt arrives in Paris. Briſſot's councils at his houſe.

THE time allowed to the eccleſiaſtical members of the aſſembly for taking the new oath, was to expire on the fourth of January. As that day approached, the clergy renewed the offers which they had formerly made, of calling a general council to do what the aſſembly had recommended, and of applying, with all their influence, to obtain the ſanction of the Pope: They were even willing, after an example in the hiſtory of the primitive church, to ſurrender their benefices, if their ſucceſſors might receive them under circumſtances which would not have violated the principles of the Catholic faith. But it was the great object of thoſe who had planned the new civil conſtitution of the church, to deſtroy from the foundation that diſcipline, which is conſidered by all ſincere members of the Roman communion as of holy origin, the ſubject of ſpiritual authority alone, and an eſſential of their religion. M. Camus, who led the committee, was a Janſeniſt, and conſequently, on principle, an enemy to the ſupremacy of the pope. Yet the diſturbances which the former decrees on the ſame ſubject had excited in the provinces, and eſpecially in the South, made the chiefs of the ruling party ſomewhat anxious about the event, and every

engine was set at work to persuade or intimidate the clerical order of the assembled states into a compliance, but with little effect. Not above thirty out of three hundred freely obeyed; and about twenty more were with difficulty induced, by casuistical interpretations of different kinds, to conform.

The bishop of Clermont endeavoured to explain his sentiments respecting the oath, but he was interrupted, and obliged to answer categorically whether he would take it as it stood. He said he would not, and was not suffered to proceed. The next day a printed copy of his speech, which he had published in his own defence, was made a subject of complaint to the assembly, and treated as a libel. At the same time it was signified by M. Charles Lameth, that the oath must be taken simply without any preamble, gloss, or reservation, when the names of the ecclesiastical members should be called over, on the morrow, to have their answers recorded.

By an official mistake of a singular nature, never satisfactorily cleared up, a copy of the late decree had been sent down to all the municipalities, with a false abstract prefixed to it, by which all the non-juring priests were declared at once to be disturbers of the peace. Immediately the mayor and municipality of Paris posted up a placard, grounded on this spurious copy; and their publication, which was loudly applauded in the national assembly, contributed not a little to make the profligate more audacious in their denunciations against the clergy.

* The day was now come which was to try the faith and fortitude of the Gallican church. The gardens of the Thuilleries, the avenues of the assembly, and the galleries, were occupied at an early hour by hired ruffians. As the ecclesiastics passed to the house, they were vilified, outraged, and threatened: nothing was heard but cries of "the lamp-post! "To the lamp-post with all non-jur-"ing bishops and priests!" But their constancy was not shaken: they waited with serenity for the order of the day. When the appointed time drew near, Abbé Gregoire mounted the tribune, and endeavoured to explain away the whole force of the oath; saying, among other things, that "the "assembly did not judge consciences, "nor even exact an interior con-"sent." The scandal of thus unblushingly recommending hypocrisy was felt by Mirabeau, who immediately rose, and attempted a less

* The account that follows is taken chiefly from the Moniteur, the Abbé Barruel's history of the French clergy, and the Proces-verbal. It is remarkable that the facts, as simply represented in the Moniteur, in which paper the debates are said to have been then reported by the private secretary of M. Barnave, the mover of the decree against the clergy, actually place them, in some points of view, much higher than the Abbé Barruel's history, written by one of their own body. The account of the Moniteur is more lively, and certainly more correct in the order of the several incidents of that memorable day. It is therefore principally followed. A private letter from M. Bethisey, bishop of Uzès, which was read in the national assembly on the 22d of February, also gives a similar account. M. Audainel, in a very well-written work, printed for Edwards in Pall-Mall, and intituled, "Denun-"ciation aux François Catholiques," &c. tells us (page 275), that some little billets, which had been thrown out of the national assembly as signals to the populace, were found and preserved.

diſhoneſt interpretation; declaring alſo that ſuch prieſts as did not take the oath, but paid the penalty of reſigning their benefices, were not culpable; yet endeavouring to flatter all into acquieſcence.

At laſt the preſident, on the motion of M. Barnave, ſummoned the eccleſiaſtics to anſwer; when M. Cazales called his attention to the ſhouts and horrible cries which reſounded from every ſide. The preſident however went on, and called upon M. Bonnac, the biſhop of Agen. That venerable prelate advanced; "I demand to ſpeak," ſaid he, but inſtantly on the left aroſe a general cry of "no talking; take the oath, "aye or no?" "It is with a heart "pierced with grief,"—reſumed the biſhop, when his voice was drowned by new clamours and menaces from without. "Do you "hear Mr. Preſident?" demanded ſeveral members on the right; "let "the mayor go and quiet this diſ-"order." The preſident aſſured them that he had given orders for the purpoſe; but the uproar ſtill continuing, M. Dufraiſſe ſpoke to the queſtion of privilege; "you hear," ſaid he, "thoſe unprincipled wretch-"es, who having deſtroyed the mo-"narchy by infamous means, want "now to annihilate religion. I de-"clare that the aſſembly is not free, "and I proteſt."—"No!" exclaimed all the left ſide of the houſe, "no "more appeals, let the decree be "executed."

After ſome little interval, tranquillity being reſtored and ſilence obtained; "gentlemen," ſaid the biſhop of Agen, "you have made a law, "by the fourth article of which you "have directed an oath, and by the "fifth you inflict the puniſhment of "deprivation on all prieſts who will "not take that oath. I regret not "the loſs of my rank; I regret not "the loſs of my fortune; but there "is a loſs which would deeply hurt "me; the loſs I mean of your eſ-"teem and my own faith. I could "not fail to loſe both, if I obeyed "you. Suffer me, therefore, I in-"treat you, to teſtify the pain which "I feel in not being able to take "the oath." This ſpeech, happily tempering conſtancy with urbanity, made a perceptible impreſſion, which was ſtrengthened by M. Fournet, a clergyman of the ſame dioceſe, who was the next on the liſt. He told the aſſembly, that as they profeſſed a deſire of reducing the church to its primitive ſtate, he was ready to copy the examples of thoſe pure times, and to follow his biſhop even to martyrdom.

The enemies of the church now began to feel that they had only afforded to the clergy an occaſion of triumph. They conſulted together; they ſeparated; they met in other groupes; and they were ſtill uncertain what courſe to purſue, when M. Le Clerc, the rector of La Cambe, was called upon to anſwer. "I was born a Roman Ca-"tholic (ſaid he) and am deter-"mined to die in that communion. "This I can never do if I take the "oath propoſed to me." But before he had finiſhed the firſt ſentence, M. Rhœderer demanded of him aloud, that he ſhould at once take or refuſe the oath; and when it was obſerved that Abbé Gregoire had been allowed to explain it, the preſident replied, that according to the order of the aſſembly, eccleſiaſtics muſt only ſay, "I ſwear," or, "I do not ſwear." "Nay, "(cried M. Foucault) this is ty-"ranny of an unprecedented kind.

" The heathen emperors, who per-
" ſecuted the ancient martyrs, ſuf-
" fered them to pronounce the name
" of God, and teſtify their fidelity
" to their religion."

The confuſion now increaſed, till, with a view of bringing the firmneſs of the whole clergy at once to the teſt, and of ſhortening, if not of breaking their victory, a decree was propoſed and carried, that all ſuch as choſe to take the oath ſhould advance. After ſome delay, three eccleſiaſtics came forward and offered to take the oath with reſervations, but they were directed, by many voices, to take it pure and ſimple. "Strange! (remarked one of " the clergy) that we muſt ſtand like " ſtatues, and not utter a word, " while others talk what, and as " much as they pleaſe. I am wil-" ling (continued he) to take the " oath, with no other explanation " than a former decree of your " own, that you did not mean to " touch any thing ſpiritual." This propoſal however was not accepted; and the preſident demanded if any perſon would take the oath agreeably to the order of the aſſembly.

Silence enſued. It continued without interruption for a quarter of an hour. At the end of that interval, M. Cazalès moved a reſolution to the effect of the propoſition made by the eccleſiaſtic who had laſt ſpoken. M. Beaupoil St. Aulaire, biſhop of Poitiers, availing himſelf of this opportunity, preſſed towards the tribunal with an eagerneſs which made him inſenſible to the weight of his years. " Gentlemen, (cried he) I am ſe-" venty years old; I have been " thirty years a biſhop. Bowed " down with age, and with infir-" mities contracted by my ſtudies, " and in the diſcharge of my paſ-" toral duties, I will not diſgrace " my grey hairs by the oath you " have decreed; I will never take " it. I ſhall meet my lot with a " contrite ſpirit." Inſtantly all the clerical members on the right aroſe from their ſeats, and declared their unanimous adherence to the ſentiments of the biſhop of Poitiers.

M. Cazalès, however, perſiſting in his motion, he was attacked by M. Mirabeau, who ſaid, that if there was not a ſecret plan for diſturbing the peace of the realm, the declaration already voted by the aſſembly a thouſand times, muſt be ſufficient without its being repeated; but here, he obſerved, was the difficulty; the aſſembly called that *temporal* which the clergy conſidered as *ſpiritual*. The ruling party would not hear the Abbé Maury in anſwer, and with tumultuous cries rejected the amendment moved by M. Cazalès. The ſecond part of M. Barnave's motion was then put and carried; which was, that the preſident ſhould addreſs the king to execute the decree, by depriving all who had that day refuſed to take the oath. It has been remarked, that M. Barnave, the principal mover in this buſineſs, was a proteſtant, and M. Emeri, the preſident, a Jew.

In the evening ſitting, ſome of the eccleſiaſtics who had been prevailed upon, by various artifices of explanation, to take the oath againſt their judgment, alarmed at the repeated refuſals of the aſſembly to admit thoſe very explanations, and ſatisfied now that there was a ſerious deſign to overthrow the eſtabliſhed religion of their country, aſcended the tribune, pronounced

nounced a retractation of their oath, and delivered it in writing to one of the secretaries. Others signified their adherence to it, and desired that it might lie on the table, but this was refused; they insisted, but were again repulsed; and it was finally decreed, that all mention of any declarations or restrictions proposed by the priests should be suppressed.

Thus ended a day, the memory of which must ever prove a consolation to the surviving sufferers under all their calamities, and which cannot but recommend them to respect from the members of a purer church, as it extorted the admiration of their enemies and persecutors. We have their money, said Mirabeau, but they have all the honour of the day.

To prevent the effect which might naturally be expected to follow the steady conduct of the bishops and priests in the assembly, there were no arts to which the ruling party did not descend, for the purpose of getting the clergy of Paris to take the oath. Dissimulation, affected tenderness, a pretended regard for religion, all were employed to that end. When these failed, all means were used to give the appearance of a success which did not exist. Lists of those who conformed were published, and all the lay-attendants of the churches, singing-men, choristers, and others of that description, were included to swell the ostensible numbers. It has even been said, that persons of the lowest description were hired to dress themselves in clerical habits, and take the oaths under false names; and certain it is, that many priests who were set down as having submitted, contradicted that account, and treated it as the most serious imputation on their characters, and a gross imposition on the public.

An address to the nation, explaining these proceedings on principles of philosophical infidelity, was brought forward by Mirabeau, but it was violently attacked by Camus, who said, it was full of abominations not to be heard in cold blood. However, after much confusion and tumult, it was sent to the committee; where another was substituted, composed in a strain of the most disgusting hypocrisy, and claiming merit with the pious for having brought back the church to a state of primitive simplicity and purity. As the first fruits of this reformation, the assembly, in effect, abolished the distinctions of prohibited degrees in marriage.

The vacancy in the see of Paris, gave rise to an incident which illustrates the principles of those who stood highest in the new Gallican church. The bishop of Autun, was supposed to have his views towards that preferment: but there was an unlucky report, that he was a stock-jobber, a character unpopular in the extreme. He resigned his pretensions, therefore, by a letter in the news-papers, in which he denied the charge, yet acknowledged that he had won 30,000 francs at play in the course of two months, though he professed never to have loved gaming; and for what had happened he took shame to himself, as a private man and as a legislator. He did not even allude to his duty as a minister of the gospel and a bishop.

M. Chapelier about this time carried a motion, which though it gave little effectual relief to the sufferers by the late decree, yet in principle held them up Feb. 8th.

as

as men no way criminal: all non-jurors who were deprived of their benefices, were to have annual pensions of 500 livres, or something more than 20 pounds sterling. And two days after, when a deputation of American quakers, settled at Dunkirk, presented a petition at the bar of the assembly, to demand protection for their religious opinions, Mirabeau, who after repeated miscarriages had at length been raised to the presidency by the help of the Jacobins, uttered in his answer that sentiment which has since become so trite and familiar here, that "no government should "dare to interpose between the "heart of every man and God;" yet at that very moment the persecution was growing more and more violent against the teachers of the Catholic religion, to which the national assembly had just professed the strongest attachment.

Feb. 10th.

All artifices being found to be lost on the great body of the clergy, compulsion was now more generally attempted. The spirit in which the decree was enforced throughout Paris, may be collected * from one or two anecdotes. M. Bailly having asked M. Marduel, a respectable clergyman who had the benefice of St. Roche, "whether it was true that "the late decrees were contrary to "the Catholic religion," and being told that "they certainly were," "then," replied he "did it depend "upon myself, the Catholic religion "should this day be annihilated in "France." When such was the declaration of the mayor, it is not to be wondered that his colleagues stretched, as far as they pleased, the powers entrusted to them by the law.

M. Grenthè, who having before been deprived of a place by the revolution, served a parish church in the suburb of St. Antoine, received a letter from the municipal officers, appointing a day for his taking the oath, and threatening him, in case of a refusal, "with being declared a "rebel to the national decrees, laid "under an interdict, and having a "national guard quartered upon "him at six livres a day, not to "be removed but by a decree of "the national assembly." Indeed their general mode of proceeding was very similar. Having fixed a day for the ceremony, they came to the church surrounded by muskets, bayonets and pikes: and the ministers of the altar, if they refused to swear what was required of them, were insulted, outraged, and wounded in the very temples of God. Some, by the interposition of their congregations, were with difficulty enabled to escape alive; it does not however appear that any one priest was actually murdered at this period in the capital.

In some of the provinces their fate was more severe. The jacobin clubs were their enemies every where; and having consulted the ecclesiastical committee through M. Voidel, had been told, in a circular letter, that whatever lengths they might go they should be supported. They of course commanded all the violent and turbulent characters of the neighbourhood; and in some places they seduced the common people to take part by using the name of the king, who had sanctioned the decree. In different parts of the country, many who declined taking the oath were killed

* The general substance of the two following columns, is abridged from Barruel's history. The circular letter of M. Voidel was read to his face, by Abbe Maury, without contradiction.

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at the doors of the churches; and in Brittany, even thus early, several prieſts are ſaid to have been hunted through the foreſts, where, after enduring every extremity of hunger and fatigue, they periſhed miſerably; and their mangled carcaſes were afterwards found, torn by briers, and half-devoured by beaſts of prey.

Different ages have witneſſed various perſecutions of Chriſtians by Pagans, and of ſectaries by the eſtabliſhed churches of their reſpective ſtates; but this was the firſt example of a whole clergy perſecuted by thoſe who publicly profeſſed the ſame religious faith, and for no other crime than that of ſacrificing their intereſts to their conſciences. Yet more than two thirds of the parochial clergy at Paris remained firm, and the proportion in the country, where the numbers could not be ſo accurately aſcertained, was calculated ſtill higher. The prelates themſelves gave an illuſtrious example. Only four, out of a hundred and thirty-eight, the whole number of the bench, became what their brethren conſidered as apoſtates: and at the head of theſe was M. Brienne, archbiſhop of Sens, and Cardinal de Lomenie, whoſe ſhort adminiſtration had been marked with the moſt deſpotic councils of the whole reign, and who now had the baſeneſs to claim merit for his former meaſures, as having laid the foundation of the revolution.

The expulſion of their old paſtors, many of them venerable in themſelves, and dear from long intercourſe, could not but make a deep impreſſion on the pious and ſerious of every deſcription, and eſpecially on the peaſants, who, laborious, ſimple-minded, devout, were the moſt generally incorrupt of any claſs in France. Accordingly, the troubles, which ſoon after the firſt decree againſt the clergy had begun to agitate all the ſouth, the weſt, and a part of the north, now broke out afreſh. Each party endeavoured to throw the blame on the other as the aggreſſors: but it muſt be remembered that the ſufferers, and they who ſupported their cauſe, were of the unſucceſsful party, and that the channels of public communication were never equally open to them as to their adverſaries. Indeed the detail, if we had the fulleſt materials on both ſides, would not be practicable within the limits of this work.

The tumults which took place at Vannes, and in the neighbouring pariſhes of Brittany, between the 5th and the 12th of February, have been commonly ſelected by writers on the ſide of the revolution, to ſhew the ſanguinary fanaticiſm of ſome among the clergy. It has been ſaid that the peaſants marched againſt Vannes in conſequence of an incendiary exhortation from a prieſt of an adjoining pariſh, who having celebrated maſs, given his congregation the crucifix to kiſs, and pronounced abſolution, profaned the holy rite which he had been performing, by bidding them go and maſſacre the enemies of their religion. But the original authority for this tale, ſeems to be nothing more than * a letter without a name, in a public print conducted by the oppoſite party in Paris; and the tranſaction is there dated on Sunday the 13th, which was the day after the rioters had been finally quelled. The real facts, as they appeared on the diſcuſſion

* Moniteur, 24th Feb. 1791.

of

of them before the national assembly, were to the following effect.

* The inhabitants of many parishes round Vannes had public meetings so early as the 5th of February, and drew up remonstrances in different forms against the late decrees. In particular the municipal officers of Sarzeau addressed a letter to the directory of the department, declaring, after a very calm, argumentative, and able exposition of their reasons, that it was against their consciences to carry the law into execution. Other meetings being fixed for the 7th, the magistrates of Vannes sent for cannon from L'Orient, and gave notice to the national guards, and some companies of the Irish regiment of Walsh, then quartered in the town, to hold themselves in readiness. The peasants, who met at Bondon, a village very near the city, made an application, requesting leave to draw up their petitions unmolested; but about a hundred and fifty of them, having soon after collected before the house where the directory of the department assembled, and being there joined by some scholars, and other inhabitants of the town, the soldiers were ordered to disperse them. This service was easily effected; and the peasants in their flight left behind them Petitions drawn up, though not signed, in the names of no less than twenty of the neighbouring commonalties. Irritated by the treatment which they had received, they returned on the 12th, to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred, two hundred of whom had fire arms indeed, but loaded with shot instead of ball. On the other hand the national guards of several neighbouring towns had been called to the aid of the magistrates. Nevertheless a large body of the peasantry stood with firmness the charge of the dragoons, and wounded four of the soldiers, but after suffering severely themselves, were broken and finally dispersed.

When the report was made to the national assembly, the letter from the municipal officers of Sarzeau, to the directory of the department, was selected as the most † obnoxious paper. It was distinguished by spe-

* This account is principally extracted from the proces-verbal of the municipality of Vannes, and other documents reported to the assembly by their committees, and from their decree of the 14th of February. See the Moniteurs of the 15th and 21st of February, and the proces-verbal of the assembly.

† That the reader may be able to form a fair judgment, we shall here subjoin a faithful translation of the only passage quoted by the reporter who proposed the decree.

"It is a principle that no man should swear against his conscience and judgment. It is the duty of every priest never to transgress the laws of the church. Now in point of fact the Pope alone can give or resume spiritual powers; and it is a point of faith, that to him alone it belongs to feed the sheep; it is a point of faith, that the absolution given by a priest is null, if he has not been commissioned by the church. The decrees contain contrary principles. To support those decrees, or swear to do it, would be to attack the true faith. It is possible without violating the conscience to exact an oath in regard to the future, and to demand that there should be a promise to maintain the laws which shall be decreed and sanctioned: but if the marriage of priests should be decreed, and divorces granted, or if an assembly should decide not to receive any of the sacraments again, ought we to sacrifice religion to an oath? It is contrary to our faith, judgment, and plain sense. No; we will never lend ourselves to the execution of such a law."

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cial reprehenſion in the decree of the aſſembly, and thoſe magiſtrates were not only ſuſpended (as was certainly proper and neceſſary) but were alſo ordered to be proſecuted before the tribunals of Vannes; the king was deſired to ſend commiſſioners and troops to the place, and the biſhops of Vannes, Treguier, and St. Pol de Leon were commanded to be in attendance on the aſſembly. The biſhop of St. Pol had alſo been marked out for popular vengeance by the municipality of Vannes, before the laſt ſerious attack on the town: it had been publicly declared by them on the 7th, that "if a drop "of blood were ſpilled, he ſhould "anſwer it with his life."

* This venerable prelate was ſprung from one of the moſt ancient and noble families of his province; a man of irreproachable morals, unaffected piety, and active benevolence, who for twenty years, that he had filled the ſee, having limited himſelf to leſs than one third of his annual income, had expended all the reſt on works of charity, in which he had alſo ſunk the whole of his private fortune. His epiſcopal reſidence, which he ſeldom quitted, was at the other end of Brittany, at the diſtance of 150 miles from Vannes, and ſo far had he been from exciting, that he had not even heard of the late diſturbances, till he received the decree of the aſſembly. Secure in his innocence, he prepared himſelf to obey it. But no ſooner was the purport of it known, than the inhabitants crowded around the epiſcopal palace, ſupplicating him to remain with them, and offering to defend him with their lives. He aſſured them that he was in no danger, and with much importunity prevailed upon them to retire to their homes. He received, however, from one on whom he could depend, confidential intelligence that the municipal officers of Vannes had ſent a detachment of armed men to ſeize him, and that he would never be ſuffered to reach the bar of the aſſembly alive. In this ſituation, without a hope of being heard in his own defence, he took the advice of his friends; and in the following night, during one of thoſe tremendous ſtorms with which that boiſterous winter was vexed, when no living creature but himſelf ventured to face the rude ſhock of the elements, he took his laſt farewel of his own roof, and ſhortly after of his native country. Having been the ſport of tempeſts four days and nights in an open ſmuggling-boat, without ſleep, and almoſt without food, unable even to converſe with the companions of his perils, he at length reached the Corniſh coaſt. Since that time he has reſided in this kingdom. None of his unfortunate countrymen have been ſo much in the view of the public: none have more deſerved or acquired the eſteem of all who have known him.

The aſſembly had ſcarcely taken meaſures for quieting Brittany, when they received information of freſh commotions in the ſouth, at Uzès and Nîmes, where ſome houſes had been burnt, one perſon killed on the ſpot, and many more wounded: the ſufferers having been principally catholics, eſpecially at

* See *Obſervations du Chevalier de la Bintinaye*, p. 26; a very able though ſuccinct anſwer to the general charges brought againſt the king, the prieſts, and the nobles under the ancient government.

Nîmes,

Nîmes, many of that perſuaſion took alarm, and about eight thouſand of them, formed a ſort of camp near Jalès, which, for ſome days, excited conſiderable uneaſineſs. This account arrived, while the aſſembly was employed upon an enquiry into the more horrible events which had filled Nîmes with blood in the preceding year. As no queſtion reſpecting the troubles in any of the provinces, was ſo ably and fully diſcuſſed, and as none was in itſelf of greater magnitude in regard to the atrocities charged by the oppoſite parties upon each other, this ſeems to be the faireſt example for determining the juſtice of their mutual criminations, and the moral reſponſibility of the aſſembly itſelf, for the confuſions and ſlaughter ſo general in various quarters of the kingdom. It will be neceſſary to aſcend to the origin of the calamities which we are to relate; and in relating them to be ſomething minute and circumſtantial. But it is judicious particularity, that gives life and truth to hiſtory; and the reader will have the advantage of beholding here on a ſmall theatre, every part of which he can diſtinctly comprehend at one view, no unjuſt repreſentation of the whole French revolution.

* The city of Nîmes is ſituated in that part of France where the proteſtant religion formerly made the greateſt progreſs. About one fourth of the inhabitants were proteſtants, followers of Calvin; and they were for the moſt part, as we find the Calviniſts of this country, engaged in trade and manufactures, eaſy in their circumſtances, active in their diſpoſitions, and cloſely united among themſelves. Hence they obtained, and kept to their own party, the principal ſway in the permanent council which governed the city; nor was any jealouſy of their influence entertained by their fellow-citizens of the catholic communion; for the members of the different churches lived together in harmony and mutual confidence. It was their † pride to be the countrymen of the conſul Villars, who with the aid of Bertrand du Luc, vicar-general during the vacancy of the ſee, aſſembled all the citizens on the deplorable day of St. Bartholomew, in the laſt century, and while the capital and provinces were flowing with blood, made catholics and proteſtants ſwear to live as friends and brothers at Nîmes.

When the convocation of the ſtates general was fixed, both deſcriptions of citizens were equally zealous in what they believed the cauſe of liberty; and taking the white cockade, as the ſymbol of patriotiſm

* The greater part of this account is extracted from the *Comte rendu les 22d & 23 Fevrier a l'Aſſemblée nationale au nom de la Municipalité de Niſmes par M. de Marguerites, Maire de Niſmes, et Deputé du Department du Gard*, the report of M. Alquier, and the documents annexed to the 2d volume of *Affairs Politiques du Temps preſent de la France*. The *Compte rendu* is particularly relied upon, becauſe it received the ſtrongeſt teſtimony from M. Alquier the reporter, who, though what was called a furious patriot, was convinced by it. The Moniteur is remarkably ſilent upon it, giving only very ſhort extracts. M. Rabaut St. Etienne, though a principal manager on the ſide of the jacobin club at Nîmes, of which his brother was ſecretary, has not mentioned it in his hiſtory of the French revolution.

† Deliberation du Conſeil-general de la Commune de Niſmes, dated 6th May, 1790, and printed at Marſeilles.

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in the month of November 1788, they demanded the ſuppreſſion of abuſes, and carried the buſt of the king in triumph. Nor did the election of their repreſentatives diſturb their unanimity. Some of each religion were choſen; and the inſtructions for all were drawn up in common, containing clauſes in favour of the proteſtants.

At that remarkable period, in July 1789, when an alarm was ſpread * in one and the ſame day throughout all France, for the purpoſe of inducing the citizens every where to arm, Nîmes formed a legion. The proteſtants, who compoſed the bulk of the wealthy claſs, entered in the greateſt number, eſpecially in the cavalry; and all the field-officers were of their connection.

The legion was at firſt to have conſiſted of 24 companies only, but was ſoon augmented to 34. The poorer claſs of citizens, who conſtituted nearly two fifths of the whole population of the city, and who were chiefly catholics, were now deſirous of forming among themſelves 5 more companies, all of whom were robuſt and hardy men, handicraftsmen and labourers in the fields, and moſt of whom had ſerved in the army. But they were told the legion already was more than full. They offered the command of the new companies to proteſtants, but they were rejected; they then elected catholic captains; and at length, though reluctantly, were admitted into the legion.

Being ſtill without uniforms or arms, they were, after much difficulty, furniſhed with forty muſkets of the worſt ſort for each company: the reſt of the men were armed with pikes, or their own pitch-forks. For uniforms they were leſs anxious: but as a diſtinctive badge they took the red tuft, or worſted feather, which was worn by the troops of the line, and had been previouſly adopted by ſome other companies of the legion under proteſtant officers. The companies which conſiſted wholly or principally of proteſtants, wore a plume of white feathers; and hence the *red-tufts* and the *white-feathers* became party names.

When the time came to elect a new *etat-major*, the proteſtants were not contented with a lieutenant colonel, a major, and adjutant general in their intereſts, but they inſiſted on a colonel alſo, and, contrary to their own regulation, named a perſon who was not even of the legion. The catholics on their part propoſed a different candidate; but after three weeks of contention, not without ſeveral frays among the volunteers, the catholics offered, and the proteſtants agreed to confer the colonelcy on M. Ducayler, the king's commandant at Nîmes, an officer of merit, univerſally eſteemed and beloved. The new colonel very ſoon found himſelf obliged to ſuggeſt, as the only means to preſerve the peace of the town, that "all the legion ſhould depoſit "their arms in a public magazine, "when they were not wanted on "duty." The catholic captains ſupported him, but the proteſtants overruled the propoſal; they refuſed to ſurrender their arms.

The ſeeds of civil war in the legion were now amply ſown, when

* This is a ſtriking fact, on which much reliance has been juſtly placed by many writers, to ſhew the previous concert and plot that exiſted in the firſt events of the revolution.

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a project of the democratic faction to get all the fortreſſes of the kingdom into their hands became public; and the citadel of Nîmes was in the liſt. The catholic companies however defeated the deſign by appearing under arms (ſuch arms as they had) and declaring that they would not ſuffer any perſon to take poſſeſſion of the citadel without an expreſs order from the king. From that time they were laviſhly treated with the appellation of fanatics, agents of ariſtocracy, and hirelings armed to overturn the conſtitution.

The decrees of the aſſembly, granting the liberty of public worſhip to all ſectaries, on the one ſide, and on the other ſuppreſſing monaſteries, and making various changes in the national church, raiſed a new fermentation in Nîmes. Some of the leſs conſiderate proteſtants were ſo much elevated, as with an inſulting air of triumph to point out the convents and churches which they meant to take for meeting-houſes; an indiſcretion by which they irritated the feelings of the zealous catholics, and eſpecially of the poor, who had experienced much relief from the monaſtic eſtabliſhments there, and in a manner depended upon them for their exiſtence. The proteſtants were conſidered as inſolent and domineering: the doctrine of equality, of which they had been the great teachers in the ſouth, was turned againſt themſelves.

In this ſtate of the two parties, came on the election of the firſt municipality to replace the old permanent council. The proteſtants demanded that one half of the municipal officers, including the mayor, ſhould be choſen from among them; while the catholics would only conſent to allow them a number in proportion to their population. The ballot for the mayor was the trial of ſtrength; and M. Marguerites, though abſent, and againſt his declared wiſh, was choſen by ſo great a majority that the proteſtants perceived their miſtake, entered into a negociation, and were ultimately ſatisfied to have five of the municipality. In conſequence one proteſtant was elected at the firſt ſcrutiny, but on examining the liſts the catholics diſcovered ſome unfair managements of their opponents. The agreement therefore was conſidered by them as broken, and all the other municipal officers were taken from the catholics.

Defeated in their firſt object of carrying the elections of the municipality, about two hundred of the principal proteſtants who had been moſt conſpicuous in the combination, ſoon after founded a jacobin club, under the cuſtomary title of "*Friends "of the Conſtitution,*" to watch and controul that power which they could not obtain for themſelves. They preſently drew to them ſome catholics of diſappointed ambition, or of violent principles. They next tampered, through the captains, with the legion, and though they did not ſucceed to the utmoſt of their expectations, they had ſixteen or ſeventeen companies devoted to their cauſe. Attempts were alſo made by them to corrupt the regiment of Guienne, then in garriſon at Nîmes. At the ſame time they eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with the other jacobin clubs, and with the whole proteſtant party in the ſouth; eſpecially with the municipalities and national guards of thoſe neighbouring towns and villages where the proteſtants had the ſuperiority. One of the leading members in the new club was M. Rabaut Dupui, brother of M. Rabaut

M. Rabaut de St. Etienne, a deputy from Nîmes to the ſtates-general, and the hiſtorian of the revolution.

The promotion of the latter to the preſidency of the national aſſembly in April 1790, was a moment of the greateſt exultation to his countrymen of the ſame civil and religious opinions: but a malignant uſe was made of it, to inflame them againſt the Catholics by calumnious falſehoods. Incendiary pamphlets were circulated in profuſion, declaring, without the leaſt foundation in truth, that the aſſembly had been libelled at Nîmes in the groſſeſt terms, for putting a Proteſtant in the chair; and that the next morning four Proteſtants had been found murdered there. In conſequence of theſe, and other ſuch miſrepreſentations, letters of public menace were received at Nîmes from St. Hypolite, Alais, and Vezenobre; one of which, dated the 15th of April, announced the arrival of 12,000 ſturdy Cevenols well-armed, to chaſtiſe thoſe whom they called the enemies of the conſtitution.

The Catholics on their part held a public meeting on the 20th, when they drew up a petition and two addreſſes to the king and the national aſſembly. After expreſſing their ſenſe of the anarchy which afflicted the country, and their reſpect for the aſſembly, they prayed that the Catholic faith ſhould be declared the religion of the ſtate, and alone have the honours of public worſhip; that all eccleſiaſtical reforms ſhould be made in a general council; that the king ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the executive power, according to the decree of the 13th of September; and that, to prevent all future objection, he ſhould reviſe and ſanction anew the decrees paſſed ſince his reſidence in Paris. Six thouſand perſons are ſaid to have ſigned this petition, and when it was ſent away, numbers were every inſtant coming to add their names. It was not, however, formally communicated till eleven days after to the municipal officers, who were in the mean time occupied on meaſures "tending to "recall the citizens of Nîmes to "ſentiments of brotherly union, "and inviting them to enjoy in "peace the bleſſings of the con-"ſtitution." Among other things, they were concerting with the officers of the legion the form of a proclamation to prohibit the white cockade, which was become obnoxious, though it had not then been forbidden by any public authority.

All this time there * ran a rumour, at leaſt among the Proteſtant party, that a ſerious tumult was to be expected on the 2d of May. On that day a Proteſtant, named Barry, who was a ſubaltern officer of the legion, gave an entertainment to the ſubalterns and ſoldiers of the regiment of Guienne; and going in the evening with ſome of his gueſts to the public walks, began to fulfil what he himſelf among others had foretold, by attacking and wounding ſeveral of the peaceable citizens, equally thoſe who wore the tri-coloured, and thoſe who wore the white cockade. At the ſame time arrived ſome other volunteers, belonging to the ſame company of the legion, who had given ſimilar entertainments; and they too joined in the outrages. The perſons wounded and inſulted by them were all Catholics; and it was aſſerted, that ſeveral women gave money to the ſoldiers, and were

* Addreſs of the club to the national aſſembly.

heard calling to them, "Courage! "the day is ours! down with thoſe "Catholics!"

The municipal officers, as ſoon as they received the intelligence, flew to the ſpot, and finding the aſſailants then in danger of being overwhelmed by a ſhower of ſtones from the multitude, interpoſed to protect them, and reſtored tranquillity; but the members of the club were very differently employed. One of the * principal leaders among them was buſy in exciting the ſoldiers at the barracks, by telling them that their comrades were murdered, urging them to revenge, and promiſing them ſupport; while another was crying aloud before the town-houſe, that "now was the time to ſtick the "mayor's head on a bayonet." Four of the companies, under the immediate influence of the club, came armed, without receiving any order for the purpoſe, juſt after the magiſtrates had put an end to the diſturbance.

During the night all was quiet, though for precaution the patroles and guards were doubled. The next day the mayor was informed of circular letters having been ſent to raiſe the country of Gardonnengue againſt Nîmes, and an offer was made to ſeize the meſſenger, and get poſſeſſion of the diſpatches; but the mayor on deliberation rejected ſuch a mode of obtaining evidence, and contented himſelf with placing ſentinels to give an alarm if any troops ſhould approach from that quarter. One of the Proteſtant volunteers, named Larnec, was the ſame day detected in giving orders to a gunſmith for two hundred ball cartridges; and a crowd being accidentally collected in the evening, while the mayor was exhorting them to retire, a Proteſtant fired two piſtols, which wounded a ſoldier and much exaſperated the multitude. The mayor would that night have proclaimed martial law, but the ſtate of the regiment of Guienne made the officers diſſuade the meaſure. The next morning, however, brought new alarms, the regiment was better diſpoſed, and the proclamation took place. Happily the exertions which he and his colleagues never ceaſed to make, for producing a perfect reconciliation, ſoon after ſucceeded, and the event was celebrated the ſame day by a public proceſſion. The moment was critical; for it ſubſequently appeared, beyond a doubt, that the Proteſtants in the neighbouring towns and villages were then muſtering their ſtrength, and arranging their plan of operations againſt Nîmes. Indeed one of the Proteſtant party was ſo imprudent as to ſay publicly, that, notwithſtanding the peace, four-and-twenty hours would ſhew the paſt to have been no more than a little rehearſal; and in the evening of the 5th, ſeveral ſtrangers dreſſed as national guards arrived in the ſkirts of the town. Finding the actual ſtate of things, they departed as they came;

* This important fact was proved by the depoſitions of the officers of the regiment, and others, who were marked out for particular proſcription in the ſubſequent maſſacre of June. That which follows was one of the facts afterwards denounced by the magiſtrates, to which they produced witneſſes, but could not get them examined.

but

but many thouſands were ſtill in readineſs, and ammunition was provided for them to act on the firſt renewal of the ſlighteſt diſturbance.

The municipal officers, as ſoon as they had finally reſtored harmony, ſent an account of it to the national aſſembly, and by the ſame poſt the Jacobin club diſpatched an accuſation againſt them, for not having proclaimed martial law ſooner, and for having endangered the peace of the city by proclaiming it when they did: forgetting, however, (as they ſaid in a letter of apology the next day) to inſert the ſolemn re-eſtabliſhment of perfect tranquillity, of which they ſpoke with great ſurprize, and as an event beyond their comprehenſion. In the mean time the aſſembly, without paying the leaſt regard to the official letter of the lawful magiſtrates, proceeded, on the firſt letter of the club, to order the mayor to the bar, that he might give an account of his own conduct, and that of his colleagues. He received the notification of this decree, while, for that very conduct, his fellow citizens, and the ſoldiers of the garriſon, were following him with ſhouts of applauſe through the ſtreets, and in crowded theatres, night after night, were calling to the players to place a civic crown upon his head.

The primary aſſemblies of the city were now to be holden, for the purpoſe of chooſing forty-three electors for the department, agreeable to a regulation of the new conſtitution. Fifteen of the municipal body were choſen by a majority, which clearly proved how high they ſtood in the eſtimation of their fellow-citizens; yet ſo moderately did they and the reſt of the Catholic party uſe their influence, that, notwithſtanding the late events, ſo near producing the moſt fatal conſequences, twelve Proteſtants (more than a juſt proportion on the whole number elected) were returned. On the other hand, the Proteſtant party was indefatigable in diſtributing all over the neighbouring towns, publications of the moſt inflammatory nature againſt the municipal officers, and the great body of the citizens, whom they repreſented on all occaſions as enemies to the liberties of their country. In conſequence, the life of the mayor was more than once in danger on the road to Paris, whither he went in obedience to the decree of the aſſembly.

Victorious as the club and its adherents now were over the municipality, by the ſupport which their accuſation had found in the national aſſembly; aſſured of powerful and prompt aſſiſtance from the armed force of the neighbouring towns, and unchecked by the firmneſs and vigilance of the mayor, whom they had ſent as a delinquent to Paris, they were in a ſituation to execute what they had before attempted in vain. They were encouraged too by the preſence of the committee of electors for the department, who, from the preponderance of the Proteſtants in the ſurrounding ſections, were principally of that party, and who, to the great diſquiet of the inhabitants, manifeſted a marked preference of the "white-feathers."

The behaviour of theſe Proteſtant companies, in one inſtance, excited much jealouſy and fear. On a great feſtival of the Roman church, the municipality deſired the major

of the legion to have ſix hundred men ready for the purpoſe of forming patroles, and lining the ſtreets through which the holy proceſſion was to paſs; and at the ſame time to prohibit all the other volunteers, not on duty, from appearing with their arms, under any pretence whatever. But, inſtead of obſerving this wiſe precaution, he aſſembled the whole legion; and the Proteſtant companies, in conſequence of written orders from their officers, came fully armed, and with their pieces loaded, while the Catholic companies were wholly without ammunition, which occaſioned a murmur among them, that the orders given to the other companies were a plot for their deſtruction. The breach between the "white-feathers," and the "red-tufts," now became every day wider and more public. The former, gay, rich, and handſomely accoutred, ridiculed the mean appearance of the latter, who, in their turn, looked with the contempt of veterans on the ſhew and ſplendour of parade ſoldiers.

An enquiry into the late diſorders, which was inſtituted at Nîmes on the 10th of May, increaſed the animoſity of the contending parties. The proſecution was carried on in a manner ſaid to be very unfair towards the municipal officers, as the members of the club were almoſt excluſively the witneſſes produced by the law-officer of the crown, who had been appointed in the time of the old permanent council, and was in the intereſts of their party. The magiſtrates offered a denunciation on their own part; but the reception of their charge was reſiſted as long as it could be, on various pretences of form, and when at laſt it was admitted, only two witneſſes out of twenty-one named, had been examined before the middle of June, while the accuſation of their adverſaries was puſhed forward with the greateſt zeal.

The petition of the Catholics on the 20th of April preceding, was the ſubject of much clamour from their enemies. The petitioners met therefore again on the 1ſt of June; and expreſſing their apprehenſion that they ſhould ſoon ſee all property deſtroyed, and the nobility, clergy, and magiſtracy exterminated, declared, in the moſt unequivocal terms, that their object was, not the abſurd ſcheme of a counter-revolution, but a deſire of clearly manifeſting their wiſhes for the accompliſhment and conſolidation of the conſtitution, as the only remedy for the exiſting anarchy: and with this explanation they adhered to their former act. In their addreſs to the national aſſembly, they particularly noticed two points of crimination urged againſt them; the circulation of their petition, and their propoſal for a reviſion of the decrees by the king. To the firſt they anſwered, that ſuch had been the cuſtom under what was called the reign of the miniſters; and to the ſecond, that they had copied the very words uſed by the national aſſembly only twenty-one days before.

The time was now come for the ſuperior officers of the legion to be changed. The municipality, fearing the conſequences at that moment, applied to the national aſſembly for ſome arrangement by their authority to ſecure the peace of Nîmes; and the mayor, M. Marguerites, was deſired by the committee of the conſtitution, to ſettle a plan in concert

concert with M. Rabaut St. Etienne; but when he thought it concluded, he was ſurprized to be told by M. Etienne, that the committee of enquiry had taken the affairs of Nîmes entirely upon itſelf. In conſequence, the command of the legion was in the hands of M. Aubry, who was preſident of the Jacobin club.

Such was the ſtate of Nîmes on the 12th of June, when, according to the eſtabliſhed rotation, the red-tufts ended, and the white-feathers began their turn of duty. On that day it was remarked, that ſeveral of the leaders among the Proteſtants removed their children from the different ſeminaries of education there. The next morning every thing was apparently tranquil, as tranquil at leaſt as it had for ſome time been in that devoted city; but in the neighbouring country of the Cevennes, Gardonnengue, and Vaunage, the national guards had notice to be in readineſs for marching to Nîmes, and in the afternoon ſeveral legions were on the road to aſſiſt the patriots, who were ſaid to be ſuffering perſecution and murder, though at the time there was not the leaſt diſturbance. There had indeed occurred ſome circumſtances of ſuſpicion and alarm, but theſe were all upon the other ſide. The municipal officers obſerved traces of gun-powder ſcattered in the great hall of the town-houſe. They aſked one of the volunteers by whoſe order the company had loaded their arms; and the man, in very abuſive language, anſwered, that it was nothing to them. The firſt company, to which belonged the volunteers, who on the 2d of May had begun the attack on the unarmed citizens, was then upon guard; and, without any apparent cauſe, they had tripled the guard, and doubled all the patroles.

At the riſing of a council, when only three of the municipal officers remained to examine the accounts of the city, about half after ſix, ſome volunteers came with a complaint, that a threatening note had been brought to the dragoons on guard at the epiſcopal palace. The magiſtrates enquired for the note, that they might puniſh the author or bearer; but neither the note, nor the meſſenger, could ever be produced. Two of the municipal officers, however, putting on their ſcarfs, the badges of their authority, went towards the ſpot, and as they paſſed along heard ſeveral ſhots fired. When they arrived they found the dragoons engaged with ſome volunteers of the legion, the latter armed only with their ſabres, the former having alſo their carbines. The two parties mutually complained; one, that a volunteer had been confined and ill treated, and when they came to claim him, that they had been fired upon, and ſeven of their number killed or wounded; the other, that they had been inſulted and menaced. The combatants increaſed on both ſides; the company on guard joined the dragoons, and ſome of the volunteers of the red tuft armed themſelves as faſt as they could. The municipal officers did their utmoſt to effect a reconciliation; but, going among the dragoons with this view, would have certainly been cut down, had it not been for the interpoſition of a lieutenant.

At length, by ordering the gates to be ſhut on the dragoons, one of the magiſtrates, who remained

within, while his colleague was employed in perſuading peace without, put an end to the battle. But the dragoons forced open the gates again, and the firing was inſtantly renewed. The dragoons ſoon after quitted their poſt, and marched to the town-houſe, where the major publickly reviled the municipality in very indecent terms.

In the mean time a detachment of the company on guard had found the Abbé Belmont alone at the town-houſe. They told him to proclaim martial law. He would have excuſed himſelf from it, as an act requiring a council of his colleagues, and in itſelf peculiarly unſuited to his character. But no arguments could prevail. He was compelled himſelf to carry the red flag, and forced along with menaces and coarſe jeſts, till they got without the city to an open place where ſome of the red-tufts had haſtily aſſembled, chiefly armed with ſabres, though a few had muſkets alſo. A ſcattered fire immediately began on both ſides. The Abbé was now brought to the front; and, with ill treatment of every kind (one blow between the ſhoulders with the butt-end of a muſket having made him vomit blood) he was forced to advance alone with the red flag towards the adverſe party. When he arrived among them, as he was addreſſing them for the purpoſe of inducing them to lay down their arms, the blood guſhed from his mouth. His auditors, who had before witneſſed the violence uſed towards him, declared that they would not ſuffer him to return to thoſe who had ſo outraged him in their ſight: they would eſcort him, they ſaid, where proper care ſhould be taken of him. They did ſo, though againſt his will, and afterwards attended him to the houſe of a municipal officer, where they left him, but detained the flag.

The two other municipal officers, who went on the firſt intelligence of the original fray to make peace, having rejoined each other at the town-houſe, reſolved, with the commandant of the place, to proclaim martial law. Juſt at this moment a Catholic, who had eſcaped from the fury of his aſſaſſins, ſought for ſafety there, but was butchered in the council-room, almoſt under the eyes of the magiſtrates who in vain endeavoured to protect him. Fifteen of the Catholic companies who were under arms, heard of this horrid barbarity, yet did not ſtir to revenge it. They waited for orders to act agreeably to their duty, for the general protection of the public peace, but no orders were given to them. The major put the Proteſtant companies only in motion.

As this force was paſſing along with a ſecond red flag, for the proclamation of martial law, it was diſcovered that ſome men were entrenched behind the city ramparts, and an old tower connected with them. Immediately one of the eſcort fired; and thence a ſcattered diſcharge began and continued on both ſides, notwithſtanding all poſſible efforts of the municipal officers, till at length one volley put the eſcort to flight. The conquerors then poſſeſſed themſelves of the flag, and the perſon of M. Ferrand, one of the magiſtrates, whom, however, they ſoon ſuffered to depart. On his remonſtrating with them, and endeavouring to perſuade them to lay down their

their arms, they answered him, that "they had not taken up arms till "they had been attacked, and had "seen many of their comrades "murdered."

Tranquillity was now restored, and lasted during a great part of the night; but before day-break intelligence was brought that the national guards of the circumjacent country were advancing against the city in great numbers. The magistrates resolved to meet them, and engage them, if possible, to wait at the avenues of the city without entering it: but the two members of the municipality who went on this pacific embassy, were glad, after repeated dangers, to escape with their lives. Learning in the house where they first sought refuge, that an unfortunate man had just before been massacred there under similar circumstances, they made their way over the garden-wall into the country. One of the two, named Vincent-Vals, was a Protestant, and he received a message shortly after that he, and he only, might return in security.

In the course of the following day no less than 15,000 men arrived, not only from the neighbourhood, but from five and six, and even ten and twelve leagues round; a distance from which they could not have been summoned subsequently to the quarrel of the preceding evening. They came almost wholly from the districts where the Protestants had the superiority: they came in direct contradiction to a decree of the national assembly, without the requisition of the municipality of Nîmes, and with an express commission to bring away the heads of the municipal officers: they came with abandoned and ferocious women as followers, who stripped the mangled victims, and collected the spoils. Nîmes now suffered all the horrors of a city taken by storm. In the hope of lessening the evils of civil war, the magistrates ordered the red-tufts, over whom alone they had influence, to surrender their arms. In general they obeyed; but being thus deprived of all means of resistance, they were attacked with increased fury, and * immolated whereever they were met. Three days altogether the slaughter raged, but at length it was stopped by the firmness of the national guards of Montpelier. They were chiefly Catholics; and on their march various endeavours had been used to induce them to turn back: one while they were told of the law, though so many other detachments had already gone without a requisition, and then they were falsely informed that peace had been restored: but when they arrived and discovered the truth, they declared that they would turn their arms against all of either party whom they should find attempting the lives of their fellow citizens. This resolute demeanour overawed men conscious of guilt. Wearied with carnage, and laden with spoil, the principal actors in those hideous scenes retired with slow steps to their own homes.

In the three days that the troubles lasted, the houses or the furniture

* *Les rues n'etoient pas sûres: on poursuit les poufs-rouges, on les immole par-toût où on les rencontre*; is the account coolly given by the commissioners of the administration of the department.

niture, and other property of three hundred perſons, all without a ſingle exception Catholics, were pillaged and demoliſhed. The effects of the Abbé Bragouſe, a man eminent for piety and charity, his furniture, his valuable library, and the ſacred ornaments of the church under his care, all were deſtroyed; but the houſe itſelf was not even damaged: it belonged to a Proteſtant. The ſame diſcrimination was obſerved in other inſtances. When the college, like many other pious foundations, underwent a general pillage, two apartments were ſpared, in which a Proteſtant tradeſman had depoſited ſome valuable articles lately purchaſed by him at Paris. On the hills around Nîmes were nine country ſeats, four the property of Catholics, and five of Proteſtants. The fields and grounds belonging to them ran into each other without any diſtinguiſhing boundary; yet while the latter were untouched, not a vine, not an olive, not a tree of any kind in the former eſcaped without injury.

Of the Proteſtants not more than twenty-one periſhed; ſeven of whom fell without the walls by the hands of thoſe who, hearing of the maſſacre of their relations and friends, thought themſelves juſtified in this cruel retaliation. Two of theſe unfortunate ſufferers for the crimes of others, a father and ſon of the name of Maigre, were regretted by the good of all parties. All the reſt who were ſlaughtered (and the number is variouſly calculated from three to * four hundred) were Catholics; two hundred of them fathers of families. Nor did ſimple death ſatisfy the ſavage fury of their aſſaſſins; it was aggravated by all refinements of inhumanity. Some had their hands, feet, noſes, or ears lopped away; others were ripped open, and their entrails thrown in their faces while yet alive; one man, of the name of Violet, was ſtuck by the throat upon a hook at a butcher's door, and there ſuffered to hang for an hour in excruciating pain, till his cries extorted death from thoſe whom nothing could move to compaſſion. It is even ſaid that there were inſtances of barbarities ſtill more terrible, which would not bear to be related.

To robbery and murder were alſo added ſacrilege and profanation. The convent of the capuchins was forced: the doors of every place broken open; the ſacred ornaments, ſome ſtolen, ſome ſcattered about, bearing plain indications of the wanton irreverence with which they had been treated; three lay-brethren and five eccleſiaſtics, all who could be found, were put to death. One of the latter, an infirm old man of eighty-two, in a ſick bed, was hacked to pieces with ſabres. The fate of the others is to be collected from the marks which remained: "I "ſaw blood" (ſays a witneſs who examined the convent two days after) "in ſeveral of the cells, be"fore the door of the ſacriſty, in "the ſacriſty itſelf, in the choir "and the church; as well as a "track in the duſt, where the bo"dies had been dragged along to "be thrown into the crypt." It is related †, that one of theſe un-

* Abbé Barruel, in his Hiſtory of the French Clergy, ſays, "nearly 600."
† Abbé Barruel.

happy

happy old men having requeſted the indulgence of five minutes to prepare himſelf for death, his executioner, with a watch in one hand, and a piſtol in the other, ſtood over him as he knelt at the altar, counted out the minutes to him, and then with cool cruelty drew the trigger and diſpatched him.

When theſe afflicting tales were known in Paris, a new decree iſſued, directing an enquiry upon the ſpot into the whole ſubject, and "all "its circumſtances and dependen-"cies." Nevertheleſs the denunciation made by the magiſtrates ſtill remained a dead letter, while that of the oppoſite party, ſupported by the Jacobin club and its adherents, was more actively proſecuted than ever. A hundred and fifty Catholics are ſaid to have been arbitrarily impriſoned during the troubles, and ſome infirm old men, crowded together without neceſſary accommodations, to have died from the cloſeneſs of the confinement; many fled from proſcription, and were not permitted to return in ſafety; the fifteen companies, which had taken no part in the conteſt, but had loſt many of their number after the ſurrender of their arms, were ſuppreſſed: the widows and orphans of the murdered demanded juſtice in vain, while the ſpoils of the victims were oſtentatiouſly exhibited by the murderers; no reparation was even made for the damages ſuſtained in regard to property; but, on the contrary, the directory of the department tried to throw on the inhabitants of the city, and the ſufferers themſelves among the reſt, the whole expences of the national guards from the ſurrounding country, who had been the principal inſtruments of evil. The municipal officers, finding all the civil and military power of the city to be now engroſſed by their adverſaries, frequently deſired to reſign, but they were not allowed: they were kept to be formally degraded.

It was while the Jacobin club was thus employed at Nîmes, in improving their ſanguinary victory, that they wrote * a letter full of affected philanthropy to the Revolution Society in London, calling themſelves friends of liberty and peace, deſiring to be affiliated, and propoſing a ſacred union between the two nations as the foundation of univerſal peace, juſtice, and humanity. The ſociety, in return, profeſſed themſelves to be highly honoured by the invitation to aſſiſt in liberating the whole world, and congratulated their correſpondents on their triumph over their monarch, nobles, and prieſts, with ſo little bloodſhed, as on a ſignal mark of divine favour. It is poſſible, however, that at the time of their anſwer they knew little of the actual hiſtory of Nîmes, though the diſcuſſion which we are going to relate, had then taken place in the national aſſembly.

A report, relative to the affairs of Nîmes, was made on the 16th of February by M. Alquier, from the

* See the letter, dated Nov. 24, 1790, and ſigned by Aubry the preſident, who commanded the Proteſtant companies in the maſſacres of June, Appendix to the Chronicle, p. *138, and the anſwer which follows, dated March 20, 1791, p. *139. Such ſentiments, from men in ſuch circumſtances, are of all things the moſt nauſeating to a ſound moral taſte.

committee

committee to which the ſubject had been referred. It was wholly built on the evidence of the members of the club, and their adherents, partially taken as that was; accuſers, as the principal witneſſes all were, of the municipal officers before the national aſſembly; and perjured, as the committee knew many of them to be, in ſwearing to the repeated preſence of the mayor at a new club at Nîmes, which did not open till the 19th of May, two days after he had returned to Paris, and retaken his ſeat as a member of the legiſlature. On the other ſide, it omitted all mention of no leſs than thirty-two documents highly important to the juſtification of the accuſed. M. Alquier gave a long liſt of pamphlets, which a capuchin friar was reported to have circulated; but he hurried over, in a ſingle ſentence, the eight murders in the convent. He detailed no circumſtances of the cruelties exerciſed, except thoſe attending the deaths of the two Proteſtants of the name of Maigre. "In "the hiſtory of the misfortunes of "Nîmes" (ſaid he in concluſion) "you will find the traces of "fanaticiſm and revolt, amidſt the "movements inſeparable from a "great revolution." He then drew a ſtriking and intereſting picture of the brotherly union which reigned there between the Catholics and Proteſtants ſubſequent to the firſt ſtages of the revolution; and added, "it was not till the month "of November 1789, and it muſt "be confeſſed, it was not till the "epoch of your decrees as to the "property of the clergy, that "any ferment was manifeſted at "Nîmes." The Proteſtants, it was admitted, were accuſed of a plot, and the Catholics demanded only a fair trial, and offered to adduce their proofs; but the fact, it was argued, was not probable, and an inquiry, it was ſaid, would awaken animoſity, and diſquiet the whole country, as thouſands were guilty, and principally ſtrangers. It was propoſed even to annul all the proceedings at Nîmes, on which the report itſelf was founded. Some, however, muſt be puniſhed for the ſake of example, and therefore it was thought right to ſelect for proſecution the municipal officers, and thoſe volunteers of the red tuft who had fired on the municipal officers when carrying the red flag.

The project of a decree to that effect, was introduced by a preamble ſtating the grounds. It imputed to the municipality, that they had favoured the troubles by permitting the white cockade to be hoiſted, and by not repreſſing the ſeditious purpoſes manifeſted in the Catholic petitions of the 20th of April, and the 1ſt of June: it repreſented the diſaſtrous events of May and June as the effect of deceit, employed by the enemies of the public weal to miſlead the people; and it aſcribed all that followed to thoſe who prevented martial law from being proclaimed on the 13th of June. It is material to obſerve, that in truth this preamble comprehended nearly all the merits of the queſtion at iſſue between the two parties.

M. Marguerites, the mayor of Nîmes, was called upon to make the defence of himſelf and his colleagues, not in his place as a member of the aſſembly, but from the bar as an accuſed perſon,

ſon *. His ſpeech laſted two days. It was divided into four parts. He began by ſhewing the partiality of the tribunal at Nîmes, which had taken the evidence then laid before the aſſembly, and the neceſſity of ſending the queſtion to ſome other juriſdiction; he confuted the particular charges of the Jacobins againſt the municipality; and in the two remaining parts gave a detailed narrative of the events of May and June. The whole was an irreſiſtible compoſition of cloſe argument and manly eloquence, ſuſtained in every part by evidence not to be controverted. He demanded a fair trial, as the firſt wiſh of the Catholics, or if, on account of the alarming intelligence juſt received, any ulterior diſcuſſion ſhould be denied, a total amneſty to all, together with reparation to the ſufferers at the public expence, and the ſecret reſtitution of all plunder by thoſe in whoſe poſſeſſion it might be.

The ſucceſs of this ſpirited and able defence was ſingular in the hiſtory of the revolution. As ſoon as M. Marguerites had finiſhed, M. Alquier the reporter came up to him, and in the preſence of ſeveral members declared himſelf "touched to the quick with the "arguments. He adhered to them "(he ſaid) with his heart and "ſoul; and if he were not obliged "to conſult the committee upon it, "he would immediately mount the "tribune, and avow his opinion to "the aſſembly."

When the queſtion was again debated, M. Clermont Tonnerre propoſed the latter alternative of M. Marguerites, a general amneſty: M. Cazalès, on the other hand, inſiſted that a court of juſtice ſhould pronounce on the whole matter. He told the aſſembly, that they had too long been indulgent to atrocious crimes, under the gentle name of exceſſes, and he held up to them the character of Cromwell as worthy of their imitation, at leaſt in one reſpect, that he was ſevere in juſtice. "Public vengeance" (he added) "alone has the power, "alone has the right to ſuſpend the "vengeance of individuals." M. Barnave, however, declared for the plan of the committee, and he led the majority.

The Abbé Maury then moved the previous queſtion on the preamble; and the reporter, having now conſulted the committee, aſcended the tribune and announced, that "*he conſented to withdraw the "preamble.*" This abandonment of his own report, did not ſuit the views of the ruling faction. Barnave juſtly obſerved, that ſuch a decree could not ſtand if the preamble of facts ſhould be taken away; and, as it was determined at all events to carry the decree, the preamble was voted to be retained againſt the conviction of the very committee that had framed it. The minority roſe from their ſeats, and ſeceded in a body, that they might have no ſhare in ſo ſcandalous a proceeding. Thus left without check, the majority quietly made what alterations they pleaſed, and

* It is obſervable that the Moniteur mentions the beginning of this ſpeech, and *promiſes the whole*; but never gave more than ſome few ſentences of the concluſion. It was publiſhed afterwards by M. Marguerites himſelf, with full references to the evidence.

introduced amendments of new ſeverity into the meaſure; actually paſſing ſentence on the municipal officers, and rendering them incapable of being re-elected.

The preſidents and the members of the committees, appointed by the Catholic meetings at Nîmes and Uzès, were, ſome little time afterwards, called before the aſſembly, where they ſpoke with great firmneſs. "Our public petitions" (ſaid they) "for which we are accuſed, "directly expreſſed our deſire of "ſeeing the conſtitution completed "and conſolidated on the baſes "of religion and monarchy; that "the moment might ſpeedily ar"rive when France might own "with gratitude the benefits which "ſhe derived from the labours of "this aſſembly. In the proceſs "which you have ſuppreſſed, were "the examinations of more than "500 witneſſes, and there is not "a trace of any concert or plot "among the Catholics. We plot"ters!—No, gentlemen, inſtead "of conſpirators, you ſee before "you only the victims." They were directed to withdraw, and on the 2d of April following a decree was paſſed, ordering that all perſons who had been active in procuring or circulating the Catholic petitions at Nîmes on the 20th of April, and 1ſt of June, and at Uzès on the 2d of May 1790, ſhould be ſent as ſtate criminals, to be tried before the high tribunal at Orleans. Such was the concluding meaſure of injuſtice, by which the majority of the aſſembly ſelected particular incidents in the afflicting tranſactions of Nîmes, heaped freſh oppreſſion on the injured, and gave impunity, encouragement, and triumph to the guilty, in whoſe crimes they thus implicated their own character, and that of the nation.

In the intervals, while M. Alquier's report was ſtill before the aſſembly, another ſubject which diſturbed Paris, from time to time, occupied their attention. The aunts of Louis the XVIth, devoutly attached to the religion of their fore-fathers, and revolting at the perſecution which now raged againſt the church, ſignified an intention of going to end their days at Rome. It was induſtriouſly ſuggeſted to the populace, that the intention of the princeſſes was to encourage the emigrants by their preſence; and to carry away the national wealth for the purpoſe of paying for an invaſion. The government made a faint ſhew of vigour. The miniſter of the interior addreſſed a circular letter to the municipalities, requiring them to afford every facility to the princeſſes on their journey; and a paſſport was given them in the king's name; but it was thought prudent to get another, if poſſible, from the municipality of Paris. The municipality however affected to think it unneceſſary, and the national aſſembly drily gave their opinion, that there was no law to prevent the princeſſes from going where they choſe. The agitators raiſed a popular commotion, with a view of ſtopping the royal travellers at Bellevue; but hearing of the deſign, they had departed ſooner than had been expected. The crowd therefore repaired to the count de Provence, the king's brother, on a falſe rumour that he was flying too; nor would they be undeceived until they had attended him to court, whither the commons of Paris

Paris ſoon came with an addreſs, to acquaint the monarch with the diſquiet occaſioned by the departure of his aunts, after they were actually gone with the implied ſanction of the municipality.

The princeſſes were delayed a ſhort time at Moret, but the dragoons who eſcorted them forced open the gates, and they proceeded without interruption till they came to Arnay-le-Duc, near the frontiers, where they were detained, and an account ſent to the aſſembly. The motive which the magiſtrates of the place aſſigned for their conduct was, that the date of the king's paſſport was prior to an addreſs from the ſections of Paris, on which the aſſembly had not decided; and that they had inſtructions to ſtop illegal paſſports.

When the aſſembly met on the 24th of February to debate the contents of this communication, the galleries were filled by the populace, and on the motion of M. Mirabeau being carried, "that "there was no room to deliberate, "and that the whole affair ſhould "be referred to the executive "power," the multitude, led by the famous Mademoiſelle Theroigne, ruſhed towards the palace. The king's life was thought to be in danger. The gates were inſtantly ſhut. The mayor, and ſoon after the other municipal officers, repaired to the ſpot *. They uſed all their influence, all their authority; they entreated, they exhorted, they commanded in the name of the law, but equally without effect. It was with difficulty that they could make their way from the garden to the palace; and the rioters, increaſing every minute, preſſed after them to the very grate, with looks, words, and geſtures of the moſt extravagant rage, demanding admittance to the king. When M. Bailly came into the royal preſence, pale and trembling, Louis the XVI. with unuſual firmneſs and a tone of majeſty, inquired the cauſe of his being expoſed to perpetual inſults, and the city to falſe alarms, inſiſting that all tumults ſhould be ſuppreſſed: "Sire," ſaid the mayor, "we muſt act with "gentleneſs." "Yes Sir," replied the king, "but not with weakneſs." It was not till late in the evening, and on the arrival of three detachments of national guards with their artillery, that the crowd was diſperſed.

On this occaſion † a number of gentlemen voluntarily ran at the firſt alarm to protect the king, one armed with a couteau-de-chaſſe, a ſecond with a ſword-cane, a third with piſtols, and others with ſuch other weapons as could be carried with leaſt oſtentation, for the purpoſe of defence, in a city full of turbulence like Paris. Many of

* Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, par deux amis de la liberté, tom. VI. p. 325; and Mr. Miles's "Conduct of France, &c." Appendix, p. 222, in the note. Mr. Miles was himſelf preſent.

† Du Gour's Defence of Louis XVI. tom. I. p. 92.

The king's paper left behind him on his departure from Paris, in June 1791, intimates the ſame thing; and adds, that theſe "defenders of the king had often "aſſembled before" on any alarm: See the genuine tranſlation of this important ſtate paper in our volume for 1791, p. 230*. and *231. There is no trace of this in the falſe copy, which is in the ſame volume, p. 134*.

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theſe were military men, who, in conſequence of the revolution, had been diſmiſſed from their ſituations about the perſon or houſehold of the king, or other branches of the royal family: ſome were men of ſpirit, impelled only by their principles and their zeal; and others were unfortunate gentlemen, who having been driven from their manſions, which had been generally burned or pillaged in many provinces * and diſtricts, yet unwilling to emigrate, had taken refuge in the capital, to watch the critical turns of the revolution, and to be ready on any emergency to make one gallant effort with the king at their head. Their force has been variouſly eſtimated from † two hundred to three thouſand. They had frequently aſſembled in greater or ſmaller numbers when any ſigns of commotion appeared among the people; and now their ſervices were publicly acknowledged with marks of lively ſenſibility by the monarch.

In one of the former addreſſes from the city, relative to the intended departure of the princeſſes, a law had been demanded "on the "particular mode of exiſtence of "the reigning dynaſty," and a part of this ſubject was now comprehended in the project of a law, which, in the language of the day, was entitled "on the reſidence "of the public functionaries." M. Cazalès wiſhed an adjournment of a week to conſider it; but M. Barnave would allow no reſpite. M. D'Eſpremenil therefore took the lead in oppoſing it; and obſerved, with much good ſenſe, on the dangerous tendency of their innovations in the legal ſtyle, calling the king nothing but "the firſt public functionary;" and his royal houſe "the dynaſty," and at moſt "the reigning family:" he conſidered it as ſecretly undermining the hereditary ſucceſſion of the throne. In the courſe of his ſpeech, having reminded the aſſembly that they had taken an oath of allegiance, which no other oath could efface or countervail, he was interrupted by the preſident, who told him that he forgot the oath which he had himſelf taken to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. M. Cazalès immediately faſtened on this expreſſion; and, in a ſtrain of highly animated eloquence, aſked, "if it were poſſible "that the preſident of the national "aſſembly could conſider the oath "of fidelity to the conſtitution, "as contrary to the allegiance "which they had ſworn to the "king? No; (exclaimed he) if "that be the interpretation of "it; our tongues ſhould cleave "to our palates, our hands ſhould

Feb. 25th.

* Eſpecially in the upper and lower Limoſin, Perigord, Auvergne, Rouergue, Querci, the country of Agen, Gaſcony, Languedoc, Burgundy, Franche Comté, the country of Nevers, Bearn, and Brittany. At the end of the 2d volume of the "Reflexions ſur les Affaires Politiques du temps preſent de la France," is an Appendix of intereſting details on the ſubject, which make a third part of the work, and are repreſented to be all "legal documents."

† The firſt is the number given by M. du Geur, p. 93: the latter is the eſtimate of a gentleman who ſeems himſelf to have been preſent on the 28th; or at leaſt to have had his account from thoſe who were. See Promenade autour de la Grande Bretagne precedé de quelques details ſur la Campagne du Duc de Brunſwick, par un officier François emigré. Edinburgh. 1795. p. 15. The number ſtated in the news-papers of the time was from 400 to 800.

"be

" be palfied, ſooner than we would " take ſuch an oath. In taking " it, we ſwore to be faithful to the " king. That oath ſhall not be " vain. It is that very oath which " we will invoke, when we advance " to repel any criminal attack on " the monarchy. In the name of " that oath will we combat; in the " name of that oath will we pre- " vent the introduction of any " thing hoſtile to royalty, into that " conſtitution which we have bound " ourſelves to maintain. The royal " authority is the corner ſtone of " the government, and on that reſts " the conſtitution." The enthuſiaſm of the ſpeaker communicated itſelf to his party, and he was ſeveral times interrupted by burſts of loyalty; but as he was proceeding to intimate that " there was a de- " ſign to miſlead the people as to " the true meaning of the oath," a clamour aroſe on the other ſide, and drowned his voice in the confuſion. He drew, however, an explanation from the preſident; and a declaration from Mirabeau, that " he would ever ſtrenouſly defend " the principles of the monarchy " againſt the factious of every ſect " and denomination, at all times, " in all places, and under all ſyſ- " tems." The conſideration of the law itſelf, on the motion of Mirabeau, was poſtponed till the aſſembly ſhould have at once under its view the whole body of laws affecting the royal family, which the committee had not yet prepared.

The new life which the foregoing ſcene, in the aſſembly, inſpired into the royal cauſe, and the open appearance of a band of gentlemen the day before at the Thuilleries, armed for the defence of the king's perſon, gave the democratic faction notice, that it was time to cruſh this beginning of an oppoſition, which promiſed to become formidable to their domination. Accordingly, they were buſy in ſpreading diſcontent in every quarter; and eſpecially in debauching the national guards, who had ſhewn ſo ſteady a countenance in the late riots at the palace. A commotion was planned, and known to be planned, for the following Monday. One pretended ſubject of jealouſy was the reparation of the old caſtle of Vincennes. All the gaols of Paris had been found inſufficient for the increaſed number of priſoners under the new reign of liberty; and therefore a decree of the aſſembly had long before directed this caſtle to be fitted up for the reception of as many as it would contain. The magiſtrates publiſhed an explanation of the neceſſity for doing this, and the authority by which it was done; but the cry of another Baſtile was raiſed, and the publication of the municipality was not regarded. Another occaſion of ferment was the terror which had been artfully ſpread of an invaſion by the emigrants; and the project of a law to prevent the augmentation of their numbers, which had been ſtarted in ſome of the debates about the king's aunts, was expected to be read on the Monday for the firſt time in the national aſſembly.

That day was in many reſpects one of the moſt important in the hiſtory of the revolution. M. Chapelier, a principal framer of the conſtitution, and the founder of the Jacobin club, now came forward to confeſs, that much had been permitted which could not be approved, and to check, as far as he dared, the operations of the ſociety which he had inſtituted. He palliated all paſt Feb. 28.

crimes with the ready fallacies which have ſerved again and again, and which cannot be too often cenſured by the moraliſt. "Diſorders (he ſaid) were inevitable in the ſtormy paſſage from ſervitude to freedom. The voice of reaſon could not be heard amidſt the loud craſh with which the ruins of the antient edifice fell; and, if it could, perhaps it would only have cooled the neceſſary ardour. Intereſt, hypocriſy, and above all vanity (he complained), had planted error around the people, in proportion as the aſſembly had ſpread light among them; but always good, brave and loyal, they were now weary of perpetual agitation, and longed for reſt. It was time, therefore, by a ſolemn decree to lay down the conſtitutional principles of order, which might reſiſt all the ſophiſtries uſed to miſlead the people." This he propoſed to do under cover of a law, to regulate and enforce the obedience and reſpect due to courts of juſtice and their officers, as well as to the municipal and adminiſtrative bodies; he moved, as a preamble to it, ſeven poſitions, containing ſo many leading principles, the ſpirit of which went much beyond their application to the enacting part of the law. The firſt of theſe, by denying any ſection of the people to have any ſhare in the ſovereignty, ſtruck at the authority aſſumed by the ſections of Paris, as "integral members of the ſovereign," and by the clubs and all popular aſſemblages, as "members of the ſovereign" and ſometimes as "the ſovereign," himſelf; and the ſeventh held forth ſome protection to the perſon of the king, the firſt public functionary under the new conſtitution, by declaring that "every invitation "made to the people, verbally or "by writing, to diſobey the law, "and to reſiſt the public functionaries or depoſitories of force acting in virtue of legal requiſitions, "or to outrage them, was a crime "againſt the conſtitution of the "ſtate."

Inſtantly the preamble was attacked by Petion and Roberſpierre, as contrary to the rights of man; while Barnave, and others under his guidance, inſtead of giving any direct opinion, took the more inſidious courſe of calling upon the mover not to huddle principles into the preamble of a police-bill, but add them, if neceſſary, to the declaration of rights. "Your preamble (cried Buzot) is like the "declaration of rights, too metaphyſical, and therefore open to "miſinterpretation; for a principle "too abſtract to be underſtood by "the people will always be abuſed. "You muſt make your language "preciſe (continued he) and particularize the general law." The taſk was undertaken by M. Deſmeuniers, who, from a popular leader of the Jacobin club, had become "a friend of order." He in a manner entirely changed M. Chapelier's firſt poſition, and introduced into it ſome words of a larger ſcope, ſuggeſted by a member of the minority, for the expreſs purpoſe of more clearly including the clubs: it was laid down as a conſequence, of the ſovereignty being one, indiviſible, and appertaining to the entire nation, that no ſection of the people, or of the empire, under any denomination whatſoever, had a right to exerciſe, or could exerciſe, any act of ſovereignty. But the fault of his amendment was, that it left many points the moſt

eſſential in practice open to future queſtions: it denounced no puniſhment; it did not even declare any ſpecific crime; it was a compromiſe which all parties might accept, and which, therefore, could not be uſeful to any. The other ſix poſitions (including that againſt ſeditious ſpeaking and writing) were re-committed and dropped. The law itſelf was paſſed, and at the head of it the amendment of M. Deſmeuniers, converted into a ſubſtantive article, ſtood only to teſtify the weakneſs of thoſe who thought themſelves able to ſtop what they had ſet in motion; and produced no other effect than ſtill more to leſſen their little remaining popularity. The galleries heard the diſcuſſion with much ſeeming indifference.

The expected law againſt emigration followed, and was accompanied by an explicit avowal from M. Chapelier, in the name of the committee, that the more they had worked, the leſs had they been able to make any law on the ſubject compatible with the declaration of rights: at the ſame time they ſubmitted the project of a law, which they did not dare to recommend for adoption. Mirabeau early took a ſtrenuous part againſt it, and, to prove his conſiſtency, read a letter which he had addreſſed to the preſent king of Pruſſia on the day of his acceſſion, perſuading him to repeal all laws againſt emigration. Governments, he ſaid, that could not learn to be juſt and wiſe, muſt be ſatisfied to lord it over deſerts, or to ſee revolutions. In concluding, he moved the aſſembly to reſolve, that the law was utterly irreconcileable with principles, and to aſſign that reaſon on their journals for paſſing to the order of the day. Merlin, on the other hand, propoſed that it ſhould be read, printed, and adjourned for eight days. When Chapelier would have anſwered he was received with laughter, and M. Cazalès was prevented from ſpeaking by clamour. The galleries were violent, and took part in demanding the reading, and the bill was read in the midſt of confuſion and uproar. Immediately from every ſide reſounded the call of the previous queſtion. Mirabeau aroſe, in great emotion, and declared that if they made a law againſt emigrants, he ſwore never to obey it; but, temporiſing with the galleries, he added, that it might be a meaſure of police, even againſt principles, if neceſſity ſhould demand it. The project of the committee having been unanimouſly rejected, a motion was made by one of the popular faction, that all the different committees of the aſſembly ſhould be inſtructed to conſider the ſubject ſeparately, and then confer upon it in common by deputies; and the preſident ſuddenly pronounced this motion to have been decreed. This was denied on the right, and it was contended that the original motion of Mirabeau muſt in point of order be firſt put; to which queſtion Mirabeau attempted to ſpeak; but all the left ſide, aided by the galleries, interpoſed to prevent him, and one of the members aſked him by what authority he had been appointed dictator. He perſiſted, however, and deſired thoſe who interrupted him to recollect, that all his life he had combated deſpotiſm, and to be perſuaded that all his life he would combat it. On hearing ſome murmurs he called

out in a tone of command, "Silence "thoſe thirty voices there;" but all his efforts were ineffectual, and the propoſition of referring the matter to the committees was adopted. This deciſion, obtained by factious intrigue, and popular violence, againſt the remonſtrances of the original leaders of the Revolution, was the firſt ſtep towards introducing that ſyſtem of confiſcation, which has ſince been carried into execution, and which, ſurviving every change of rulers, has completed the ruin of the noble families, whoſe chiefs had been hunted out of their homes.

While one detachment of the populace was thus employed in overawing the aſſembly, another had marched to Vincennes, and was hard at work in demoliſhing the caſtle. The mayor, M. Bailly, received the intelligence about noon, and communicated it without loſs of time to M. La Fayette. A ſtrong force of national guards was aſſembled, and led by the commander in chief to Vincennes; but it was with difficulty that the battalion of the ſuburb of St. Antoine, commanded by M. Santerre, could be prevented from declaring in favour of the rioters. La Fayette, however, after narrowly eſcaping an attempt on his life, ſucceeded in diſperſing the multitude, and ſeized ſixty-four of the ring-leaders, with whom he marched through the ſuburb of St. Antoine, notwithſtanding ſome oppoſition which he met, and a ſecond danger to his own perſon, one of his aid-de-camps having been wounded not far from him.

Scarcely had he executed this ſervice, when an alarm of a different kind called his attention to another quarter. Some cried that there was a plot to aſſaſſinate the king; others, that the deſign was to carry him away. Early in the morning a perſon had been ſtopped in the palace, who was reported to have been armed ſecretly with a weapon of a particular conſtruction. But, on his examination at the town-houſe, he proved himſelf to be a gentleman of very reſpectable name and character, to have gone to the palace for a very innocent purpoſe, and * to have worn the ſame weapon (a common couteau-de-chaſſe hanging by his ſide) ever ſince his firſt coming to Paris, almoſt two years before the revolution.

The pretended plot was probably believed by very few. There was, however, a ſerious apprehenſion, leſt the agitators might take advantage of the rumour to collect a crowd at the Thuilleries, and inflame their minds againſt the king, while the main body of the national guards was abſent. In conſequence the gentlemen, who had been openly thanked by the king only four days before for their zeal in his ſervice, again aſſembled. But their preſence gave umbrage to the national guards. M. Gouvion, therefore, who commanded the party, then

* Moniteur, March 1ſt, 1791; Moore's View of the French Revolution, vol. II. p. 222. and Hiſtoire de la Revolution par deux Amis de la liberté, vol. VI. p. 325. The other facts which follow are principally from this laſt authority, from Du Gour, vol. I. p. 94. from the Hiſtoire de la Conjuration de L. P. I. D'Orleans, vol. III. p. 116. the general Orders of M. La Fayette on March 1ſt, the printed Letter of M M. Villequier and Dumas, and La Fayette's anſwer.

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on duty at the palace, remonſtrated with the king on the indiſcreet zeal of thoſe gentlemen. Should any fray enſue, he obſerved, they would be charged with the aggreſſion, and every thing would be believed, which might be imputed to them.

After a ſhort heſitation, and at the inſtance of his miniſters, the king, to avoid more miſchievous conſequences, agreed to interpoſe his authority; ſo, after expreſſing his obligations to his nobility, and telling them that he was not in any danger, as they ſuppoſed, he requeſted and commanded them, on their duty, to depoſit their arms in his charge, and in their conduct to obſerve that moderation, which would beſt prevent any miſconſtruction. Accordingly they gave the king, what he thought the laſt mark of their devotion, by voluntarily depoſiting their arms with him; but, now deprived of all means of defence, they were driven with blows, and every other indignity, out of the palace. It was juſt at this point of time that M. La Fayette arrived from Vincennes, when inſtead of interfering to reſcue the unfortunate gentlemen from the hands of the national guards and the populace, he paſſed by them with gay indifference, called for the duke de Villequier, firſt gentleman of the bed chamber, and rudely reprimanded him for having admitted them. Being told that they were men to be truſted, "they who have your confidence," anſwered he, "have not mine;" whereupon a gentleman of the court who was preſent, obſerving, that very many of them were perſonally known to the general, "for that reaſon," ſubjoined the latter with unfeeling inſolence, "becauſe I do know them, I have no confidence in them, and I will not ſuffer them here." M. Villequier afterwards ſent him word, for his information, that the firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber was by his office reſponſible for the king's perſon, but this only produced an affronting meſſage in return, that "ſhould any thing "happen to the king, the nation "would not demand an account of "M. Villequier, of whoſe very exiſt-"ence the people were ignorant; if "however, the officers of the houſe-"hold were reſponſible, he and all "the ariſtocratic faction muſt be "driven, and friends of liberty and "the revolution put into their "poſts." It is impoſſible not to remark on this language, that the king and his officers were treated as without authority or conſideration in the palace, and actually under military cuſtody. Nor was more delicacy obſerved towards the king in another reſpect. The arms which had been delivered into his charge, were removed by M. La Fayette's orders; ſome of them the ſoldiers ſeized and broke in the king's preſence, the reſt were carried away, and never afterwards appeared.

Among theſe arms were ſome walking-ſticks, with ſpring-tucks concealed within them, ſuch as are every day expoſed to ſale in the ſhops of this country, and were then common in Paris. This weapon was repreſented as a terrible dagger of a new invention; a repreſentation of the ſuppoſed inſtrument was engraved and circulated to exaſperate the multitude; and from that time all gentlemen, who went to pay their duty to the king, were called knights of the dagger.

The diſgrace which had been ſuffered by thoſe whom the king

himself called his nobility, and their despair of being able to serve him in future, co-operated with their fear of the threatened law against emigration, in producing the effect that had actually been foretold in the assembly from the decision of that day. Many who were still lingering in the hope of more tranquil times hastened away, while they could, to foreign countries, without any plan, and without concert; and in some parts of France it became in a manner disreputable to remain.

Thus one day beheld the new friends of order defeated in their great attempt, to lay down the principles which were to secure that salutary end; the assembly compelled to entertain what their own committee, which had framed the constitution, solemnly declared to be a violation of all their principles; the king, after having been made the innocent instrument of betraying those who came to defend him, left wholly in the hands of the national guards, over whom their own commander in chief had not been able to maintain his authority but at the hazard of his life; and the nobility and gentry of France preparing to fly from a country where they found no support from their prince, and hostility from the people. About the same time the faction, which afterwards overturned the monarchy, first began to take a form and consistency. M. Roland, who had long enjoyed a place under government at Lyons, now arrived at Paris, and at his house assembled a knot of politicians, of whom M. Brissot soon became the most eminent, and who with him there concerted their plans of action. They were not, however, yet distinguished in public as a separate party. There could be no question as to the form of the future government, till Louis the XVIth. was destroyed, or forced into banishment; and to that point therefore they zealously co-operated, with all who from motives of ambition, the hope of plunder, an impatience of all controul, or a wanton love of confusion, concurred in propagating tumult, sedition, and anarchy.

CHAP. VII.

King greatly affected by the events at the Thuilleries. Ill in consequence. Directory of the department of Paris enter on their office. Mirabeau's speech in their name to the national assembly. Their address to the public. Attacked by the violent party. Motion for the election of ministers debated in the Jacobin club. Mirabeau is for an efficient monarchy. The directory, and the national assembly, liberate eight gentlemen arrested at the Thuilleries. Sections reflect on the conduct of the directory. M. Chapelier moves for the demolition of the castle of Vincennes:—repairs suspended. Jacobins reproach Mirabeau: King and court entertain hopes of him. Attacked by his last illness; but attends the debate on the property of mines. Supposed to be bribed by the proprietors of the mines of Azin. His illness increased by his exertions. Affects to meet death like an antient Epicurean.

Loses

Loſes his fortitude. Dies reproaching Dr. Cabanis for not performing his promiſe of ſhortening his ſufferings by opium. His character in private life: as an author: as a ſpeaker: as a member of the national aſſembly: as a politician. Both parties anxious for his life. No appearance of his having been poiſoned. Decree reſpecting his interment. His funeral. An eight days mourning for him. His poſthumous opinion of teſtamentary diſpoſitions. Monarchy-club attempt a meeting. Prevented by the populace. Perſecution of the clergy increaſes. New biſhops elected by Jacobin intereſt. Extraordinary mode of enthroning them. Lay-men and prieſts of bad character elected. Pope's bull reſpecting the Gallican church. Its moderation. Perſecution of the ſiſters of charity. Three in one pariſh ſcourged to death. Other women ſcourged in the ſtreets. School-maſters and miſtreſſes compelled to take the civic oath. Chapels of convents ſhut up. Chapels permitted by the Directory to be hired for divine worſhip. That of the Theatins ſo hired and licenſed. Mob prevent the congregation from meeting. Fix over the door a bundle of rods, and a threatening inſcription. Both taken down by the mayor. Replaced by the mob with additions. National guards quiet ſpectators of all. Inſolence of one of them at the door of the royal chapel while the king was there at his devotions. Reſolution and placard of the club of the Cordeliers accuſing the king. King's journey to St. Cloud on the 18th of April riotouſly prevented. National guards concur with the mob. Mayor and commander in chief hiſſed and hooted. Reply of the king to an inſolent ſoldier. Imperious addreſs of the directory to the king, demanding to have the officers of his houſehold diſmiſſed, and the conſtitution announced to foreign courts by new miniſters: Flattering addreſs to the citizens of Paris. Directory convene the ſections. King's ſpeech in the aſſembly reſpecting his journey to St. Cloud. Preſident's anſwer in uniſon with the addreſs of the directory. Addreſs from the municipality to the ſame effect. Inſolent language and behaviour uſed towards the king from all quarters. Chaplains and officers of the houſehold reſign. King complies with the demands in the addreſſes. Draft of a letter from the king to foreign courts objected to by M. Montmorin. He is ordered to obey. M. La Fayette reſigns in conſequence of the late conduct of the national guards. Prevailed on to reſume the command. Goes at the head of deputies from the national guards to addreſs the king. One battalion broken for its mutinous demeanour. Placards of the club of the Cordeliers denounced. Battalion of the Cordeliers change their appellation. The club continue the ſame line of conduct. Violent againſt La Fayette. Other clubs the ſame. Jacobin club print and circulate a letter of Dubois Crancè againſt the late oath of the national guards to La Fayette. Municipality and La Fayette compromiſe. A new battalion formed of the one lately broken, fourteen only being excluded. Theſe fourteen honoured, and feaſted by the fraternal ſociety and the Cordeliers. Popular explanations of La Fayette injurious to the king. Directory of Paris demand new laws, againſt ſedition, on the right of petition, and placards. Referred to the committee of the conſtitution, and a decree ſoon after paſſed, authoriſing ſoldiers to frequent the clubs. Report of Chapelier on the laws demanded, and projects of them. Oppoſed by Roberſpierre. Not paſſed, till the prin-

cipal points were altered or explained away. Great expectations of the common people from opening the barriers of Paris. Are disappointed. Shew a disposition to tumult in consequence. Assignats depreciated. Populace attack the discounters of assignats, and attempt to hang one of them. Second bull, and debates about Avignon. Pope burnt in effigy. Attempts to hang M. Clermont Tonnerre, and destroy his house. Hideous condition of the gaols. No administration of justice. State of the provinces. Disturbances break out in the Vivarais, at Tulle, Strasburg, and Colmar. Persecution of the clergy increases. Law-proceedings against them too voluminous to be reported on by the ecclesiastical committee. Cruel treatment of the sisters of charity throughout the kingdom. They petition the assembly, and are sent for protection to the king. Debates about the colonies. Barnave's popularity shaken. Decree and explanation of motives, inconsistent with their celebrated declaration of rights. Decrees relative to the constitution. Board of Treasury established: Ministry organized: Both on plans highly derogatory to the Royal authority. Sound doctrine of M. Cazalès overruled. King's patronage in the navy reduced very low. The same intended in the army. Clubs want to break all the officers in the troops of the line. Decreed that the king shall not command, promote, reward, or punish the national guards. Review of the new finance-system. Circular address upon it. Remarkable admissions in favour of the old government. Calling of the new legislature, and its organization. Impressive speech of M. Duport on the melancholy state of the country: confirmed afterwards by M. Desmeuniers and M. Bailly. King's late letter to foreign courts turned against him. Indecently attacked in the newspapers. M. Montmorin complains of it, but the assembly passes to the order of the day. Necessity of the King's taking some decisive step.

THE late events at the Thuilleries sunk deep into the king's mind; especially the unworthy treatment of those nobles, in whose honour he felt his own to be wounded. In consequence he was attacked by a bilious fever, and continued ill during the greater part of the month of March. This incident seemed to excite much general interest in his favour; and the concern apparently expressed by the assembly, was such as he might have been satisfied to have found in the most popular period of his reign.

The directory of the department of Paris had now entered on the execution of their office, and Mirabeau, one of their number, was sent to the bar of the assembly at the head of a deputation, to declare the rule of their future conduct. Amidst the ruins of twenty centuries, France, he said, had resembled a chaos; but the moment of conflict between the jarring elements of her new system was passed, and durable order succeeded: he joined the monarch with the legislative body, as forming together with them the only true representation of the people, and from that sphere diffusing law around, as the sun spreads light over the universe: it was the duty, he observed, of the directory, who were to receive the law immediately from the head of the empire, to shew the first example

March 1st.

ple of obedience to it; and he then proceeded, in ſome well-turned ſentences, to inculcate the general duty and neceſſity of a ſimilar ſubmiſſion from all. "Our firſt care, added "he, ſhall be to watch over the "public tranquillity. A leaven of "corruption has been formed by "the fragments of the ancient in-"ſtitutions and ancient abuſes, "which perverſe men are for ever "ſtirring to let looſe all the poiſon. "Theſe are the factious, who, to "overturn the conſtitution, perſuade "the people that they ſhould act "for themſelves, as if they were "without laws and without magi-"ſtrates. We will unmaſk theſe cul-"pable enemies of the public re-"poſe." This addreſs to the aſſembly, was immediately followed by another of greater length to the citizens of Paris, conceived in the ſame ſtrain, and drawn up by the ſame pen, with equal eloquence and more argument.

Theſe compoſitions were not without numerous admirers, but they produced no ſolid effect. It is not eaſy to perſuade a multitude, who have been taught to believe themſelves every thing, that they ſhould ſubmit again to be nothing: neither will the man, who has once been their flatterer, ever be regarded by them with reverence, as a moral monitor; in that character they juſtly look for the dignity of conſiſtent virtue. On the other hand, the threat of denunciation, which was thrown out to awe the writers and talkers of ſedition, only excited their animoſity. All the violent party clearly perceived, that their late aſſociates and chiefs were ready to ſacrifice them, under falſe pretences, to the ſtability of their own power: but with their danger they ſaw alſo the advantages of their ſituation. The new magiſtrates ſhewed themſelves to be embarraſſed by their own former artifices as demagogues, when they began their ſupport of the monarchy, by reviving againſt its natural defenders the old cry of plots and conſpiracies. Enough was ſaid by them to alarm, and little was urged that could really induce men to remain paſſive in the midſt of declared danger. The people indeed were told, that they were not to act for themſelves, ſince they had laws and magiſtrates. But it was aſked, were there not before the preſent time laws and magiſtrates, venerable for the antiquity of their inſtitution; and were not thoſe deſtroyed? why then ſhould theſe of yeſterday, the immediate creation of the people, be more ſacred from the controul of the public will? if the people may not act for themſelves at all times, what is their inalienable ſovereignty and the ſacred duty of inſurrection? With theſe arguments, and others of a ſimilar tendency, the declarations of Mirabeau and his colleagues were aſſailed without ceaſing; and it muſt be owned, that the democratic leaders had the better ſide of the controverſy, according to the original principles of the Revolution, which they only puſhed the full length of their conſequences.

A motion made in the Jacobin club ſhortly after, gave Mirabeau an opportunity of maintaining his doctrines in the face of that ſociety which he ſtill cultivated with aſſiduity. A law to regulate the ſeveral branches of the future miniſtry, and their general reſponſibility to the nation, was expected to be brought forward in the legiſlature. The club, as uſual, previouſly de-

bated the ſubject. It was propoſed that upon every vacancy the people ſhould nominate a certain number of candidates, out of whom the king ſhould be bound to elect; and Mirabeau ſeized the occaſion to enforce with energy his underſtanding of the principles of the conſtitution, as eſſentially connected with an efficient monarchy. The motion, though a ſecond time agitated, was not adopted; it even gave much diſguſt to all men of good intentions, and rouſed them to expreſs their ſenſe of the game which the club was playing; yet the rivals and enemies of Mirabeau found means to faſten ſome obloquy on the doctrines which he had advanced. It is probable, however, that his exertions on that queſtion, and its reception by the public, gave riſe to an addreſs, drawn up by M. Barnave, and ſent by the mother club to the affiliated ſocieties, of which the new adminiſtrative bodies and the king's commiſſioners had loudly complained, as every where interfering with the lawful authority of the magiſtrates. The object of the addreſs was oſtenſibly, to perſuade peace and ſubmiſſion to the law; really, to ſave the credit of the demagogues. The ſocieties to which it was ſent, paid not the leaſt attention to it in their conduct.

Thus emboldened, the directory, under the influence of Mirabeau, ventured on a ſtep much beyond any verbal declarations. Eight gentlemen, who had ſhewn ſome reluctance to ſurrender their arms, had been taken into cuſtody on the 28th of February at the Thuilleries, and the ſyndic of the municipality had been ordered to communicate to the department all the evidence in his poſſeſſion, which might ſerve to inſtitute a proſecution againſt them. But the directory now acquainted the aſſembly that there was no ground of accuſation, and that the eight gentlemen would be immediately ſet at liberty if they paſſed to the order of the day on this communication; which was accordingly done. Some of the ſections however came to reſolutions, and publiſhed addreſſes, ſtrongly reflecting on the conduct of the directory. A compromiſe too was made with inſurrection, and a triumph given to the agitators of Paris, by M. Chapelier, who, having ſome popularity to regain, moved the demolition of the caſtle of Vincennes; and the aſſembly, which had commanded it to be repaired, voted the ſuſpenſion of thoſe repairs.

The rivals and enemies of Mirabeau among the Jacobins, were at length exaſperated againſt him to the higheſt degree, and heaped the bittereſt reproaches upon him. "I "ſaw him (ſays a writer*, who even "attributes his death to the invec- "tives of the elder Lameth) trem- "bling, ſweating large drops, ſtam- "mering a feeble and disjointed "reply, and then retiring with a "heart burſting with rage." On the other hand, the king and the court began to entertain ſanguine hopes from his efforts, and the minority of the aſſembly treated him with unaccuſtomed reſpect; inſomuch that when he complained of being ill, M. Cazalès moved to adjourn the debate on the regency-bill, inſtancing the accommodation granted to Mr. March 22d.

* Veritable Portrait, &c. p. 89.

Fox

Fox on a similar occaſion in the Britiſh parliament.

In truth though his *frame was naturally robuſt, his health had long been precarious. A humour that ſhifted from place to place, and aſſumed various ſhapes, had more than once fallen ſuddenly on his vitals, and endangered his life. He felt, as he expreſſed it, a bar acroſs his ſtomach. The warm bath commonly relieved him; and to that he had recourſe, with ſome ſucceſs, on the preſent occaſion. But all the entreaties of his friends could not prevent him from returning to a debate relative to the property of mines. He had delivered one long diſcourſe on the ſubject, which had been ordered to be printed. It is † reported indeed to have been put into his hands by the proprietors of the mines of Azin, and with it a preſent of fifty thouſand livres. Whatever was his motive, he ſhewed an uncommon ſolicitude to be preſent at this diſcuſſion; and in the courſe of it he ſpoke no leſs than five times, every time with equal ſpirit and energy. He prevailed, but his ſucceſs was fatal to him. The hand of death was upon him.

Sunday, March 27.

He deſired his friend M. Lacheze to meet him on the terrace of the Feuillants, and there he related his internal ſenſations, and the overpowering effects of his laſt exertions. "You are killing yourſelf" ſaid Lacheze. "Could I do leſs (replied he) in juſtice, and for ſo great a "cauſe?" Extricating himſelf as quickly as he could from a crowd of ſuitors who preſſed round him with their petitions, he retired with Lacheze to a country-houſe which he had lately purchaſed in a ſpot called the Marſh, not far from Paris. There recovering a little by repoſe, he remained the whole of the next morning, talking over with ſome friends the alterations which he meant to make in the pleaſure-grounds. One of his plans was to erect a temple to liberty. The ſtatue was to wear a calm but ſevere countenance. One hand was to reſt on a pillar inſcribed "the equa-"lity of man," and the other to hold a ſword enveloped in the volume of the law. His intention, we are told, was to convey the idea, that the deſpotic execution of laws is no leſs eſſential to liberty than their popular formation.

From theſe ſchemes of future enjoyment, he returned in the afternoon to his houſe at Paris, and on the way, though all his apprehenſions had vaniſhed, yet intimating his expectation that ſome of thoſe around him might ſome day be his biographers, he ran over the principal incidents of his life, chiefly endeavouring to palliate the vices and crimes of his youth. On his arrival in the capital he tried to brave the diſeaſe, and finding benefit again from the bath, actually went to the theatre: but he ſoon found the lights and the noiſe more than he was able to bear. From that evening he never

* Journal de la Maladie & de la Mort de Mirabeau l'aîné. Par P. J. G. Cabanis Docteur en Medecine, &c. &c.

† This ſtory is in the *Veritable Portrait, &c.* It ſhould be received with caution, but that ſomething of the kind ſeems to be implied in Mirabeau's own words to his friend Lacheze, related by Dr. Cabanis.

quitted his houſe; he grew worſe and worſe till the morning of the following Saturday, when feeling the approach of death, he affected to meet it with the gaiety of an ancient epicurean: "Nothing remains (ſaid he) but to "ſprinkle myſelf with eſſences, to "crown myſelf with flowers, and to "lap my ſenſes in ſoft muſic, that I "may enter agreeably into that "ſleep from which I ſhall never "more awake;" and with theſe words he ordered his ſervant to get every thing ready for dreſſing him. But it aſks the ſupport of religion, to bear with reſignation the pangs and horrours of a death-bed. After he had loſt his ſpeech, he made ſigns for pen, ink, and paper, and demanded opium. While a meſſenger was gone for the medicine, his impatience even reſtored to him the uſe of his tongue, and he died with reproaches to his friend and phyſician Cabanis, from whom he had previouſly exacted a ſecret promiſe that he ſhould not be ſuffered to linger in unneceſſary pain. April 2d.

The conſpicuous part which Mirabeau acted in the Revolution, ſeems to require that his character ſhould be here given, and it may not be without its uſe. The narrative of his laſt efforts for the reeſtabliſhment of order, has ſhewn how little even great talents can do towards curing evils, which very inferior minds are able to occaſion: a general review of him in private and public, may teach us the true value of popular favour, which could varniſh over ſo much guilt.

In all the great relations of life, his character was ſuch as to admit of no defence, no excuſe. His enemies *, both of the royaliſt and democratic parties, concur in repreſenting him as the moſt immoral of men; a bad ſon, an execrable huſband, a brutal lover, and an imperious maſter. Nor indeed do his very friends † conceal, that from his own account he appeared to have poſſeſſed in his early days few diſpoſitions to virtue and rectitude, and but little natural goodneſs of heart; the beſt they can ſay for his memory is, that he was a being who by the force of circumſtances operating on a character of lofty energy, was driven beyond the limits of nature and morality. His infancy was untractable and turbulent. In his youth, by his ſcandalous vices, he alienated all who were connected with him by the ties of blood, and he acquired no friend. The beſt years of his manhood were ſpent in priſons, where he was confined at the requeſt of his family, ſometimes to puniſh, ſometimes to prevent his crimes, and ſometimes to ſcreen him from the vengeance of the law, which had pronounced more than one capital ſentence againſt him. His father believed him a parricide; his wife divorced him; his miſtreſs, madame Monnier, he ſeduced from her huſband, his friend and protector; and when he had ſpent what ſhe had brought away with her, ſent her back to gain his own pardon. He accepted the employment of a ſpy from the court of Verſailles at the court of Berlin, and betrayed both

* Hiſtoire de la Revolution, par Montjoye 1 part. chap. 9. M. Audainel in his "Denunciation," &c. p. 290. who gives a more particular account of his crimes; Veritable Portrait, p. 12, & Vie de Dumouriez, Liv. III. chap. v.

† Journal, &c. par Cabanis, p. 27.

courts.

courts. Not long before the revolution he was in this metropolis; and he was known to moſt of our criminal juriſdictions, ſometimes as a proſecutor, ſometimes as the object of proſecution, and every way alike to his diſgrace.

As a writer, he obtained a reputation by chuſing with dexterity the favourite topics of the day. His ſtyle was his own, powerful in expreſſion, exciting and arreſting the attention by frequent paradoxes.

As a ſpeaker, he had a commanding voice, an impoſing manner of authority. His oratory was leſs eloquent than bold, leſs profound than original. With a majority to ſupport and applaud him, he more commonly employed ſarcaſm and irony than argument. In his ſet diſcourſes he did not truſt totally to himſelf. There are in them paſſages imitated, and even tranſlated from the printed ſpeeches of Mr. Burke, and ſome whole compoſitions that go under his name were not his. On queſtions of finance he is ſaid to have been aſſiſted by M. Claviere and M. Beyerly; on colonial policy by Briſſot, and in * other branches by others then of ſecondary name. Nor did he make a ſecret that he was the organ of many minor eſſayiſts in politics. One day, as he deſcended from the tribune, his great antagoniſt, M. Cazalès, having privately expreſſed his ſurprize to him that he could pronounce a diſcourſe ſo much beneath his talents, he excuſed himſelf by ſaying, that it was put into his hand juſt as he came, and he had not time to read it over.

In his public character Mirabeau was believed by no means to be incorrupt; and the elegance and ſplendour into which he ſuddenly emerged from a ſtate of the greateſt pecuniary embarraſſment, his purchaſe of a handſome town-houſe, of a country-houſe, and of the moſt valuable library in France, the ſums which he diſſipated in debauchery, and beſtowed in what his friends called charity, and his enemies popular oſtentation, all ſhew that he muſt have had ſecret reſources. Many particular inſtances of his corruption have been commonly mentioned, which it will not be neceſſary to relate. If it be true, that the proprietors of the mines of Azin did indeed give him the bribe of 50,000 livres, his end, if not occaſioned, was probably haſtened by his corruption.

In the pillage and bloodſhed of the Revolution, Mirabeau does not ſeem to have felt any poſitive pleaſure of wanton malignity, but he deliberately encouraged all the early inſurrections, hazarded all their conſequences, and defended whatever happened, becauſe he thought all neceſſary to the purpoſes of his ambition.

His ſkill in the management of the national aſſembly was conſpicuous. But to his influence there he did not ſcruple to ſacrifice his opinions. When he could not induce the majority to go with him, that he might ſtill keep his ſtation at their head, he was ever ready to go with them; and if he was accidentally caught in a minority, commanding the preſs as he did, he had the art the next day to repreſent his defeat as a victory. In the laſt months of his life, when he became more decided and fixed in the ſup-

* Miſs Williams, vol. 2. p. 120, names alſo M. Chamfort.

port

port of order, the reception which he ſometimes experienced in the aſſembly as well as in the Jacobin club, made him ſenſible, as he ſaid himſelf, that it was but one ſtep from the capitol to the Tarpeian rock: he perceived that not only his popularity, but his exiſtence, was likely to be involved in one common ruin with the monarchy, which he had been one of the foremoſt to ſhake. If however, againſt all probability he had prevailed, and become the miniſter of a free ſtate, the ſpirit of his government may be collected from one of his ſpeeches which he had prepared, but not ventured to deliver: "* The rule of liberty (obſerved he) is perhaps more auſtere "than the caprices of tyrants."

In foreign politics, Mirabeau ſhewed leſs of the wild projector, and more of the practical ſtateſman than any of the original leaders of the Revolution. When Carra, in the latter end of the year 1790, moved the Jacobin club to aſſiſt the revolted ſubjects of Leopold in the Netherlands with 50,000 men, and the libels of twelve printing-preſſes, Mirabeau immediately oppoſed it with all his force, and with ſucceſs. His cares were afterwards directed to deviſe the means of quieting the alarms of Europe. At the moment of his fatal ſeizure †, if he did not deceive M. Dumourier, he had juſt ſettled with M. Montmorin a liſt of new ambaſſadors to carry on his plan of negociations. He hoped, that if through the king of Pruſſia he could for three months only keep the diſcontents of Germany from breaking out into open hoſtility, the conſtitution might be completed, order be re-eſtabliſhed, and France once more aſſume her rank among the powers of Europe. But there is reaſon to believe that he had an ulterior object, to which he meant to make this ſtate of things ſubſervient, and that object was the humiliation of Great Britain. It was but the day before his death that he dropped an intimation of this deſign. "‡ Mr. "Pitt (ſaid he) is a miniſter of pre-"parations. He governs Europe "more by what he threatens, than "what he does. Had I lived, I "think I ſhould have given him "ſome vexation." He had before ſuffered ſimilar language to eſcape him §, even to Engliſhmen.

During his illneſs, the oppoſite parties teſtified a common concern in his welfare; one, becauſe they had not quite ceaſed; the other, becauſe they had juſt begun to entertain hopes of making him their own. He was ſnatched away therefore in a moment of fortunate ambiguity for his glory, and after a life of private and public crimes, died generally lamented. A ſuſpicion of poiſon was thrown out by both parties againſt each other, but nothing was found in the leaſt degree to warrant ſuch a belief.

In conſequence of an addreſs from the directory of the department, the national aſſembly decreed, that the new church of St. Genevieve ſhould be finiſhed, and inſtead of the dedication to God and the Saint, be inſcribed to the memory of the great men of the Revolution, from the gratitude of their country; that Mirabeau's remains ſhould be there entombed,

* Journal &c. p. 27.
† Vie de Dumouriez, liv. iii. chap. v.
‡ Journal &c. p. 53.
§ To Mr. Miles. See his Conduct of France, &c. &c. Appendix p. 223.

tombed, and till the completion of the edifice, be depoſited in the old church next to the aſhes of Deſcartes. His funeral was conducted with great pomp, and attended by the aſſembly, the king's miniſters, the officers of department and municipality, as well as the members of the different popular clubs: and a mourning of eight days was decreed.

Not long before Mirabeau's laſt confinement, the diſtribution which ſhould have place in caſes of inteſtacy, and the power which ſhould be allowed of making wills, were under conſideration, and he then ſhortly delivered his opinion. The queſtion was again to come on; when, the evening before his death, he put a diſcourſe on the ſubject into the hands of the biſhop of Autun, who the next day in the courſe of the debate read it from the tribune. His propoſal was, that nine-tenths of the property of parents ſhould, in all caſes, be equally divided among the children, and that one-tenth only ſhould be allowed to be given away by will to friends, and others, aliens in blood. Yet at the time that he recommended this law to his country, he was conſcious how weak, when oppoſed to the genuine workings of nature, are the artificial inſtitutions of falſe philoſophy. He had, that very afternoon, been making his own will, and had even borrowed from the fortune of his friend and executor M. la Marck, to fulfil, as he ſaid, obligations preſſing on his conſcience and dear to his heart *. His poſthumous ſpeech was much applauded by the aſſembly, and ordered to be printed, but his opinion was not followed; the equal diſtribution in caſes of inteſtacy was decreed, but the conſideration whether any reſtraint ſhould be laid on the right of teſtamentary diſpoſition deferred.

The late declaration of Mirabeau, and the general conduct of his colleagues in the directory, had given courage to the monarchy-club, which now conſiſted of more than a thouſand members, to make another attempt at a meeting on the 28th of March. But they were pelted with ſtones by the populace, and compelled to retire. As an excuſe for this outrage, it was reported that they had provoked it by wearing the white cockade, and appearing with arms. Theſe charges, however, received a public contradiction from the Preſident M. Clermont de Tonnerre; yet from this time they ſubmitted quietly to the tyranny of their adverſaries, and did not make a ſingle ſtruggle more for the open eſtabliſhment of their ſociety.

The perſecution of the clergy, which had never ceaſed, about this period gained freſh ſtrength from a decree of the national aſſembly, ordering all the adminiſtrative bodies to denounce, and the public accuſers to proſecute, ſuch perſons as had offended againſt the decree of the 27th of November. This added to the diſſatisfaction excited by their former meaſures among the devout and ſerious part of the people, and to the violence already manifeſted by the enemies of the church. April 4.

The vacancies of the different ſees and cures having been declared, were now to be ſupplied. The biſhops were commonly recom-

* Journal, &c. p. 56.

mended

mended from the great mother-club at Paris, to the affiliated societies, and by their means elected: they were then carried to be enthroned, and put in poſſeſſion of the epiſcopal palaces by municipal officers, amidſt files of national guards, under cover of cannon, and by beat of drum. Of courſe, the only qualification regarded in prelates ſo choſen, was the orthodoxy not of their religious, but political creed. The other dignities, and the benefices of the church were all filled, as far as they could, in a ſimilar manner. The great reſource for this purpoſe was in the Janſeniſts, who agreeing in principle with the decrees of the aſſembly, might conſcientiouſly accept the vacant benefices; and who holding the ſame doctrines of faith with the church of Rome, independently of points relative to the hierarchy, and being actually profeſſed members of that church, did not ſtartle the common people with the appearance of innovation. Yet the moſt learned and reſpectable even among the Janſeniſts, wrote againſt thoſe who took the oath; and out of the pale of that ſect, very few indeed of the new rectors and vicars were men of character, while all prieſts and deacons who lay under ſuſpenſion, or other eccleſiaſtical cenſures, were received with open arms, and promoted according to their zeal for the Revolution. Nevertheleſs as, after all, many were ſtill wanting for the vacant cures, ſuch of the laity as could be tempted by the proſpect of a proviſion, were ordained with little or no enquiry *; "labourers who had thrown away "their ſpades, tradeſmen who had "deſerted their employments; va-"gabonds and libertines who had "not found admittance into civiliz-"ed ſociety." It is probable this was in part the effect of neceſſity; but it may alſo in part have ariſen (and ſome have aſſerted that it did ariſe) from a ſcheme in the democratic faction, to undermine the chriſtian religion by diſgracing the prieſthood.

The pope had been ſome time employed on the affairs of the Gallican church. At laſt, upon the 10th of March he publiſhed a bull, in which, profeſſing not to judge politically of the general meaſures of the national aſſembly, on whoſe conduct he admitted himſelf to have no right to decide, he conſidered the new conſtitution of the clergy, merely in regard to the doctrines of the catholic church; and after adducing many authorities to prove thoſe doctrines, determined againſt the decree. He did not, however, even go the length of pronouncing any cenſure againſt thoſe prieſts who had taken the oath. This bull was received in Paris before the latter end of the ſame month, but † it was ſtudiouſly ſuppreſſed, and a fabricated inſtrument ſubſtituted, of a contrary tenour, which deceived many, who afterwards retracted. In the mean time, the name of the pope was yet treated with ſome degree of reverence, while the founders of the new church hoped, by a pretended deference to him, to quiet the alarms of the ſober part of the people.

* This is literally taken from a complaint made to the national aſſembly by M. Sirey, conſtitutional vicar-general to the new biſhop of Perigueux, as quoted by the Abbé Barruel, p. 99. Eng. Tranſl.

† Lettre d' un Francois, &c. as well as Abbé Barruel and M. Audainel.

From

From the first preaching of christianity, in all times of trial, the zeal of the female sex has burnt with a bright and steady flame. It was so in France. A mode of persecution, therefore, was invented peculiarly for them, which might afflict with shame as well as with pain. Their persons were exposed, and they were publicly scourged by companies of abandoned women, who went openly about the streets armed with rods for this purpose, in defiance of all decency. As if every thing most excellent was the object of particular hatred, the first attack was made upon an order of nuns, of whom no person of sensibility has ever* spoken, but with the warmest admiration;—the sisterhood of charity. The devotion of these meritorious women was not confined to the exercises and mortifications of the cloister, but expanded itself abroad in active benevolence to those who most wanted their humane offices: their lives were dedicated to the solace and relief of the sick and aged in loathsome hospitals, and to the instruction of children in schools attached to their different establishments. It was pretended that they inculcated bad principles, in forming the tender minds under their care to a reverence for that religion, from which they had themselves learned to make such sublime sacrifices, and upon this charge they were seized and whipped with such severity, that in one single parish † three are said to have expired under the rod. Soon after the same outrages were committed on the religious women of other orders, whose chapels were served by non-juring priests, and on every woman of better appearance, who was seen to frequent places of catholic worship. All this while none of the flagellants were molested, much less punished, except in a single instance in the suburb of St Germain, where one of their own number suffered by mistake; the municipality even lent a colour of authority to the original pretence, by calling together all the school-masters and school-mistresses of Paris, and compelling more than seven hundred of them in one day to take the civic oath; they proceeded also, on the demand of the sections, and with the approbation of the department, to shut up all the chapels of convents, colleges, and hospitals; and both measures received the countenance of the legislature in a new decree. The Abbé Maury was not permitted to read, in his place, a letter addressed to him by the superior general of the order of charity, complaining, though, as he said, with much moderation and meekness, of the afflictions which the sisterhood had endured.

The ministry, in the name of the king, sent a request to the directory of the department, that they would take steps for putting an end to all persecution on the score of religion; and the directory, in consequence,

* See in Miss Williams's Letters, vol. II. p. 193. a long and interesting passage, in the highest strain of panegyric, on the sisterhood of charity. It is much to be regretted, that a writer who so well knew their merits did not give us a particular account of the unworthy treatment which they suffered.

† Abbé Barruel so asserts in his history. He attributes the mode of persecution to the advice of M. Condorcet.

published

publiſhed a long liſt of regulations touching divine worſhip. But this publication no ſooner appeared, than it drew down much diſcordant cenſure. Many regarded it as an uſurpation of legiſlative power, on the part of the body from which it had iſſued. They who hoped relief from it, complained that it granted but an imperfect and illiberal toleration; while the violent party among the Jacobins, and all the agitators of the capital, loudly inveighed againſt it, as favouring and encouraging fanaticiſm and a counter-revolution.

The directory had declared, among other things, that on proper application, they would licence ſuch of the ſuppreſſed chapels as any ſociety of individuals might hire from the municipality. Accordingly, a licence was obtained for a chapel which had lately belonged to the convent of the Theatins, and it was to be opened on the following Sunday, by ſome of the non-juring clergy. * But a riotous crowd aſſembled, prevented the congregation from entering, and placed over the door a bundle of rods with a ſuitable inſcription of menace. The mayor went to the ſpot with an armed force, and ordered the rods and inſcription to be taken down; but no ſooner was his back turned, than they were again reſtored, with an addition to the inſcription, informing the reader, that having been removed by the mayor it had been replaced by order of the people. The national guards, who had been left for the protection of the chapel, remained quiet ſpectators of the ſcene.

April 17th.

While the civil power was thus baffled and deſpiſed in the firſt attempt to ſecure a toleration for that which was lately the eſtabliſhed church of the land, a grenadier, who was on duty at the door of the royal chapel in the Thuilleries, was inflaming the minds of all around him againſt the religion of the king, then at his devotions in the chapel. The grand almoner, it was ſaid, who was adminiſtering the ſacrament, and all the chaplains who were aſſiſting, were refractory prieſts; the royal confeſſor, who had taken the oath, had been diſmiſſed; and the conſtitutional rector of the king's pariſh church had in vain applied at the palace, to know if he was to make the uſual preparations for the obſervance of Eaſter, by the royal family. The celebration of maſs, indeed, was not interrupted in conſequence of the ſoldier's harangue; but theſe tales, with the moſt ſeditious comments upon them, were eagerly circulated; and the ſame evening the club of the Cordeliers poſted up a reſolution, in which the king was arraigned as refractory to the law. His intended departure the next day, to take the benefit of air and exerciſe, at St. Cloud (where he had the preceding year ſpent part of the ſpring and the autumn) was repreſented as a mere colour †, to have the opportunity of keeping the holy ſeaſon of Eaſter with non-juring prieſts.

* Moniteur, April 22d, and Letter from Paris, dated April, in the Courier d'Europe, of the ſame month.

† This was the charge of the Cordeliers: and Mr. Du Gour, from an examination of all the papers on both ſides at the time, clearly proves this to have been the ſole pretext of the riot, and not a fear of the king's eſcape out of the kingdom, which was an after-thought. See Defence de Louis XVI. vol. I. p. 98.

Early

April 18th. Early* the next morning, according to an arrangement previously settled by the directory of the department, the first detachment of the guards, who were appointed to do duty at St. Cloud, were marched away without the slightest opposition or murmur; but no sooner did the royal coaches appear at the gate of the palace, than the alarm bell in the church of St. Roche was rung, and the multitude came flocking from every quarter of Paris. M. La Fayette arrived with a party of national guards, but the soldiers gave strong signs of mutiny. The commander in chief and his aid-de-camps endeavoured to inculcate obedience, and to bring them back to a sense of their duty: "hold your tongues," was the answer of the soldiers; "the "king shall not go." When the royal family got into their carriages the tumult thickened. The populace stood ready to oppose their passage. M. Bailly addressed the crowd in the name of the law: they closed round the carriages: M. la Fayette commanded the guards to open a way: the grenadiers seized the horses, and presented their bayonets to the postillions, while the rioters cut the traces. The mayor, the commander in chief, exerted themselves in vain; in vain did they harangue, soothe, and threaten: they were only hissed and hooted. At last, finding all their efforts fruitless, they went to acquaint the municipality and directory with the state of things, to require from the latter decisive orders in case of extremity, and to collect, if possible, a fresh force, on which more reliance could be placed. In the mean time the† most insolent language, the most abominable propositions, rung in the king's ears: the officers and attendants of the household, who were with him, hastened to make around him a rampart, at least of their bodies, if the intentions, which were too plainly manifested, should be carried into execution. But it was necessary that the king should drink of the chalice to the very dregs: his faithful servants were torn from him by violence; and, in fine, after having endured for an hour and three quarters every manner of outrage, he was constrained to return to his prison; for, after what had happened, (as he truly observed himself) what other appellation could be given to his palace? On this trying occasion Louis the XVIth seems

* This account of what happened at the Thuilleries is taken principally from "Histoire de la Revolution par deux Amis de la Liberté," vol. VI. p. 332. Dr. Moore's "View &c. of the French Revolution," vol. II. and the king's own paper in June 1791. The sequel is from the authentic documents published by the several bodies there mentioned, in the French Papers of the best authority.

† What immediately follows is in the king's own words. Some of the particulars we have from other sources. The "Lettre d'un François," &c. &c. tells us, on the authority of M. Duras, who, as a principal gentleman of the bedchamber, was in the king's coach, that one cry was; "*The Hog* is fat enough, it is time to stick him."—*The Hog* (*le Cochon*) was one of the many nick-names given to the king. The "Histoire de la Conjuration de L. P. J. d'Orleans" (vol. III. p. 112.) mentions a grenadier, to whose behaviour, in presence of the queen, we cannot find words to convey any distinct allusion.

to have displayed an undaunted mind. When * one of the national guards, approaching the carriage, upbraided him with his protection of the non-juring clergy, and their employment in the service of the royal chapel, "Go, wretch" cried the insulted monarch, "who made "you a judge of my conscience?"

The king's first care was to send for the directory, and state to them all that had happened. The next day he received an address from them, in which, with ill-timed flattery to the multitude, they declared, that they had not been in the least alarmed for his safety, because they knew the attachment of the people to his person: but they told him also, that no confidence in him could long resist the sinister impressions made by all around him. He favoured the refractory, they said, and was served only by the enemies of the constitution. He was therefore pressed in a style of peremptory injunction, and in the assumed name of all the departments, to banish from his presence those whom they called the enemies of the constitution, and to announce that constitution by a new set of ministers to foreign nations.

April 19.

With this address to the king they voted another to the citizens of Paris, much longer, and in a totally different strain. It was a very gentle and respectful expostulation, professing for its object "to quiet "the alarms of the people, and lay "open to them the consequences of "every irregular step in a society "legally constituted." It was full of apology for telling unpopular truths, while it indulged freely in popular fiction, attributing the commotions of the city to artful enemies of the constitution and the public happiness, on the one side, and on the other to good men, who from a confidence in the purity of their own intentions, abandoned themselves too much to their patriotic impulses. It did however tell the citizens, that Paris was but a part of the empire; that the national assembly and the king belonged to the whole; that in them eminently resided the constitution; that their independence was essential; and that in addition to her other losses, Paris should be fearful of driving them from her walls.

The directory, at the same time, thought proper to convoke the sections; which was, according to their own phrase, "to call back the citi- "zens to their duty by the exercise "of their rights." But as they were well acquainted with the turbulent and busy spirit of those meetings, they endeavoured to limit their debates to a question in the alternative, Whether petitions ought to be presented to the king, praying him to execute his original design of going to St. Cloud, or addresses of thanks for having preferred remaining at Paris, that he might not endanger the public tranquillity?

These measures of the department were immediately communicated to the national assembly, and approved; soon after which the king appeared at the sitting. He mentioned the motives of tenderness for the deluded multitude, which had induced him to postpone his journey; but he said it was of importance to the nation to prove that he was free, since upon that depended the validity of the decrees, which

* Dr. Moore's View, &c. &c.

he

he ſanctioned or accepted. He perſiſted, therefore, in his intention of going to St. Cloud, and truſted that the aſſembly would ſee the neceſſity of it. He added, that, apparently for the purpoſe of exciting inſurrections among a people whoſe love he had deſerved by all he had done, attempts were made to inſpire them with doubts of his attachment to the conſtitution; he aſſured them, therefore, that having accepted and ſworn it, he did to the utmoſt of his power maintain and execute it; and he appealed to the aſſembly, as knowing that all his views had no other object than the happineſs of the people, and that their happineſs could only reſult from obſervance of the laws, and obedience to lawful authority.

The aſſembly applauded the king's ſpeech, and the Preſident, M. Chabroud, in his anſwer, paid the unhappy Louis many perſonal compliments. He talked, however, in uniſon with the language of the directory, that there was a faction too well known by their projects, their efforts, and their plots, which muſt be prevented from interpoſing between the throne and the nation; but he ſaid not a ſyllable of the neceſſity that the laws ſhould be obſerved, lawful authority obeyed, and the king free; nor did he even glance at the main ſubject of the king's ſpeech, his intention of ſtill going to St. Cloud.

The municipality followed in due order with an addreſs, echoing the ſentiments of the department and the national aſſembly. The ſections, in general, refuſed to deliberate; and that of the French theatre, in particular, aſſigned as a reaſon, that the queſtion was captious, involving in both parts of the alternative, an implied approbation of the king's original intention. They alſo voted it an infringement of their rights to confine them to a yes or a no; they adhered notwithſtanding to the addreſs of the department, as thinking it to be, what it really was, the very reverſe of the queſtion ſent down to the ſections, and a plain cenſure on the king; and they pronounced thoſe national guards, who at the Thuilleries had acted conformably to the will of the people, to be alone deſerving of praiſe. The clubs, the motion-makers of the Palais Royal*, the more violent journaliſts, and the occaſional pamphleteers without name, kept no bounds; and the beauties of their works were repeated about the ſtreets. A favourite paſſage of this kind was a ſort of definition, or deſcription of a monarch, repreſenting him as "a "being without uſe, a gigantic "monſter that devoured thirty mil-"lions a year."

In ſome of theſe productions, full of ſedition, treaſon, and impiety, which were nightly ſtuck up on the gates of the king's palace, mention was made for the firſt time of the pretended plan for his eſcape, by going from St. Cloud to Compeigne, and thence out of the kingdom. Louis immediately condeſcended to notice this ſuggeſtion, and, through the directory, to give it the moſt unequivocal contradiction. But this April 22d.

* It was at one time intended to have given ſome ſpecimens here, but as it has been done by M. Du Gour in his "Defence de Louis XVI." vol. I. p. 108, and by Dr. Moore in his "View, &c." vol. II. p. 243, we ſhall be contented to refer our readers thither, without encumbering and ſullying our own page.

declaration of his majeſty was defaced or torn down, while the oppoſite aſſertion of the clubs and anonymous libellers was ſuffered to remain.

This, however, was the leaſt of the king's mortifications. Preſſed as he was by all thoſe public bodies, to which alone he could look for ſupport againſt the populace and their ſecret inſtigators, it was impoſſible for him to reſiſt what they all adviſed or rather commanded. His grand almoner, his chaplains, the noblemen of his bed-chamber, were all permitted to reſign; the journey to St. Cloud was abandoned; and the royal family received the ſacrament on Eaſter-day, from the hands of a conſtitutional prieſt, at the church of St. Germain, of Auxerre. A declaration alſo to foreign courts, ſuch as fully correſponded with the outline traced by the directory, was drawn up in the king's name * by two members of the aſſembly, who were then ſuppoſed to be beſt acquainted with the ways of popularity: but it was written rather in their own characters than in that of Louis the XVIth. By ſome intriguers about the court, it was put into the king's hand, who determined to make this laſt experiment, and gave the paper without alteration to M. Montmorin, to be reduced into the form of an official letter. The miniſter remonſtrated againſt the contents of it, as likely to have an effect the very contrary to that which was intended; and on the king's perſiſting, went ſo far as to offer his reſignation, but with ſome marks of diſpleaſure he was told, that he muſt firſt obey.

The letter, therefore, was prepared and communicated to the national aſſembly, where it was vehemently applauded; and the amicable debate to which it gave riſe exhibited the new ſpectacle of a conteſt of loyalty between M. Alexander Lameth and Roberſpierre. The preſident in his addreſs pronounced a warm eulogy on the monarch, and endeavoured to flatter his ambition, while he diſcovered that of the nation. "Placed on the moſt ſplen- " did throne of the world (ſaid he) " you have given the firſt example " of a great king proclaiming afar " the liberty of † the people in all " nations." He told him, that his heart was known to the French, who were accuſtomed to pronounce his name with thoſe effuſions of tenderneſs and gratitude which great benefits command: the laſt head of the hydra of faction, he ſaid, had now fallen, and he ventured to announce that his majeſty would be happy. But Louis the XVIth was too well acquainted with the praiſes and promiſes of the aſſembly in their public intercourſe with him, not to have ſome doubts of their ſolidity, which he delicately and af- April 23d.

* Dr. Moore ſays he had the account here given of that celebrated letter, from a perſon of veracity, who had particular means of knowledge, vol. II. p. 307.—It is in itſelf highly probable from the circumſtances and characters of the parties. There was always a little low intrigue of this kind carried on about the king and queen, by the leaders of the popular party; and ſeveral of their letters recommending various projects were accordingly found on the taking of the palace, in Auguſt, 1792.

† The phraſe in the original is "*des peuples*" in the plural, which cannot be tranſlated but by ſome ſuch circumlocution as that in the text.

festingly hinted in a short reply: after expressing how infinitely he was touched by the justice done him, he added; "could the assembly read "the bottom of my heart, it would "see there nothing but sentiments "proper to justify the confidence "of the nation; all distrust would "be banished from between us, "and we should all be happy."

An event which soon after took place, seemed for a short time to open a prospect to the re-establishment of something like order. The disobedience of the national guards at the Thuilleries was so much more flagrant than it had ever been before, at least since the march to Versailles, that M. la Fayette, who had been greatly blamed by many for continuing in the command after that period, now thought it incumbent upon him to resign. The municipality, in a very flattering address, requested him to resume his station, but he declined, unless his comrades, as he still called them, would solemnly assure him of their future obedience to the law. In consequence, the different battalions assembled, resolved to offer the command again to M. la Fayette, and swore obedience to the law; to which some added an oath of unlimited confidence in their chief. The municipality, thus seconded, pressed him again; and, fond as he was of popularity and power, perhaps too having produced all the effect which he originally intended by his resignation, he no longer resisted. When he was completely re-instated, he went with deputies from all the battalions to the king, and addressed him in the name of all;—it was to thank his majesty for his declaration to foreign powers in favour of the constitution. The king returned a very gracious answer, and observed, that to ensure the constitution for ever, the Parisian guards had only to give the example of obedience to the laws. The train then filed off before the palace, crying, "Long live the king! "long live the restorer of French li- "berty! long live the descendant "of Henry the IVth!" One battalion, which had been the most mutinous and seditious on the 18th of April, and indeed on every occasion of disturbance during the preceding year, the municipality thought it necessary to break.

The magistrates even seemed disposed to shew a commendable vigour in repressing licentiousness. They ordered a denunciation of the placards issued by the club of the Cordeliers; and some apparent popularity attended the measure; for the battalion of the guards, called the Cordeliers from their section, immediately changed their name, because they would not be confounded with a club whose libels manifested a spirit so inimical to all law. The club, however, was not disconcerted. They received in the same day denunciations against the late oath of the national guards, they condemned the municipality, and they railed at the commander in chief, whom they accused of having sold himself to the court: some of them went the length of proclaiming in their debates, that it would be a meritorious act to assassinate him; and other clubs of the same stamp took an equally violent part. The great Jacobin club indeed (to which the bishop of Autun, Abbè Seyes, and the majority of the club of 1789 now returned) conducted itself with a little more reserve, but printed and circulated a letter of M. Dubois Crancè, who,

denying even the right of the king to exact from the troops of the line an oath of fidelity to his own individual perſon, declaimed ſtrongly againſt the oath of unlimited confidence in M la Fayette. The reſult of all was, that the municipality and La Fayette ſoon began to compromiſe. The magiſtrates of the city, when they had broken the mutinous battalion, formed another of the ſame men, with the exception of fourteen only, whom they marked as the ringleaders; and theſe fourteen were inſtantly received with all honours by the fraternal ſociety, and feaſted by the Cordeliers as perſecuted and oppreſſed patriots. The commander in chief on his part noticed, in general orders, the diſquiets which had been occaſioned by the oath; and, calling the guards by no other appellation than "the "ſoldiers of liberty," and "the army "of the revolution," declared it to be his and their common principle, "that although obedience to the le- "gitimate organs of the law was in- "diſpenſable, yet they were under "no obligation of affection to the "perſon of any individual." Thus to obviate invidious attacks on his own popularity, he unneceſſarily weakened the little ſecurity of the king in the attachment of thoſe who could alone be his protectors, by explaining away the former oath of fidelity, which they had taken to the law, the nation, and the king; and which, by pointing out his perſon as one diſtinct object of allegiance, muſt have meant ſomething more than a mere cold, abſtract, obedience to the law, and all the organs of the law, in every civil and military office of the ſtate.

The department now took their turn, and repreſented to the national aſſembly the neceſſity of new laws to prevent a repetition of the late ſcandalous ſcenes. Their firſt deſire was, that the publication of the penal code ſhould be haſtened, "with a view of reſtraining thoſe "audacious men, who were conti- "nually preaching, with a factious "enthuſiaſm, diſobedience to the "laws and revolt againſt all lawful "authority;" an offence ſo multiplied, they ſaid, as to have become one of the moſt potent cauſes of evil: the two other points which they preſſed on the conſideration of the legiſlature, were, to determine the right of petition, and to diſcriminate acts of the magiſtrates, from the placards of individuals and private ſocieties. This application obviouſly took its immediate riſe from the debates and printed reſolutions of the clubs, inſtigating the national guards to mutiny and rebellion. The aſſembly praiſed the zeal of the department, referred the ſubject to the committee of the conſtitution; and three days after paſſed a ſolemn decree, encouraging ſoldiers of all denominations to frequent thoſe very ſocieties. This did not promiſe any thing very ſerious with regard to the laws deſired by the directory. At length, however, M. Chapelier brought up a report on the laſt two points, and announced at the ſame time that the penal code would ſoon appear. He endeavoured to diſtinguiſh petitions from complaints, demands, and remonſtrances, and to confine the former to "active citi- "zens" who had political characters, and to them in their individual capacities only. This would have excluded, on one ſide, all the loweſt claſs of the community, and, on the other, all public bodies, as well as clubs,

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clubs, and voluntary associations of every kind. But Petion and Robespierre began a furious attack, especially on the limitation of the right to "active citizens;" and though the latter was interrupted again and again, yet in the end his opinion prevailed by the aid of the galleries, and the right of petition was declared to belong to every individual. A regulation affecting the communes and sections, which had not been mentioned by the directory, but was within the fair scope of their meaning, was next moved by the reporter. It went to ascertain the legal forms of their proceedings, and to prohibit them from deliberating on any subject not contained in the original requisition for a call of the meeting. But if they disregarded the prohibition, there was no punishment, only the municipality, or, in case of their neglect, the department had a power of declaring such deliberations null and void; and upon the first shew of resistance, M. Chapelier himself explained, that, according to the existing laws, the citizens might be convoked without these forms, and had a right to the same place of meeting, for debating on all public affairs: "all that we say (added he) is, that "it is not an assembly of the com-"mune, except when they meet on "the affairs of the commune." The third part of the proposed decree, related to the right of posting up placards, and of making publication by beat of drum and sound of trumpet; which, it was the opinion of the committee, should be declared not to belong to any individual, private society, or section of the commune. But a warm opposition having been threatened on the first day, when the whole plan was opened, M. Chapelier, in moving the particular clauses, dropped altogether the publication by drum and trumpet; and with respect to placards, contented himself with submitting, that an exclusive place should be allotted in every town for those of the magistrates, and that all others should be signed with the names of the individuals whose sentiments they contained, not speak in the name of any collective body, nor be issued under any title of obligatory or imperative force. He even condescended, after listening to the debate which ensued, to point out an evasion of his own modified proposition: he observed, that the president and secretaries of a club might sign their own names, and the number of the individuals who concurred. The decree having been once more altered in the details of this latter part, was passed some days after; and so terminated this, like every other effort to check the growing spirit of confusion and anarchy, in imbecility and failure.

The common people of Paris had been taught to expect much benefit from the opening of the barriers, which had been fixed to take place on the first of May. Every article of merchandize being thenceforward to enter the city duty-free, all the miseries long suffered by the indigent, had been consoled with the prospect of plenty at this happy period. It was found, however, on experiment, that the price of living was very little diminished; and the multitude shewed a disposition to do themselves, what they thought, justice in their own summary way. At the same time the emigrations, which since the 18th of April had considerably increased, began to have a perceptible effect in drain-

ing the kingdom of its circulating coin. The aſſignats were conſequently depreciated; a loſs which preſſed heavily on the poor, who for ſome time had ſeen little money. The populace therefore took the remedy of the evil into their own hands, by falling upon the money-dealers who diſcounted aſſignats, putting them all to flight, and making an attempt to hang one of the number. This method of cure only aggravated the diſeaſe, and it was ſome time before the precious metals re-appeared; not indeed till the magiſtrates at laſt, by public authority, appointed one place in every ſection, where a caſhier ſhould attend under the protection of an armed force.

The ferment in the capital on account of religion, was heightened by a ſecond bull from the pope, dated on the 13th of April, and received in Paris about the beginning of the following month. It ſuſpended all prieſts who had taken the oath, unleſs they ſhould retract within forty days, and it annulled all the new conſecrations and elections. At the time of its arrival, the national aſſembly was occupied with a queſtion (which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion more directly to notice) on the union of Avignon with France. At once to influence the debate, and mark every poſſible contempt for the ſpiritual authority of the Roman ſee, a ſtuffed figure, habited in the papal dreſs, and ſurrounded with bulls, briefs, indulgencies, and pardons, was carried in mock-proceſſions through the ſtreets, and burned amidſt the acclamations of an hired multitude in the Palais Royal, by M. St. Huruge, and other emiſſaries of the Orleans party and the Jacobin club. Nevertheleſs the deciſion reſpecting Avignon having gone in favour of the pope, a riot was raiſed to aſſaſſinate M. Clermont Tonnerre, who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the ſide of the majority. He narrowly eſcaped the lamp-poſt; his houſe and effects were with difficulty ſaved by the mayor and the national guards; the aſſembly the next day refuſed to hear a complaint of M. Murinais on the ſubject; and new tumults were openly threatened.

In this precarious ſtate of the peace the gaols were another ſubject of alarm. The condition of them * was ſaid to be hideous. The priſoners, tormented by captivity, affliction, and diſeaſe, could hardly be kept from breaking looſe upon the public. Adminiſtration of juſtice there was none. Fifteen hundred proſecutions were depending, and all of them irregular; there was ſome legal nullity or other in every one of them. Neither was there any common principle of deciſion whatever in the new tribunals, but each followed its own arbitrary notions.

In the mean time the provinces were very far from enjoying quiet. Actual diſturbances about this period broke out in the country called the Vivarais; at Tulle, where M. Maſſei, an old officer, was murdered; at Caſtelnau, where two officers ſhared the ſame fate; at Straſburg; and at Colmar. The perſecution too of the clergy, and of the congregations which adhered to them, was continued with greater acrimony than ever. Even the ſmall pittance, which had been given

* See the petition preſented to the national aſſembly, by the deputation from the criminal tribunals of Paris, on the 31ſt of May.

to the deprived priests as a relief, was*, in some places, turned into a snare for their consciences; and at the top of the receipt which was offered them to sign, was written the oath: by this fraudulent device, it is said, many were reduced to extreme misery, but none conformed. Others were kept waiting, and obliged to call repeatedly at the offices, for no other purpose than to be exposed every time to new disappointment, contumely, and peril. All of the superior rank, whom insults, menaces, and pillage did not compel to fly, were hurried before the tribunals, and † cast into dungeons under the decree passed on the 4th of April by the national assembly; and such was the multiplicity of the prosecutions, that when they had been transmitted, as had been directed, to the ecclesiastical committee ‡, it was found utterly impracticable to report upon them from the immense bulk of the papers. The § sisterhood of charity, who in the whole consisted of three thousand women, distributed over the kingdom in more than four hundred religious houses, suffered in many places the same cruelties as at Paris, injurious alike to piety and good manners, while the magistrates looked on with indifference. At length a petition was presented on their behalf to the national assembly, who sent them for protection to the executive power, that is, to the king, who was unable to protect himself in the exercise of his own religion agreeably to his conscience.

The affairs of the colonies, to which the attention of the national assembly was about this time imperiously called, did not shew any better consequences than the mother-country had experienced, from the principles of the revolution. Intelligence was received from St. Domingo (though very different colourings were given to the fact) ‖ that M. Mauduit, colonel of the regiment of Port-au-Prince, had been murdered by his soldiers, and that M. Blanchelande, the governor, had been forced to save his life by flight: as well as that the most alarming dissensions prevailed between the mulattoes and the whites; the latter of whom being the more ¶ numerous, the former had called in the negroes to their aid. A mulatto of the name of Ogè, who had come from France thoroughly heat-

* This was in the department of Dijon. See Lettre d' un François, &c. &c. p. 46.

† The sufferings of M. Bonneval, bishop of Senez, are related in a very affecting manner by M. Barruel.

‡ Debates of the national assembly on the first of June. See Moniteur 2d of June.

§ See M. De Lessart's circular letter on this subject to the directories, dated 31st of May.

‖ The fact itself, and the general state of the colony, have been already more fully related in our 32d vol. Hist. Art. p. 137.

¶ It appeared in the debates, that according to a return made in 1790, the whites in St. Domingo were 30,000 who paid taxes, besides two regiments, making together 1,400 men, and others who were not rated. The mulattoes appeared to be between 24,000 and 25,000.

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ed with the doctrines of the violent faction there, had been detected in an attempt to make an insurrection in the island; he fled, was delivered up by the Spanish government, and died on the scaffold. The men of colour, and their partizans in France, called this an infamous murder; the whites considered it as a just execution of a legal sentence. The men of colour demanded to be admitted into the colonial and parochial assemblies; the whites refused it.

The committee for the affairs of the colonies made a report, and proposed a decree, by which the assembly would have left it to the next legislature to determine on the civil state and condition of all persons in the colonies, after having received the opinion of the colonists themselves on the subject; and a secret committee, formed of deputies from each of the islands, was to discuss and report that opinion.

Immediately all the friends of the blacks under Gregoire the new bishop of Blois, and the more determined democratists, attacked the plan of the committee, and moved the previous question; which May 13. was however negatived. M. Barnave, who spoke several times on the side of the majority, could hardly obtain a hearing, and was repeatedly interrupted with hisses, murmurs, and groans.

Animated by the popular societies and journalists, the minority rallied again two days after; and when the article of the plan, leaving every thing for the present open, and subject to the opinion of the colonies, was particularly taken into consideration, M. Rewbell moved an amendment, the effect of which was to admit immediately into the colonial and parochial assemblies, all mulattoes born of free parents. M. Barnave warmly opposed the amendment; but before he had finished a sentence, was repeatedly interrupted, and as often obliged to leave the tribune: he once would have left the hall, had he not been forcibly detained by some of his friends. He was answered by Robespierre, who proposed to declare the principle of the rights of man in its fullest extent, for which Gregoire and others had contended in favour of the negroes; but this was over-ruled. Perceiving the motion of Rewbell to be in effect carried, Abbè Maury, after protesting against having any share in their laws, thought it necessary, for the sake of good morals, to suggest one addition,—that the mulattoes to be admitted, should prove the legitimacy of their birth. The event it is almost superfluous to relate: the suggestion was rejected with every mark of disapprobation.

The compromise made in this decree by no means satisfied the ports and towns of trade with the colonies. Here it was thought to grant too much, there too little. Bourdeaux, and some other places, stopped all ships from sailing till they should have applied for an explanation to accompany the measure. This was given; but the royalists observed upon it with triumph, and the violent demo- May 27th. cratists with indignation, that it shook from the base the celebrated declaration of rights, on which stood the whole revolution. For the assembly confessed themselves to feel, that, like all other legislators, they must bow before that political necessity which circumstances impose; and to that domineering power submit every

every thing which had been repreſented as the "natural, inalienable, "and ſacred rights of man." It was recogniſed, as the ground of the late decree, "that local circum-"ſtances, and eſpecially the cultiva-"tion on which depends the proſpe-"rity of the colonies, ſeemed to in-"duce a neceſſity of admitting, in "the colonial conſtitution, ſome ex-"ceptions to general principles."

Whilſt the events, which have been the ſubject of this chapter, were paſſing, the development of the conſtitution, which was to give and ſecure happineſs to all, and the formation of thoſe public organs, through which the conſtitution was to act, were gradually proceeding. The decrees reſpecting the regency, the guardianſhip of a minor king, and the reſidence of the public functionaries, had been ſome time * ſettled, and voted, but ſtill remained to be preſented for the king's acceptance. The laſt of them was highly important. It introduced, for the firſt time, a caſe of depoſition under the gentler name of a conſtructive abdication, if the king ſhould quit the realm, and not return on the ſummons of the aſſembly. It alſo bound him to reſide within twenty leagues of the aſſembly, though no penalty was fixed for tranſgreſſing thoſe limits.

A board of treaſury was appointed by a decree paſſed on the 27th, and ſanctioned on the 30th of March. It was totally ſeparated from all controul of the miniſtry, and conſiſted of ſix commiſſioners named by the king, but ſuperintended by three other commiſſioners appointed by the aſſembly, with powers to require all explanations, and examine all documents. A report was to be made by the ſix commiſſioners twice a month to the king, and alſo to the aſſembly. They were bound to pay the different miniſters whatever ſums the aſſembly had decreed, and no more on any account. The whole collection and management of the revenues, in like manner, was taken out of the king's hands, upon a declared principle of not truſting him and his miniſters, with the influence ariſing out of eighteen thouſand good employments to be given away; which therefore were thrown into the oppoſite ſcale, to make men, as it was ſaid, look up to their country for rewards.

The miniſtry itſelf was next organized; after the plan had been two months before the public, it was diſcuſſed in different debates from the 6th to the 27th of April, when it was decreed with very little alteration. The council of ſtate was to conſiſt of ſix miniſters, whoſe powers and duties were enumerated at length, but in language a little indefinite. They were to be appointed and diſmiſſed by the king, but they were to make periodical reports to the legiſlative body (even the miniſter of foreign affairs as well as the reſt), and to produce all papers, on demand, without the intervention of the king's authority. Whenever the aſſembly ſhould think proper to vote that there were grounds of accuſation againſt any miniſter, his functions from that

* Theſe three decrees were ſettled between the 22d and 29th of March. On the 19th of April a motion was made and carried, that they ſhould be read over the next day, and preſented to the king by the preſident: but it was not done, probably from delicacy, after the king's viſit and ſpeech to the aſſembly on the 19th. They were ſealed on the 12th of September, during the king's ſuſpenſion.

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moment were to ceaſe, and he was to be delivered over to the ordinary tribunals; but without ſuch a previous vote, no miniſter could be proſecuted in any manner for the acts of his adminiſtration. Thus the king on the one hand could afford no protection to his ſervants from popular vengeance, and on the other he could not bring them to condign puniſhment by his law-officers, if they ſhould betray, to popular uſurpation, any part of his lawful authority. M. Montmorin is reported to have ſaid, that for many acts which he had been obliged to do, he ſhould deſerve to loſe his head, if his royal maſter could ever recover his power.

To aſſiſt the judgment of the aſſembly on this great ſubject of reſponſibility, a chapter going to that point in the penal code was read, though the whole code was not ready to be then ſubmitted to conſideration; and it contained a tremendous catalogue of crimes and puniſhments. Some of the former were ſo looſely expreſſed, particularly with regard to "plots," "conſpiracies," and "machinations" againſt the various popular bodies under the conſtitution, that it was impoſſible to foreſee what might, or rather what might not, be the interpretation put on the law for the deſtruction of an obnoxious miniſter. Every plot to hinder the meeting, or effect the diſſolution, of any primary or electoral aſſembly; every conſpiracy, or attempt of the ſame kind againſt the legiſlative body, and every infringement on the perſonal liberty of one of its members, was to be puniſhed with death. The communes, the municipalities, the adminiſtrative and judicial bodies, were not quite ſo ſacred; but every machination or violence to hinder the meeting, or effect the diſſolution of any of them, was to incur the pain of five years ſlavery in the gallies; the miniſter, who ſhould ſo offend by any order which he might give, having no other diſtinction than that of being ſent to pull the oar for life. Again, any act tending to give a power contrary to the conſtitution, or to reſtore a public body deſtroyed by the conſtitution, or to deſtroy a body created, or a power conferred by the conſtitution, was capital: while for any illegal diſmiſſion of a public functionary, for any nomination to an elective poſt, or for any obſtacle given to the liberty of acting, ſpeaking, writing, and printing, otherwiſe than as limited by the law, a miniſter was to go to the gallies for life. The reſt of the chapter was in the ſame ſtyle, full of death, and the gallies; one or two inſtances only occurred of the pillory. The loweſt agents concerned were in general implicated in the conſequences, though not always ſubjected to the ſame degree of puniſhment.

When the articles, relative to the reſponſibility of miniſters, were moved, M. Buzot, who, with Robeſpierre and Petion, was a principal organ of the little council at the houſe of M. Roland, propoſed the reſtoration of an article which had ſtood in the original draught, but on the firſt reading, two months before, had been rejected. It recogniſed the right of the aſſembly to preſent any addreſs to the king on the conduct of his miniſters, and even formally to declare that they had loſt the confidence of the nation; which M. Buzot juſtly conſidered as equivalent to a removal. He wiſhed alſo that when removed by the interference of the aſſembly, they

they might be made criminally answerable to every individual for their former miniſterial acts; allowing, at the ſame time, that there were good private reaſons for not ſuffering them to be proſecuted by any authority, without ſome previous vote of the aſſembly.

The tendency of all this was manifeſt. It was attacked therefore by M. Cazalès on wiſe grounds; that the rejected article, if reinſerted, would demand a correſponding check; it would make the executive power immediately and totally dependent on the legiſlative, unleſs the king on his part had a diſcretion over the exiſtence and duration of the aſſembly. The ſentiments expreſſed on this occaſion by the great leader of the ariſtocracy will ſhew, that he was no enemy to rational liberty under a limited monarchy; indeed that he ſeems to have underſtood its nature much better than his opponents. "The principle (ſaid he) appears "to me evident. Whenever the "legiſlative body ſpeaks to kings "in the name of the people, kings "are under an obligation of obeying: but it is of importance that "the legiſlative body ſhould not "expreſs a will different from "that of the people. There is "but one method of diſtinguiſhing; it is that of impowering "the king to diſſolve the legiſlature, ſubject to the neceſſity of "calling another immediately, and "of taking their opinion." But murmurs and cries ariſing on the left ſide of the hall, he could only throw out a challenge to prove, if the aſſembly would indulge him with ſilence, "that unleſs the king "had ſuch a prerogative, there "could be no liberty, no public "happineſs." He moved, in conſequence, that the diſcuſſion ſhould be adjourned, till the fate of his propoſition had been determined; but without even a debate the rejected article was reſtored. As to the reſt, miniſters proſecuted under a vote of the aſſembly were to be reſponſible in civil actions for damages, but not otherwiſe to individuals.

The dependence of the crown on the legiſlature being thus rivetted by the exertions of M. Buzot, the buſineſs of the next day was begun by M. Robeſpierre with a motion to render the legiſlature wholly independent of the crown. It was decreed on his ſuggeſtion, that no member of that, or any other aſſembly, ſhould be eligible to the miniſtry; nor receive, nor ſolicit, for himſelf or for another, any place, gift, gratuity or penſion, during the ſpace of four years after the termination of the aſſembly. And this at the ſame time decided a great queſtion, which the committee of the conſtitution wiſhed to poſtpone, Whether miniſters ought to be members of the legiſlature?

The ſame ſpeaker afterwards, in the ſame debate, became the champion of the crown, and maintained that upon all principles of monarchy, the number of the miniſters, and the diſtribution of the buſineſs in their ſeveral offices, ought to be left entirely to the executive power, whoſe agents they were. But like all other men, and parties of men, he was not equally ſucceſsful in defending as in attacking the throne. M. Barnave moved and carried it as a maxim of the conſtitution, that it belonged to the legiſlative body to ſettle the number, diviſion, and demar-

demarcation of the departments of the miniſtry; ſo that the king was now tied up from making the ſlighteſt change for general expediency, without a decree of the aſſembly.

The miniſters were frightened with the new law, as they well might be, in a time when they were perpetually the objects of reproach, ſuſpicion, and calumny; and the king felt no ſmall alarm, leſt, if they ſhould abandon their ſtations, he might not be able to find others willing and qualified to ſucceed them. He thought too, with ſeeming reaſon, that (independently of the ſubjection in which the crown and great officers of ſtate were placed under the national aſſembly) the conſequences of carrying reſponſibility ſo low down, to the very ſubordinate agents, muſt greatly embarras the public ſervice: for ſince they, who are to anſwer criminally for their obedience, muſt have a diſcretion to obey or not, this would make them judges, in every inſtance, of the orders given them by their ſuperiors. On the other hand the Jacobins ſaw nothing in the law, but treachery for the aggrandizement of the executive power; and they went the length of debating whether they ought not to petition that the committee of the conſtitution ſhould be diſcharged, as having loſt the confidence of the nation.

The king had been declared ſupreme head of the army and navy: but the aſſembly now undertook to re-model the marine. The great object ſeemed to be that of reducing the influence of the crown as low as poſſible, without excluding the king altogether from that ſituation in which the former decrees had placed him. He was in future to appoint indeed all (that is three) admirals, but none of the vice-admirals; two thirds of the rear-admirals, one half of the captains, one ſixth of the lieutenants, who were the moſt numerous claſs, and but one twentieth of the enſigns or midſhipmen. Neither could he chuſe his ten enſigns (for he made no more) wherever he pleaſed; he was bound to take them from the higheſt rank of warrant officers, the maſters on the eſtabliſhment, of whom he appointed only one third from among men that had riſen through all the inferior gradations by regular courſe of ſervice. The operation of all theſe diverſified arrangements would be, that the king and his miniſters could not place the ſon of any one gentleman in the naval ſervice of his country; and that out of more than twelve hundred commiſſions, the whole number on the eſtabliſhment then voted, not quite two hundred and fifty, would be in the diſpoſal of the crown; which were alſo the ſole fund for the reward of extraordinary merit.

The military committee was not yet ready with their project for a reform of the army: it was underſtood, however, that in regard to the royal patronage a principle was to be introduced, ſimilar to that adopted in the navy. In the mean time the different jacobin clubs throughout the kingdom, on the invitation of a circular letter from the club at Straſburg, were diſcuſſing whether it would not be neceſſary to break all the officers in the troops of the line; a meaſure very generally and warmly patronized by the democratic faction. The national guards were not a part of the army, but a counterbalance in the conſtitution againſt it, of more impor-

importance in the internal government of the country; and, on a report made concerning them to the national assembly, it had already been fixed as a leading principle that neither the prince nor any person under his special influence, should command, promote, reward, or punish them.

The new system of taxation was, next to the constitution itself, an anxious subject of public attention, as it was on the deficiency of the income compared with the expenditure, that the clamour was raised, which was improved into the opportunity of making the revolution. The theory of the œconomists was in a great degree adopted, by laying, if not the whole, yet much the greater share of the burthen, directly on real property. This tax, together with a percentage added to the original rate, was taken at no less a sum than three hundred millions of livres, or about twelve millions and a half of our money.

On personal property not more than one-fifth of that amount was to be levied in the whole, and the ways and means for raising it were various. There was the contribution of every active citizen equal to the price of three days labour; there was one duty on horses, and all animals for draft or the saddle; and another on servants, both male and female, rising in proportion to the number maintained; there was also a house-tax of three per cent. on every person's income, estimated from the house-rent in a manner * apparently the most fan-

* To make the subject more intelligible than any explanation in words could do, we shall here subjoin a table of the eighteen classes, taken from the instruction sent by the assembly to the administrative bodies on the 13th of January 1791. The principle on which the details of the table were formed was not explained, and it does not seem easy to discover it from any analysis.

1st Class. House-rents of 12,000 livres and upwards are supposed to be *one twelfth part and a half* of the person's income.

		Inclusive.		Exclusive.	
2d	—	Those of 11,000l.	to	12,000l.	to be one 11th$\frac{1}{2}$
3d	—	Those of 10,000l.	to	11,000l.	to be one 11th
4th	—	Those of 9,000l.	to	10,000l.	to be one 10th$\frac{1}{2}$
5th	—	Those of 8,000l.	to	9,000l.	to be one 10th
6th	—	Those of 7,000l.	to	8,000l.	to be one 9th$\frac{1}{2}$
7th	—	Those of 6,000l.	to	7,000l.	to be one 9th
8th	—	Those of 5,000l.	to	6,000l.	to be one 8th$\frac{1}{2}$
9th	—	Those of 4,000l.	to	5,000l.	to be one 8th
10th	—	Those of 3,500l.	to	4,000l.	to be one 7th$\frac{1}{2}$
11th	—	Those of 3,000l.	to	3,500l.	to be one 7th
12th	—	Those of 2,500l.	to	3,000l.	to be one 6th$\frac{1}{2}$
13th	—	Those of 2,000l.	to	2,500l.	to be one 6th
14th	—	Those of 1,500l.	to	2,000l.	to be one 5th$\frac{1}{2}$
15th	—	Those of 1,000l.	to	1,500l.	to be one 5th
16th	—	Those of 500l.	to	1,000l.	to be one 4th
17th	—	Those of 100l.	to	500l.	to be one 3d
18th	—	Those under 100l.	to be one *half*.		

ciful;

ciful; and all these fell alike on the landed proprietor, and the monied capitalists, notwithstanding the heavy tax already imposed on the former. The only contribution exclusively affecting personal wealth, and industry in general, was a tax of one-twentieth, or five per cent. on the income computed in the same arbitrary way as for the payment of the house-tax. Batchelors were to be placed one class higher, and fathers of three children one class lower, than the calculation of the general table, from their actual house-rent. As every thing in this second branch of the revenue was mere hypothesis, a provision was made for either case of eventual excess or deficiency. If the whole produce should be more than sixty millions, or about two millions and a half of our money, the house-tax was to be diminished till it was entirely sunk, and after that a reduction was to take place in the direct tax on personal property paid according to the house-rent. If there should be any chasm, this tax might be increased from a twentieth to an eighteenth of the income, but no farther: the house-tax was then to be carried up by degrees to the same standard. The tax on real property, whatever it might bring, was always to be collected from the individual at the rate of one sixth of his net income, with twenty-five per cent. on that sixth.

Shops, work-shops, and warehouses, having been exempted from the general calculation of the house-rent, all trades, arts, crafts, and professions, were subjected to a particular impost in the shape of a licence, estimated by the rent of the shop, work-shop, or warehouse. There were three classes paying ten, twelve and a half, and fifteen per cent. on their respective rents; bakers alone being rated but at one half of their proper class. On the other hand several trades, which were enumerated, paid higher duties, and these were distributed into five classes, rising from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. by two and half at a time. This impost, which altogether was to bring towards a million sterling, was clearly an imitation and an extension, but does not seem to have been an improvement, of our shop-tax; and the origin of several other duties mentioned above will be readily discovered in this country. On the whole there appears to have been as little genius, as practical information, in this new part of their fiscal system.

What still remained was to be supplied by the customs, and some of the more unexceptionable taxes of the old system, especially by a duty on hypothecations, or mortgages of real estates, together with a stamp-tax, and tax on registration, substituted in the room of sixteen small taxes of different denominations, and affecting all notarial acts in the transfer of property. The last two were imagined to be worth between three and four millions sterling to the state. The incidental resources for the year were patriotic contributions, and a sum of something more than five hundred thousand pounds to be raised by lotteries.

The legislature having apportioned the shares of the several departments, left the subordinate assessment to the administrative bodies, and the municipalities; which being

being either filled by the democratical faction, or overawed by the clubs, threw very nearly the whole burthen on the lands and houſes of the gentry, which were in many inſtances rated beyond the whole groſs value. There was no remedy but by an appeal to judges appointed from among the oppoſite party, and the almoſt certain conſequence of ſeeking juſtice, was that of being denounced as an enemy to liberty. Many, however, did appeal. In the mean time the treaſury filled but ſlowly.

As the whole ſcheme of revenue, which was now complete, its principles, the motives which induced the aſſembly to adopt the ſeveral parts of it, and the comparative benefits to be derived from it, were ſoon after explained at large in a circular addreſs, it ſeems beſt for the illuſtration of the ſubject to take ſome notice of that paper here, though to do this it will be neceſſary to break in a little on the order of time.

The chief point which it endeavoured to impreſs on the people, was a diſplay of the vexation to individuals, and the loſs to the public, which had formerly reſulted from * the intricacy and complexity of the old fiſcal laws. And this was undoubtedly true. There were no leſs than four different claſſifications of the provinces, to correſpond reſpectively with four great branches of revenue, the Taille, the Aids, the Gabelles, and the Duties of Tranſit, which latter were ſecured by cuſtom-houſes, barriers, and guards, along the whole line of demarcation. But the cauſe of this confuſed and unprofitable ſyſtem was not the deſpotiſm but the good faith of the French monarchs, who could not abrogate it without violating the compacts under which ten of the provinces, called the countries of the States, were originally united to France, or the charters of exemption actually purchaſed by others of the provinces, diſtricts, and towns.

The remaining topics of the addreſs were by no means ſo well

* Whoever thinks it a matter of curioſity to underſtand the hiſtory of the French finances, (and it is an important part of the general hiſtory of that country) ſhould read the following books; Firſt, a little work publiſhed in 1599, under the adminiſtration of Sully, with the licence of Henry the IVth, entitled *Recueil des Reglements, Edicts, Ordonnances, & Obſervations ſur le fait des Finances*;—2dly, A poſthumous work of M. Mallet, who was a clerk in the ſuperintendant's office for thirty years, under Louis the XIVth, printed at London in 1789, and entitled, *Comptes rendus des Finances du Royaume ſous Henri* IV, *Louis* XIII, *& Louis* XIV, which, beſides an introductory enquiry of great merit, into the origin of the ſeveral taxes, and the ancient management of the revenues, contains a regular ſeries of official documents, from the year 1600 to the beginning of the preſent century;—3dly, A collection of *Comptes rendus*, publiſhed in 1788, which fills up the chaſm between the work of M. Mallet, and the famous *Compte rendu* of M. Necker;—4thly, The obſervations prefixed to the *Recueil Alphabetique des droits de Traites*;—and laſtly, the ſeveral publications of M. Necker, and M. Calonne on this ſubject. It may not be impertinent to remark, that in the little work publiſhed by authority of Henry the IVth, is a treatiſe on the chamber of accounts, which ſets out by endeavouring to ſhew, that the government of France, though it had the name and quality of a monarchy, was ſo limited by laws and inſtitutions, as to be in reality, neither a monarchy, ariſtocracy, nor democracy, but a fourth form of a peculiar kind.

founded. It was full of ſpeculations, ſuppoſitions, and aſſumptions, many of them candidly avowed to be ſuch. A credit of ſeveral millions ſterling was taken for ſavings, which were not pretended to have been calculated on any accurate grounds, and which were expected to accrue from the abolition of manerial rights and game-laws, the ruin of ſmuggling, the ſuppreſſion of various fees in law-ſuits, and the changes in the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, down to the voluntary alms given to mendicant monks; while nothing was allowed on the other ſide of the account for a double ſet of clergy in moſt pariſhes of the kingdom, the private charity of the pious to much more numerous mendicants, the litigations of adverſaries politically enflamed againſt each other, the corruption of informers, accuſers, and jurors, which ſoon became flagrant, or the oppreſſions and extortions of irregular power, exerciſed by men without religion or morals. All was computed on the hypotheſis, that every thing would go on ſmoothly without an impediment, and the charges in every caſe were taken much below what experience even then had ſhewn them to be.

The reaſon aſſigned for levying ſo much as a ſixth on real, and only an eighteenth at moſt on perſonal property, was curious. An harveſt, it was ſaid, will produce in clear profit no more than a third of the groſs value; ſo an income from a perſonal eſtate was conſidered as an harveſt. The table, however, by which the perſonal contribution was regulated, plainly meant to compute not the groſs but the net income, ſince the two lower claſſes were ſuppoſed to ſpend one a third, and the other an actual moiety of their income in houſe-rent; or if it muſt be underſtood that two thirds of the income were allowed to repay the capital ſunk in the education and eſtabliſhment of the individual, it might be aſked, by what calculation will thoſe expences be found ſo exactly proportionate in the peaſant, the merchant, and the man of letters, or in any of them ſo ſtrictly analogous to the annual charges of agriculture? In truth, the aſſembly ſeems to have been deſirous of gloſſing over, at any rate, the fact, that the landed intereſt had been very unequally loaded: and little nicety is required in arguments addreſſed to willing minds. Perhaps to the ſame deſire may be attributed an admiſſion, which fixes an indelible ſtain of injuſtice, and deliberate falſhood, upon one of the early pretexts of the revolution. The privileged orders were now told, that heavy as might appear their portion of the new contributions, they in fact had paid as much before, ſince many of the aboliſhed taxes and vexations fell entirely, or principally, upon them; an argument, which had never been conceded to them, when their exemptions were made the ſubject of a cry for their deſtruction. There were alſo ſome paſſages, which might not have been expected, in favour of the old government. Such of the former taxes as were preſerved, contrary to the theory of the œconomiſts, were declared to be neceſſary, becauſe the general opinion demanded that there ſhould be impoſts of various natures, to make the weight ſeem lighter, and thoſe which were ſelected had been deſired by the people: and with regard to the diſtribution of the two great

great taxes on real and perſonal property, among the ſeveral departments, the aſſembly aſſumed the higheſt merit, for having followed regulations which Louis the XVIth himſelf had introduced. "The "diſtribution (it was ſaid) had "nothing arbitrary in it; inaſmuch "as the reſpective ſhares were ſcru-"pulouſly divided according to the "apportionment of the impoſts laid "by the old government at a time "when it was in ſome degree en-"lightened, and when at leiſure, "after a long peace, it applied itſelf "to equalize, as far as it could, the "public burthens." This was a ſtrong teſtimony from thoſe who had deſtroyed that government, though it was invidiouſly added, that the motive of ſuch equalization had been, "to make the country bear "as much as was poſſible for it "to pay."

Some other laws, of importance to the conſtitution and future government of the country, ſtill remained to be propoſed or diſcuſſed, but the aſſembly thought the work ſufficiently advanced to take meaſures preparatory to the meeting of the new legiſlature; and notices for holding the primary aſſemblies were directed to be iſſued on the 13th of June. In opening the plan of the committee for the formation of the legiſlature, M. Thouret reported their opinion, that the members of the exiſting aſſembly ought to be capable of ſitting in the next: Roberſpierre, however, immediately oppoſed it with vehemence; and ſucceeded, amidſt the applauſes of the galleries, in having the preſent repreſentatives declared ineligible. This was a victory which ſecured every thing in reverſion to the Jacobins, ſince among them alone could be found new candidates of popular name in the hiſtory of the revolution, and the elections would neceſſarily be thrown ſo much the more into the hands of the affiliated ſocieties.

A kindred queſtion followed reſpecting members of the future legiſlatures: and here M. Petion took the lead in objection. He moved that no member of any legiſlature ſhould be re-elected till after an interval of two years. The danger that muſt ariſe to the wiſeſt conſtitution and the beſt government, from the perpetual change of meaſures to be apprehended from a perpetual change of men (who beſides were prohibited from accepting any ſtation under the crown during four years) ſeriouſly alarmed M. Duport, and drew from him ſome reflexions which he declared he had long revolved in his mind, and could no longer ſuppreſs, though he had intended them for another occaſion. He had lately been a chief of the Jacobin club, and ſtill profeſſed himſelf ſuch an admirer of the revolution, that he would not wiſh to retrench any thing from it, except what he called "ſome "unneceſſary cruelties;" yet he now laid before the aſſembly, with leſs reſerve and management than had hitherto been done by any of the leaders on that ſide, a juſt, though melancholy, repreſentation of the condition to which they had brought themſelves and their country. "Step "by ſtep (ſaid he) you have been "led on to a complete diſorgani-"zation of ſociety. Long have "attempts been made to inſpire "you with I know not what "phrenzy of ſimple principles, the "effect of which, accurately calcu-

" lated by those who are the first " movers, is to relax all the powers " of government, and to destroy, " not its abuses, which you have " nobly done, but its salutary ac- " tion, by which alone it can be " preserved;—let us speak more " truly, it is to conduct you to a " total change in the form of go- " vernment. For spite of protesta- " tions to the contrary, he must be " ignorant of all that is passing in " the world, who entertains a doubt " of the vast projects which exist " to that end." " Do not you see " (added he in another part of his " speech) that crowd of unenlight- " ened men, already repeating, as " they have been tutored, that the " first legislature will be consti- " tuent, and will make a constitu- " tion more conformable to the " declaration of rights? When " these ideas shall have become " more prevalent, it will no longer " be time to prevent the danger; " it will be already here. Then " popular opinion, which has se- " conded your labours, will turn " against them; your constitution " will be attacked both by those " who could not attain to it, and " those who have overshot it." He then described in a lively manner the situation to which the constitutionalists would be reduced, like the impartials, the monarchists, and other similar connexions of men, having no support but the argument of force and martial law; he exposed with great ability the mischievous sense which was put on the words liberty and equality, by fools and knaves; and the artful insinuations of others who, not disclosing the whole scope of their designs, spread about, that at least liberty and equality would be better preserved by another form of government; " and yet (observed " he) they who instil these notions " are remarkable for nothing but " their profound incapacity; not " one of us would give his house, " his estate, or his affairs, to be " managed for six months by these " men, who want to make another " new constitution for France." The remedy which he proposed for every evil was, to revise the whole of the constitution, and quickly form a solid and durable govern- ment, not an uncertain and totter- ing one, such as the motion then before the assembly would for ever entail on the nation. The assem- bly seemed to feel the truths which he uttered, ordered his speech to be printed, refused to print a speech of M. Robespierre, which had been very much applauded on the other side, and ended by decreeing an article drawn up by Bar- May 19. rere, for the purpose of reconciling all opinions;—that a member of one legislature might sit in the next; but after that, should not be re-elected for the space of two years.

The sentiments of M. Duport were soon after incidentally touched by M. Desmeuniers, who had also been eminent among the Jacobins. He proposed from the May 26. committee of the con- stitution, to make a new arrange- ment in the internal government of the country, considerably reducing the number of the municipalities, which formed no less than 43,913 little independent republics, pos- sessing each an armed force of its own. They must be considered, he said, only as provisional institutions, adapted to temporary circumstances, for the sake of helping forward the revo-

revolution; that object obtained, nothing but abuſes and confuſion could be the reſult, if they remained as they were. Several voices immediately cried out, that there was but one opinion on the matter: yet after a ſhort debate, the queſtion was referred to the conſideration of the enſuing legiſlature. The next day the ſame member was to report the opinion of the committee as to the number of repreſentatives which the departments ſhould reſpectively ſend to the future aſſemblies, and he took that occaſion in concluding, to be a little more explicit on the danger hanging over the ſtate, though his ſubject did not naturally lead him to any ſuch topic. He warned his colleagues, that if their meaſures ſhould then betray a want of wiſdom, they muſt expect nothing but ingratitude from the people for their paſt ſervices, and accuſations againſt them as the authors of that anarchy into which the country would fall. They muſt employ themſelves (he told them) in giving ſtability and ſtrength to the government; for there was not a moment more to be loſt. Nor many days after, the aſſembly was ſurpriſed by a more ſpirited remonſtrance than
May 31. all *, in a letter from the Abbè Raynal. On the verge of fourſcore, the eldeſt and moſt celebrated living teacher of the new philoſophy, he had collected his ſtrength for a laſt effort, to ſpeak the auſtere language of truth. He declared, that the doctrines of his ſchool had never been deſigned for the ſtandard of legiſlation; the ruin of all order, morality, and religion, which he deſcribed in glowing terms, he attributed to the ſingle fault of recurring for ever to abſtractions, without regarding ſeaſons and circumſtances; and he forcibly urged the immediate neceſſity of putting the liberty, property, and ſecurity of the people under the protection of an efficient and vigorous monarchy. The majority called him a dotard, and paſſed to the order of the day.

Thus in no quarter did any proſpect open to the king, which could afford him a hope of happineſs, tranquillity, or ſafety. The general principles which had been recogniſed in his favour, when he firſt ſolemnly accepted the conſtitution, gradually ſhrunk to nothing as the details of practical regulation unfolded themſelves: and, ſuch as it was, the very makers of the conſtitution now deſpaired of their own work. About the ſame time, his ſincerity in accepting it was impeached more indecently and injuriouſly than ever, and he was in a manner diſowned by the national aſſembly.

The general reception of the well-known letter to foreign courts had ultimately juſtified the early apprehenſions of M. Montmorin. Aſſerting, ſo ſtrongly as it did, the perfect freedom of the monarch, at a moment when public facts proved him to be a priſoner, it was regarded every where abroad with ſurpriſe and compaſſion, not without a mixture of indignation againſt thoſe who had extorted it from him; at home it deeply afflicted all who bore affection to his perſon or cauſe, while it excited the ridicule, contempt, and invective, even of thoſe who had preſſed

* See this remarkable letter in our laſt volume, Appendix to Chron. p. *81.

him to write it, and applauded it when originally communicated to the assembly. M. Dumourier, who once was of opinion that the king even ought to enter his name among the Jacobins, thought the language of this declaration exaggerated beyond all bounds, and * was one of the first to censure it. Some strictures upon it were introduced by him into a memoir which he had composed on the diplomatic style proper for the king of a free people, and which, begun at the request of Mirabeau, voluntarily finished and sent to M. Montmorin, but neglected by that minister, he in resentment read to the Jacobins, by whom it was warmly approved, printed, and circulated. The other clubs took up the subject in their accustomed tone, and the democratic journals joined the cry.

At length a libel appeared of so treacherous and malignant a kind as to force itself on the notice of the king and his ministers. It purported to be † a correspondence received from Frankfort, but it bore strong marks of having been fabricated in Paris; a trick which was frequently played without scruple by the different leaders of the revolution. The writer pretended that he had seen and copied two *counter-letters* which had accompanied, for the purpose of discrediting, the declaration to foreign courts. The popular falsehood, that Louis had designed to quit the kingdom on the 18th of April, was re-affirmed in the face of his former contradiction: the substance of the supposed manifesto, which he was in that case to have issued, was recited; the "avowed "determination of different de-"spots" to support him was announced as one of his chief reliances; and all these details were asserted to have come from the Thuilleries. "The letters (it was "added) though without any sig-"nature, were known to be from "a principal agent of a great "aristocratical personage, who had "given him a considerable place "in the department of *diplomatic* "*treasons*." The rest of the libel related to "the almost general "conspiracy of despots," which was represented as having been already decided, and only waiting for the means of execution. Great Britain, Prussia, and the Emperor were stated to be at the head of this league, by which France was on the point of being attacked.

Immediately the Orleanists, the anarchists, and the republicans, were active in dispersing this indisputable proof (as they would have it considered) of perfidy in the court, and of hostile aggression from foreign powers. The mischief to be apprehended from this was the greater, as the false alarm of an invasion had for some time been industriously spread to agitate the popu-

* Vie de Dumouriez, l. iii. chap. v.

† Suite d'une correspondance de Frankfort, en date du 17 Mai 1791—in the Moniteur of the 31st of May. The Italics in the text are those of the libel itself. After what relates to France, there is, in the pretended correspondence, a good deal about the hostile dispositions of the English government, and of the "monied men," much to the same general effect with the supposed extracts of letters from London in the Moniteur, which Mr. Miles says were written during the years 1790 and 1791, either by Mirabeau, or by a man who had been his secretary, to inspire a distrust of this nation. See Conduct of France, &c. Appendix, p. 223.

lace;

lace; and the incendiary writers had repeatedly threatened a general maſſacre of the adverſe party, on the firſt appearance of actual danger. When examined, indeed, the pretended article of intelligence was full of improbabilities; the many, however, believe according to their fears, their deſires, or their animoſities, not their judgment; and the tendency of the publication was to point their fury directly at the king and queen. M. Montmorin, therefore, did not content himſelf with a ſimple denial of its truth, as he had recently done with regard to a ſpurious manifeſto iſſued in the name of the emperor; but in a letter to the preſident of the aſſembly he diſtinguiſhed the preſent forgery from the deluge of libels, with which France was overwhelmed, yet againſt which he thought it the wiſeſt, as it was the eaſieſt way, to oppoſe only contempt; and he pointedly added, that he made the communication not only with the knowledge, but by the expreſs order of his royal maſter. When this letter had been read, a motion was made, that the printer and editor of the paper in which the libel had firſt appeared, ſhould be puniſhed; but ſome inſtantly declared that it was impoſſible, without a full inquiry into all the facts, to decide between the miniſter and the journaliſt, and were for paſſing to the order of the day; others wiſhed the previous queſtion to be put, that there might not remain to after-times the trace of a propoſition ſo ſervile. In vain was it obſerved on the other ſide, that in truth it was not the miniſter, but the king himſelf, who had been injured, and who ſought their protection; in vain were the deteſtable fraud and atrocious tendency of the libel preſſed on the aſſembly. No redreſs was granted. A doubt was ſuffered to reſt on the good faith of the king; a vague and indeterminate diſquietude was left on the minds of the people; and encouragement was given, through impunity, to thoſe who were ſeeking by all arts to raiſe the multitude againſt the throne.

June 1ſt.

The patience of Louis, meek as was his nature, was here exhauſted. Nothing remained for him, in his opinion, but to attempt ſome deciſive ſtep, by ſuch means as were within his own power, to deliver himſelf with his family from captivity and inſult, and his kingdom from anarchy and ruin. About this period, therefore, he ſeems to have taken his final reſolution.

CHAP. VIII.

Two plans formed for the king's deliverance: One, by the Marquis de Bouillé, propoſed that the king ſhould withdraw himſelf from Paris, and throw himſelf on the loyalty of the provinces; the other, between the Count d'Artois and the Emperor, offered the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring powers. The king rejects the latter, and reſolves on attempting the execution of the former. Preparations for his flight. Theſe diſcloſed to La Fayette, and to Voidel.

Voidel. Queen alone ſuſpected. Guards at the palace doubled. Meaſures of the Aſſembly not conciliatory to the king. Power of pardoning taken from him by the new criminal code. Report relative to the army tends to force all the loyal officers into a reſignation of their commiſſions. Report on the ſtate of the frontiers ſhews a diſpoſition to diſturb the tranquillity of Europe. Farce of a deputation of pariſh-children to the aſſembly. Speech of their leader, promiſing the future conqueſt of the world. Jacobins likely to ſucceed in the approaching elections. Ceremony of the federation at hand. Duplicate of a paſſport obtained for the king's uſe. Other preparations for his departure. King and his family eſcape from Paris. Monſieur and his conſort eſcape. Proceedings in the aſſembly in conſequence. King's memoir delivered to the aſſembly. Abſtract of that memoir. Effect of the king's eſcape on the aſſembly—On the people. Proceedings of the Orleaniſts—Of the Briſſotins. King and his family arrive at Varennes. Arreſted there. Ignominiouſly ſent back to Paris. Inſults offered them on the road. The Marquis Dampierre ſhot for his loyalty, as he was in the act of kiſſing the king's hand. The Royal family arrive at Paris. Studied diſreſpect ſhewn to them as they paſs. A cry of "the law, the law," and tumult raiſed as they are getting out of their carriage at the Thuilleries. Are impriſoned there. King and queen examined by the commiſſioners. Accuracy of the king. Conſtitution changed to a republic by theſe meaſures. M. Cazalès in conſequence reſigns. Short character of him. Coalition of the Lameths, Barnave, and the reſt of their party, with the party of La Fayette and the committee of the conſtitution. Conſequent reconciliation and return of the club of 1789 to the Jacobins. The committee of the national aſſembly reports in favour of the king. Populace from the Palais Royal get poſſeſſion of the Jacobin club, and join in voting a petition againſt the King, propoſed by Laclos. Diſagreement of Laclos and Briſſot about drawing it up. Laclos wants to leave an opening for raiſing d'Orleans to the throne; Briſſot is for aboliſhing royalty altogether. Two different copies of the petition printed. Riotous meeting the next day in the Champ-de-Mars, for the purpoſe of petitioning. Jacobins ſend to announce that they had ſuppreſſed their petition. On the Sunday two perſons murdered by the multitude in the Champ-de-Mars. A new petition there propoſed. Martial law proclaimed, and ſeveral of the populace ſhot by the national guards. Great terror of the republican faction. Club of the Feuillants formed by a new ſchiſm of the Jacobins. Reviſion of the conſtitution. Eloquent proteſt of the minority againſt all the acts of the Aſſembly. Acceptance of the conſtitution by the king. Union of Avignon with France. Decree reſpecting the colonies, contrary to the former decree of the 12th of May. Decree againſt the clubs. Other decrees. Cloſing of the aſſembly. Review of the proceedings of the Aſſembly. Culpable acts amounting to actual rebellion in the commencement of the revolution. Vicious ſyſtem of domeſtic politics, on a principle of univerſal innovation. Miſchievous conſequences. Furious perſecution of the clergy at the diſſolution of the Aſſembly. Horrible ſcenes in the colonies at the ſame period. Syſtem of foreign politics. Declared hoſtility to all other governments from the beginning of the revolution. Alarms of Germany. Attack on the Empire in the proceedings againſt the princes of Alſace and Lor-

raine, and in the affairs of Avignon. Intrigues of the French in the latter country, and miſeries produced by them. Conduct of the king of Pruſſia. —Of the Emperor. Circular letter from Padua, and declaration at Pilnitz.

VARIOUS plans, in all which the marquis de Bouillé was to have been the principal actor, had been formed, at different times, for the purpoſe of extricating Louis the XVI. out of his difficulties. One of theſe (and apparently one of the moſt feaſible) was in great part digeſted by that officer himſelf, ſo early as the month of October 1790; when the biſhop of Pamiers brought him a project of the baron de Breteuil, which had been already approved, and was to be executed in the enſuing ſpring. The * intention was, that the royal family ſhould ſecretly quit Paris, and retire to one of the frontier towns under M. Bouillé's command: there the king meant to collect around him the troops, and ſuch of his ſubjects as ſtill retained their fidelity; to attempt bringing back the reſt of his deluded people to a ſenſe of their duty, and in caſe other means ſhould fail, to call in the aſſiſtance of his allies for the reſtoration of order and tranquillity to his kingdom. The general, after reſpectfully remonſtrating on the danger of ſuch a flight, propoſed either Valenciennes, Beſançon, or Montmedy. The king fixed on the latter for the place of his retreat, and on the month of March or April for the time of his departure from Paris. But in February this ſcheme was ſuperſeded by another, the ſuggeſtion of Mirabeau, who had lately been gained to the Court at the expence of 600,000 livres, a monthly penſion of 50,000 more, and large promiſes in caſe of ſucceſs. He hoped to make the national aſſembly itſelf, the departments, the people of Paris, and even the Jacobin club; his inſtruments for obtaining the diſſolution of the exiſting aſſembly, as not being competent, under their original inſtructions, to make any eſſential change in the conſtitution, the ſummoning of another with more ample powers, and the reſtoration of the king in the interval to liberty and ſome reaſonable authority. M. Bouillé was then to have advanced with ſome of his beſt troops to Fontainbleau or Compiégne, where Mirabeau was to have delivered the royal family into his hands. No ſooner had this plan dropped with its author, than a new deſign for the eſcape of the royal family, either to M. Bouillé or to Alſace, was ſubmitted to the queen from the duke of Biron, the intimate friend of the duke of Orleans. Of courſe no truſt could be repoſed in that quarter. What had been before ſettled was therefore reſumed, and firſt the latter end of April or the beginning of May, afterwards, when that period came, the middle of June was appointed for carrying it into effect: the intended excurſion to St. Cloud had no ſort of reference to it, but is ſaid to have been the advice of M. la Fayette, in order to give an appearance of liberty to the king. All this while, M. Bouillé maintained a cloſe correſpondence in cypher with his royal maſter, by means of count Ferſen and baroneſs Korff. The king's letters breathed an ardent deſire for the re-eſtabliſhment of

* M. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 251, &c.; M. Moleville's D°, vol. ii. p. 191, &c.

peace and tranquillity, which he would have purchaſed with every perſonal ſacrifice, unwilling to have recourſe to arms, till all other means ſhould have been found ineffectual. He even warned M. Bouillé, that the plot which was formed in the latter end of the year 1790, for attempting a counter revolution at Lyons, in co-operation with the emigrants at Turin, was contrary to his inclination and conſent, and that he had endeavoured by every method in his power to prevent it. Next to a civil war, his chief dread was that of being obliged to paſs the limits of his own dominions. In the mean time, M. la Fayette, who had in vain courted the confidence of M. Bouillé, working through his creature and dependant the war-miniſter, abridged firſt the limits, and then the authority of his command, took from him his beſt diſpoſed troops, replaced them with others of an oppoſite deſcription, and debauched all by encouraging them to frequent the Jacobin clubs. Even if the king could reach Montmedy, the iſſue would now be at beſt uncertain. On the other hand, the impunity granted to the libels continually poured forth againſt him and his family, rendered it, as he afterwards obſerved, no longer ſafe, or even decent, for him to ſtay in Paris.

In this ſituation of things, came a fifth plan, which is ſaid to have been projected by M. Calonne, patronized by the count d'Artois, negotiated by them with ſeveral of the powers engaged in it, and at length adopted by the emperor, in an interview at Mantua, on the 18th of May. It was then drawn up * in XXI articles, to the following effect: A proteſtation by all the branches of the Bourbon family, was firſt to be publiſhed; a manifeſto was to follow from the emperor, on the ground of the injuries done to the princes of the empire having poſſeſſions in Alſace and Lorrain, as well as on the more public ground of danger to all monarchies; and laſtly, the Swiſs Cantons and the king of Sardinia (in whoſe reſpective dominions French emiſſaries had long been trying to excite inſurrections) were to join the confederacy: the other powers of Europe were expected to obſerve a neutrality. The foreign troops, to be employed in five different columns, were reckoned at 100,000 men; but they were to be conſidered only as auxiliaries to the French nobility, and to ſuch of the troops and national guards as were faithful to the royal cauſe. As ſoon as the allies had poſſeſſed themſelves of any conſiderable diſtrict in France, all the members of the former parliaments, who could be collected, were to be called together, and ſit as a high court of juſtice. This concert of powers was to be kept a ſecret till the moment of execution, which was to be about the latter end of Auguſt. In the mean time it was ſtrongly recommended that every endeavour ſhould be uſed to prevent partial inſurrections in the interior of the kingdom; and it was eſpecially deſired of the king and queen, that they would remain at Paris. Their ſafety, it was ſaid, could beſt be truſted to an army of 100,000 men, preceded by threatening manifeſtoes.

Count Alphonſe Durfort, a French nobleman then at Mantua, is reported to have been confidentially

* Dr. Moore's Journal. M. Moleville's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 442. M. Dugour's Defence, p. 241. M. Limon's "*Vie & Martyre de Louis XVI.*" printed at Ratiſbon.

charged

charged by the emperor with the communication of these articles to Louis the XVIth. He arrived at the very moment when the king found it necessary to make some decisive effort. But this plan, in which he was to owe the re-establishment of his throne to foreigners, he rejected: he adhered to that of M. Bouillè, in which he was to throw himself wholly on the affections of his people. His choice has been attributed to the influence of the queen, actuated by her known dislike of M. Calonne, her supposed jealousy of the ascendency which the count d'Artois would acquire, if he should return at the head of a victorious army, and the secret advice received from M. Necker, in whom she had a confidence. There is, however, no necessity for ascribing it to such counsels and motives, though they may also have existed. The line of action which was adopted by the king, was essentially conformable to the spirit of his conduct, and declarations, both before and after; as the proposition of the emperor contains, so far at least as circumstances permitted, the outline of the operations attempted the ensuing year.

When the king had once resolved, he sought the means of execution. Ten days before his flight, he and the queen went in person to make some arrangement in the apartments of the palace, so as to get access to a private staircase by which they afterwards descended; and they ordered a new key to the door of communication with that staircase. * Intelligence was carried the same day from one of the queen's women to an officer of the national guards, and by his means to M. Gouvion, second in command under M. La Fayette: but he was taught to believe that it was the queen only who meditated an attempt to escape with the dauphin and the princess royal. The same suspicion was soon after conveyed from another quarter to M. Voidel, a leading member of the committee of enquiry, and in connexion with the Duke of Orleans. The guards on duty at the palace were doubled.

June 11th.

Meanwhile the proceedings of the assembly were not of a nature to shake the king's purpose. In settling the penal code, (the chief merit of which was, that it confirmed and completed the abolition of torture, begun some years before by the king himself) the power of pardoning was taken from the crown: and there was no branch of the royal authority so dear to the heart of Louis as the prerogative of shewing mercy. He felt, and afterwards complained of, this deprivation above all others. A report on the army was brought forward; and, though the measure of breaking all the officers was not adopted, a new oath was enjoined, of a tendency which, it was supposed, would prevent many from taking it, and all who refused were to retire with one-fourth of their pay. This report too was followed by another, on the state of the frontiers. The military committee, which was chiefly under the influence of the Lameths, and the party then predominant in the jacobin club, magnified the danger from the neighbouring powers, whom they accused of endeavouring to excite troubles

* See the Moniteur of the 22d of June. Dr. Moore's View, &c. and *L'histoire de la Conjuration du Duc d'Orleans*.

in

in France. The concluſion of the report, however, manifeſted that the authors of it were diſpoſed, themſelves, to interfere every where in plunging all Europe into inteſtine diſorder. "It is to you," ſaid the reporter, addreſſing the aſſembly, "it is to you that future ages, that "the univerſe will be indebted for "beholding the yoke of error, de-"ſpotiſm, ſuperſtition, and igno-"rance broken by all men, who, "tired like us of the debaſement and "inertneſs into which the people had "fallen, ſhall annihilate every ſpecies "of tyranny." The next night, with a view to that theatrical effect which has been ſo much employed to catch the populace in the progreſs of the revolution, a ſort of interlude, after having been rehearſed at the jacobin club, was performed before the national aſſembly. A deputation of pariſh-children, accompanied by ſome veterans and pupils of the national guards of Paris, appeared at the bar. "If you," ſaid the orator of the deputation, "have had the glory "to render all France free, it will "belong to the riſing generation, "it belongs to us, to carry that con-"queſt to the very extremities of the "two worlds; the only conqueſt now "worthy of us." This addreſs was not only applauded, but ordered to be printed and circulated.

The ſucceſs of the Jacobins in the approaching elections was now ſufficiently aſcertained upon every canvas. The time preſſed. The decree on the reſidence of the public functionaries had not yet been preſented to the king, and, therefore, would not have been binding upon him, even if he had been at full liberty; ſome of the later obnoxious decrees were in the ſame ſtate of incompletion; the whole conſtitution was yet to be reviſed, previous to the laſt abſolute acceptance; but the annual ceremony of the federation was at hand, when it muſt be ratified anew, as it then ſtood, by an oath.

The duplicate of a paſſport*, granted to the baroneſs Korff and her family on the 5th of June, was procured through the Ruſſian ambaſſador, on a pretence that the former had been accidentally deſtroyed. On the 17th of June M. Dumouſtier, who had formerly belonged to the life-guards, received orders in the name of the king, that himſelf, and his two comrades, M. Malleden, and M. Valory, ſhould provide themſelves with the dreſſes of couriers, as they would be wanted to go with ſome important diſpatches. The king himſelf did not ſee either of thoſe three gentlemen, till the evening of his departure. He then told one of them that they were to accompany him and his family from Paris, but he did not mention his ultimate deſti-

* The circumſtances of the king's eſcape, journey, and return to Paris, have been taken from the king's and queen's ſeveral declarations, the different official reports to the aſſembly from the municipalities and other public bodies at St. Menehould, Clermont, and Varennes, as well as from their own commiſſioners, the narratives of individuals at the bar, and principally that of Drouet, as well as the account which one of the three gards-du-corps, who attended the king, gave to the Count d'Artois at Coblentz, in the preſence of the author of the "*Promenade autour de Grande Bretagne.*" An endeavour has been made to ſelect from each authority thoſe facts which paſſed moſt immediately within the knowledge of each. The reſt is chiefly ſupplied from the report made by the committee of the aſſembly appointed to enquire into the circumſtances of the king's eſcape, and the "*Hiſtoire de la Re-volution par deux Amis de la Liberté,*" vol. vii.

nation.

nation. Their several parts were assigned them in facilitating the intended escape, and a particular injunction was laid upon them, that on no account should they carry any arms with them.

June 20th. On the night of the 20th, about eleven o'clock, fresh intelligence was brought to M. Gouvion of the queen's intention to fly; and by him was communicated to the mayor, who, after informing the council general, sent orders to all the post-houses, to let no horses without acquainting him; and to all the barriers, to suffer none to depart without a passport from the municipality. He then, with M. La Fayette, repaired to the Thuilleries, where they found every thing quiet, and apparently safe; and gave orders to have all the gates shut, except those of the court of princes, leaving several of the superior officers of the national guards to watch the whole night. It is said that, as they entered the palace, they actually passed, without knowing, the queen and the princess Elizabeth on their way to the coach, which was waiting for them * on the Quai Voltaire, and to which Madame Tourzel and the two royal children had been already conducted. The king soon after came, attended by M. Malleden. Immediately they all drove to the gate of St. Martin, and there got into a travelling carriage, with four horses, which had been procured for them by M. Dumouslier, and being joined on the road by a chaise, in which were two female attendants, who had been sent separately out of Paris, found M. Valory at Bondy with post-horses, ready to proceed to the next stage. All night they continued their journey without encountering any obstacle, and the morning saw them at such a distance from Paris, as seemed to put them out of the reach of danger. About the same time that the king and his family quitted the Thuilleries, Monsieur, the king's brother, and his consort, left the palace of Luxembourg, where they resided, and, taking another road, arrived safely at Mons in Austrian Flanders, from whence they were to have gone round to Montmedy.

The departure of the royal family was announced the next morning to M. Gouvion, by the same person who had given him all his former intelligence. He acquainted the mayor, by whom the president of the assembly was informed that "some enemies of the public weal had carried off the king and his family." When this was declared in the assembly, a deep silence reigned for a long time. The first to break it was M. Regnaud, of St. Jean d'Angely. He proposed, and it was decreed, that couriers should be dispatched in every direction, to seize and stop all persons leaving the kingdom; and all effects, arms, ammunition, money, horses, and carriages. The next step was to order M. Rochambeau away to his command on the frontiers. A sort of proclamation to the citizens of Paris was then issued, enforcing the maintenance of good order: a decree was passed to prevent the circulation of false decrees, or any other decrees than those of the assembly: The ministers were authorized to sit personally in the assembly, and to do all acts of executive power under their own signatures, and on their

* The *Histoire de la Revolution*, &c. &c. says "at the extremity of the Place de "Carouzel." The *Quai Voltaire* we believe to be the new name of the *Quai de Louvre*.

responsi-

responsibility: Decrees sealed with the great seal by the minister of justice were declared to have all the force of law: An immediate account of the state of the treasury was demanded from the commissioners: M. Montmorin, who was confined in his house by the populace, was set at liberty, and confirmed in his office, with instructions, to assure all foreign powers of the good will of the French nation: A strong guard was placed round his office, and other offices which contained the most important state papers: Accounts having been brought that M. Cazalès and M. Clermont-Tonnerre, as well as two aids-du-camp of M. La Fayette, who was suspected of connivance, were in danger from different groups of the populace, commissioners were sent for their protection: The national guards were all drawn out: And the members of the directory had a room assigned them for their sittings, contiguous to the hall of the assembly, that they might be at hand to receive orders.

In the midst of this train of measures, M. La Porte, the intendant of the civil list, was called to the bar to give an account of every thing which he knew relative to the king's departure; and he then delivered a memoir, written in the king's own hand, which he had found in a sealed packet addressed to him, and brought that morning by one of the royal domestics. It was read, and appeared to be a declaration of the king to France and the whole world on the subject of his own conduct, and that of the government which had established itself in the realm. The composition was undoubtedly his own, and from * internal evidence appears to have been recently begun and finished: the style of it was plain and simple, not without occasional force. The whole shewed much attentive study of the decrees, particularly those lately passed by the assembly, and a just sense of the real state of the country, and the true character of the revolution. The king declared, that while a hope remained of order being re-established, and public happiness secured by the measures of the national assembly, he regarded no personal sacrifice, and would never have objected to any thing which had been done, on account of his own want of freedom; but under the total discomfiture of that hope, he now thought himself bound to enter his solemn protest. He reckoned up all that he had done, or suffered, to conform with the wishes of his people in the first stages of the revolution; he complained, that all had been misrepresented and distorted; and observed that the states-general, when they assumed the title of the national assembly, violating their instructions "*to make laws in concert with the king*," put him quite out of the constitution, by denying him the right to grant or refuse his sanction to such acts as they might chuse to call constitutional, and allowing him on other subjects only a

* The first branch of government there reviewed, is the administration of justice; and the king principally dwells on the decree depriving him of the power of pardoning, which he mentions as "one of the last decrees." This loose phrase seems rather to intimate, as if that decree had passed some little time; and the date of it was the 4th of June.

power

power of ſuſpenſion till the third legiſlature; a power which he had never, in fact, been able to exerciſe. He remarked too, with affliction, the invidious diſtinction which, in every arrangement, had been ſtudiouſly made between ſervices rendered to the king perſonally, and thoſe rendered to the ſtate. The different parts of the government were then examined, under the four heads of "juſtice," "the interior adminiſtration," "foreign affairs, and "the finances:" and it was ſhewn how the late practical regulations, in effect, deſtroyed all the general principles of the conſtitution favourable to the royal authority. This vicious form of government was ſaid to be rendered ſtill more ſo, from the uſurpation of the whole executive power by the committees of the aſſembly, and from the domination of the jacobin clubs, in every quarter, over every power of the conſtitution, not excepting the aſſembly itſelf. The king mentioned with regret the failure of the friends of order, in whoſe wiſdom he declared himſelf to have placed a confidence: he cited their late frequent admiſſions, that it was neceſſary, in the reviſion of their labours, to give ſtrength to the government; but noticed their daily loſs of credit, and the growing aſcendancy of a contrary ſpirit. He pointed out the ſecret purpoſe of the outrages heaped upon him, which he conſidered as intended to overturn the monarchy; and he traced the melancholy picture of his mortifications and ſufferings, from the beginning of the revolution down to the 18th of April, together with the new inſults which were the ſequel of that ſcandalous day. The concluſion was an affecting addreſs to all his ſubjects, and eſpecially the inhabitants of that city, which, as he obſerved, his anceſtors had delighted to call the good city of Paris. "Return (he exclaimed) "to your king; he will always be "your father, your beſt friend. "What pleaſure will he have in "forgetting all his perſonal injuries, and in ſeeing himſelf once "more in the midſt of you, when a "conſtitution, freely accepted by "him, ſhall have made our holy "religion reſpected; when government ſhall be eſtabliſhed on a "footing, ſteady, yet allowing uſeful action; when neither the property, nor condition, of any man "ſhall be troubled; when the laws "ſhall no more be infringed with "impunity; and, in fine, when liberty ſhall be ſettled on a firm "and immoveable foundation." Louis afterwards referred to this paſſage in proof of his aſſertion, that he never intended to leave the kingdom. It clearly alludes alſo to the plan of calling another meeting of the ſtates-general, for the purpoſe of ſettling ſuch a conſtitution as he might freely accept, on the principle of a limited monarchy.

When this paper had been read, a committee was appointed to draw up an anſwer. Such other meaſures, demanded by the exigency of the moment, as were propoſed, were either decreed or rejected; the proceedings of the ſitting were directed to be printed, and circulated without delay; and the preſident, then looking round with a compoſed air, obſerved, that "if no member "had any thing more to offer, they "might paſs to the order of the "day."

The demeanour of the aſſembly was, certainly, calm, dignified, and,

on the whole, becoming the repreſentatives of a great nation on ſo trying an occaſion; yet perhaps it was not altogether free from a certain caſt of the theatre: Neither was the event itſelf any ſurpriſe to the greater part of the members. It gave riſe, however, to ſerious reflexions in the minds of many. M. Barnave, in particular, ſhewed this by a change of conduct highly honourable to him. Though there had long been a declared enmity between him and M. La Fayette, yet he was the firſt to check ſome inſinuations, thrown out by Rewbell, againſt the commander in chief, to bear a liberal teſtimony to his zeal in the cauſe of the revolution, and to recommend unanimity, as eſſential to their ſafety. From that day his influence was employed in bringing the minds of all around him to a better temper.

The general impreſſion made on the people was ſimilar, if we may believe M. Duport. "I ſaw (ſaid "he) a great crowd in the *Place de* "*Grêve*: deep grief was marked "on all countenances, mingled with "diſpoſitions to peace and union; "and all declared an entire confi- "dence in the wiſdom of the aſ- "ſembly."

On the other hand, the Orleaniſts, the republicans, and the anarchiſts, could not diſſemble their joy; their emiſſaries were immediately buſied in deſtroying all emblems and enſigns of royalty, hawking about memoirs of the *late* king, declaiming againſt him in the ſtreets as falſe and perjured, and every way preparing the multitude to regard his reign as at an end. The duke of Orleans thought the way now open for him to aſcend the throne: While Briſſot, Petion, and their cabal, congratulated themſelves on the opportunity that offered of erecting a republic. But here Roberſpierre differed from thoſe with whom he had hitherto acted; he aſked Briſſot and Petion, with a ſneer *, "What "was a republic?"

The king and his family, continuing their journey without ſtopping, had now ſafely arrived within the limits of M. Bouillè's command; when the very precautions taken by that officer for their ſecurity became the ſource of danger. Orders had been iſſued by him, under date of the 13th, 14th, and 15th of June, for different parties of huſſars and dragoons to patrole at various places on the road from Paris, and eſcort two carriages which were ſaid to be expected with treaſure. The ſecret of the royal family being in the carriages was entruſted to the commanding officers alone, and they were to communicate it to the men whenever they ſhould judge it expedient. One party of huſſars entered the little town of St. Menehould on the evening of the 20th; and departing the next morning towards Paris, was ſucceeded by a detachment of dragoons. The appearance of theſe troops alarmed the inhabitants. In the evening, between the hours of ſeven and eight, two carriages changed horſes, and paſſed on without exciting any ſuſpicion of the perſonages who were in them; but they were ſcarcely gone, when ſome circumſtances in the conduct of the commanding officer, who ſpoke with marked familiarity to one of the couriers attending the carriages, made the poſtmaſter, M. Drouet,

* Mad. Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 58. Eng. Tranſl.

ſuſpect

ſuſpect ſome myſtery; and he, in conſequence, thought it his duty to inform the municipality. While the magiſtrates were debating on the ſubject, an expreſs from Marne encreaſed their fears; and they finally ordered M. Drouet, and another of the inhabitants named Guillaume, to follow, and ſtop the carriages *. At Clermont, the horſes were ordered for Verdun, but the travellers turned off to Varennes, which was the more private road to Montmedy. Varennes not being a poſt-town, a relay had been there provided for the king, but unluckily at the further end of the town, and the poſtillions did not chuſe to paſs the houſe at the entrance, without baiting their horſes. The king being eager to proceed, his three attendants, and even himſelf, offered the men a purſe † of an hundred louis-d'ors to go on; but the magnitude of the ſum, which was meant to operate as a temptation, only gave an alarm: a diſpute enſued; in the midſt of which arrived M. Drouet and his companion. Their firſt care was to prevent the further progreſs of the carriages; and, opportunely for their purpoſes, they found near the town-bridge, over which the track lay, a cart loaded with furniture: this they overturned, ſo as completely to obſtruct the way. Having ſecured this point, they called up the principal magiſtrates, the commandant of the national guards, and other perſons in civil and military authority, who here, as at St. Menehould, had their ſuſpicions excited by the myſterious movements of the troops during the two preceding days; the king having been, in truth, expected by M. Bouillé one day ſooner. The paſſport of the travellers was then demanded and produced: ſome thought it ſufficient; others ſaid it ought to have been ſigned by the preſident of the national aſſembly, as well as by the king. Till it could be regularly examined at the town-hall, M. Sauſſe, the procureur of the commune, a tallow-chandler by trade, invited the travellers into his houſe. To avoid obſervation, they accepted the offer. The loaf, the cheeſe, and a bottle of Burgundy were placed before them. Whether the king's palate was more eaſy to be pleaſed from long abſtinence (for ſince his departure from Paris ‡ he had taken no refreſhment but a morſel of bread, and two or three glaſſes of champagne, which they had brought with them in the carriage) or whether he merely wiſhed to ingratiate himſelf with his hoſt, he pronounced the wine to be ſome of the beſt he had ever taſted. He then entered into familiar converſation on the circumſtances, office, and views of M. Sauſſe, the general ſtate of the town, and the ſentiments of the

* This is the account of the magiſtrates to the national aſſembly, dated at two o'clock in the morning of the 22d, before they knew the ſucceſs of M. Drouet: it has, therefore, every preſumption of accuracy. Drouet's ſtory, of his knowing the queen, and being ſtruck with the likeneſs of the king to the print on the aſſignats, ſeems to have been an after-thought. One of the magiſtrates of Varennes, at the bar of the aſſembly, ſaid he was the firſt who knew the king.

† *Quelques Details*, &c. p. 17; on the authority of one of the three attendants, and of a perſon who had converſed with the poſtillion. The reſt is from Drouet's narrative at the bar of the national aſſembly.

‡ This fact is from the private information of one of the three attendants, who was afterwards in England.

adjacent country. Upon hearing that the mayor was gone to the national assembly, he is said, for the first time, to have betrayed some emotion. He asked if there was any club in Varennes, and being told there was not, "so much the better," rejoined he, "those villainous "clubs have ruined France." During the whole discourse the queen said very little: the king shewed much restless expectation, and, after some time, enquired with impatience about the different ways of pursuing his journey. Meanwhile M. Sausse endeavoured to amuse and detain his guests, but occasionally leaving the room, under pretence of appeasing the tumult at the door, or of giving orders to have the bridge cleared, sent the most pressing messages to the neighbouring districts for assistance.

A detachment of sixty hussars had been posted by M. Bouillé at Varennes, under the command of M. Rodwell, a lieutenant. This young man was not intrusted with the secret. He supposed only, that he was to escort a military chest. In consequence, he did not attempt to form his hussars, when the alarm was first given of some travellers having been stopped and detained; and the soldiers, mingling with the inhabitants of the town, caught the feelings and passions of the multitude. M. Raigecourt, and the youngest son of M. Bouillé, who had been sent that morning to provide for the king's safety, on hearing the tumult, hastened towards the house of the commandant, but found the streets barricaded. They had only time to mount their horses, and rush through the armed crowds that opposed them, to inform the general of the event. A second detachment of forty hussars belonging to the same regiment, now arrived from Pont Sommeville, under the command of M. Boudet, and with them came M. Goglas, and another officer of rank, both of whom had been long intrusted with the whole plan. They had been stationed at Pont Sommeville, for the purpose of giving such orders, as might be necessary, to the detachments at the different posts; and that they might have every thing in readiness, they were to be made acquainted with the approach of the royal family by a courier dispatched before with the intelligence. Some accident, however, having happened to one of the royal carriages near Châlons, after waiting two hours beyond the appointed time, they marched the troops back towards Montmedy, and endeavouring by a cross-road to avoid St. Menehould, lost their way, so as not to reach Varennes till almost an hour after the king. At the entrance of the town they were met by the national guards, with some cannon, and were obliged to dismount. M. Boudet then demanded to see the party of his regiment posted in the town. M. Rodwell came alone to him to receive his orders; and being told what was the quality of the travellers, was directed to do every thing for their defence and relief; instead of which, he set off to inform the general at Stenay, leaving the command of his men to one of the quarter-masters, who was very ill-affected to the royal cause. Notwithstanding this loss of support from their comrades, the detachment from Pont Sommeville reached the house where the royal travellers were detained; and M. Goglas, addressing himself to M. Sausse, who still affected not to know the rank of his

his guests, desired admittance, which was granted. The king told him to remain quiet, refusing to owe his deliverance to force. M. Goglas then went out, and to try whether the men had been corrupted in his absence, asked them, if they were for the king or the nation? upon which they cried out unanimously, "For the nation; for "that we are, and ever will be." Immediately, one of the national guards put himself at their head, and was received as their commander. The report made on this subject by the committee of the national assembly, and the republican histories in general, add, that M. Goglas, attempting to go in search of other succours, was opposed by the major of the national guards; and that the latter having evaded a blow from the sabre of the former, wounded him with a pistol in return, while the hussars stood by unconcerned spectators of the combat. M. Boudet, however, in * his narrative to M. Bouillé, and the accounts of the royalists in general, make no mention of any such occurrence.

At length, when M. Sausse perceived that a sufficient force was collected to secure his guests against a rescue, and from all that had passed, no longer doubted of their quality, he resolved to inform them that they must return to Paris. After walking up and down the room two or three times with the king, he suddenly pointed to a picture, and said, "Sire, that is your picture." Yes, cried Louis, finding all further concealment vain, "I am your king. Surrounded "in the capital with daggers and "bayonets, I am come to my faithful subjects of this province, in "quest of that happiness and peace "which every one of you enjoys. "I and my family could not remain in Paris without danger of "being murdered." He added many affecting entreaties and liberal promises; while the queen, taking the dauphin in her arms, adjured M. Sausse in the most pathetic manner to save his king, and the future hope of the nation. The procureur, however, remained inexorable, and even expressed himself with warmth. A man of the name of Chemin, sent from the magistrates of Clermont, now arrived, and insulted the king with some sharp and indecent remonstrances; but Louis only told him he was an indiscreet man. Upon another (M. Nutel, formerly in the service of the prince of Condé) who was beginning an impertinent harangue to him, he turned his back with contempt. At length he assumed a firm tone, and asserted his right of passing wherever he pleased within the kingdom, declaring that he meant only to go to Montmedy; and inviting the municipal officers with the national guards of Varennes, to accompany him thither. In answer, the decree fixing his residence within twenty leagues of the national assembly was shewn to him. "No," said he, with indignation, "that decree I never sanc-"tioned."

* That narrative has been chiefly followed in this part which relates to the conduct of the soldiers. It is the most perspicuous in itself, and, from the situation of the writer, the most credible. In regard to other facts before his arrival, M. Boudet does not appear to be equally accurate.

M. Robœuf, an aide-de-camp of M. La Fayette, arriving about this period with the orders of the national assembly, the king immediately knew him. "So then," he exclaimed, "M. La Fayette has "made me his prisoner a second "time, that he may establish his "republic!" He repeated the assurances, which he had before given, that he had no intention of quitting France; his destination, he insisted, was to Montmedy: he consented, however, to return.

From the moment that the king had avowed himself, the alarm-bell had been ringing; national guards and armed peasants came flocking from all the neighbouring towns and villages. The morning was wasting, and some fresh detachments of cavalry appeared in the neighbourhood; one of which, advancing from the town of Dun, had in vain attempted to force a passage. The commanding officer, M. Deslong, then demanded leave to see the king, and to return unmolested. Being permitted, he asked the orders of his sovereign, and was answered, he could give no orders, he was a prisoner. "I fear," continued Louis, "M. Bouillé can do me no service, "but I know he will do whatever "he can;" and being a second time asked for his orders, he repeated, "I am a prisoner, I can give no "orders." After this interview, it was resolved immediately to hasten the king's departure: he was informed, about eight o'clock, that the carriages were ready to convey him and his family back towards the capital. They submitted to their fortune; while, to leave them no doubt of their condition, the three gentlemen who had attended them in the habits of couriers, were placed on the coach-box full in view, with their arms pinioned behind their backs. The escort perpetually increased as they passed along, so as to bid defiance to the detachments of cavalry. M. * Bouillé himself, the moment that he heard of the arrest at Varennes, ordered out the royal German regiment under arms between four and five o'clock in the morning, but from different circumstances their march was delayed nearly an hour. Three miles beyond Stenay the general commanded the troops to halt; told them what had happened, that the king intended to come to Montmedy, and had chosen them for his body-guard; asked if they would follow him; and all cheerfully answering that they would, distributed four hundred louis d'ors among them. When he drew near to Varennes he met M. Deslong, who related to him his conversation with the king, and his subsequent miscarriage in trying to find a ford in the river. M. Bouillé notwithstanding endeavoured again in different places to pass the river, but without success. He saw no hope of succouring his sovereign. He perceived a force much superior to his own collecting from every quarter. He marched back his regiment, and with his principal officers fled from France. Soon after he sent his well-known letter to the national assembly, which he has since confessed himself to have written princi-

* This is from M. Bouillé's own account, and M. Deslong's narrative, which agree in the main with the report of the committee, and the "*Histoire, &c. par "deux Amis de la Liberté.*"

pally

pally for the purpoſe of turning the popular rage from the king upon himſelf. He ſucceeded in this ſo well, that five perſons of the republican faction publicly offered a reward of five hundred louis d'ors to any man who would bring the general's head *. The fact deſerves to be marked, as the firſt inſtance of that ſyſtematic countenance given to aſſaſſination, which it was afterwards propoſed to extend to all the crowned heads, who ſhould defend themſelves by arms againſt the principles of the revolution.

The whole of that day at Paris was ſpent in liſtening to various reports, which were contradicted as faſt as they were circulated, of the royal family having been ſtopped in their flight. The aſſembly, after diſpatching ſuch common buſineſs as was before them, employed themſelves in ſupplying whatever meaſures yet ſeemed to be wanting to the exigency of their ſituation. Particularly, they paſſed a new oath, to be taken by military men, omitting all mention of the king, and binding the army to defend the conſtitution againſt all enemies, domeſtic as well as foreign, and to obey no orders but thoſe of the aſſembly: They took alſo into conſideration the draught of an addreſs to the French people, which had been prepared by the committee appointed to anſwer the royal declaration. It was not above one third as long as the paper to which it was oppoſed. It omitted all notice of many principal facts put in iſſue by the king, eſpecially the inſults and outrages for ever heaped upon him and his family; and it met his obſervations on the nature of the government, and the uſurpation of all power by the committees of the aſſembly, and the popular ſocieties, not with argument, but rhetorical turns of ſarcaſm and ſophiſtry, and ſometimes with plain miſrepreſentation. What moſt deſerved praiſe, and actually received it from Robeſpierre, was the care taken to impute nothing criminal directly to the perſon of the king, and even to introduce ſome conciliatory expreſſions of tenderneſs towards him. By a compariſon of the caſes, thus reſpectively on one ſide and the other ſubmitted to the world and poſterity, the king and the nation muſt ultimately be judged. All who are deſirous of forming a juſt opinion of the matter cannot read † thoſe papers too often, nor with too cloſe an attention.

After this addreſs had been decreed, the aſſembly pauſed for an hour or two, when a cry reſounded through the hall, "he is taken, he "is taken." M. Mangin, a ſurgeon of Varennes, appeared at the bar, with letters from the magiſtrates of that town, from St. Menehould, and from the adminiſtration of the diſtrict of Clermont, and of Marne. The aſſembly immediately named three commiſſioners, M. La Tour-Maubourg, M. Barnave, and M. Petion, one from each of the prin-

* *Hiſtoire, &c. par deux Amis de la Liberté*, vol. vii. note, p. 185. It may be proper to obſerve, that the "*Hiſtoire, &c.*" and ſome other democratic publications, have only a mutilated abſtract inſtead of the genuine letter of M. Bouillé.

† See in our laſt volume, p * 221, to p. 238*, new and faithful tranſlations of theſe, from authentic copies of the originals, together with ſome introductory remarks on the falſities of the common tranſlations.

cipal parties that formed the majority: their charge was, to protect the royal family, and especially to shew and maintain the respect due to the royal dignity; to which end they had full powers given them over the whole military force of France. By another decree M. Bouillè was instantly suspended from all command, and ordered to be arrested; but he was already out of their power. By a third law the assembly, in consideration of the delicate crisis of the public affairs, stopped the meeting of the electoral bodies, and prolonged its own existence till further notice.

The next day the national guards of Paris filed through the hall, holding up their right hands, and swearing as they passed to the words of the new oath; after whom followed a long train of volunteers, from the lowest of the populace, in their ordinary dresses, some with muskets, and some with pikes, filling the air with republican cries, while the band of the national guards, seated in the body of the assembly, was playing republican tunes. The barriers of Paris, which had just been shut, were now again thrown open; and travelling was once more free through all the interior of the kingdom, except within fifteen miles of the frontiers. A decree was also passed, which, after expressing much satisfaction at the tranquillity hitherto preserved in the capital, authorized the department, the municipality, and the commander in chief, to take whatever measures they might think good, for the safety of the royal person and family.

Nothing new in principle was done on the two following days, but some supplemental and explanatory measures of importance were taken. As the king in his declaration had observed, with much severity, on the new system of finance, a separate address to the people on that subject, already noticed in the preceding chapter of this history, was adopted and circulated: the opportunity was seized, of establishing a permanent influence throughout the army, by directing the minister of war, in concert with the military committee, to appoint a number of new general officers; and provision was made for receiving the king as a prisoner, and a criminal. The seals which the municipality had placed on the doors of the Thuilleries, were removed, but all the papers found there were to be deposited under seal in the national archives. Every thing was to be arranged as seemed best to the directory of the department, for lodging the royal family in the palace. Separate guards for the king, the queen, and the dauphin, were appointed, under the sole orders of M. La Fayette; and the nomination of a governor for the young prince was reserved to the assembly: All who accompanied the royal family were to be arrested, and interrogated, and the king and queen, by a nice distinction of terms, to be heard on their declarations; which evidence was to be taken as soon as possible, that the assembly might decide what course to pursue. In the mean time all decrees were still to be sealed; and the ministers, as well as the king's commissioners of the treasury, were empowered to continue their functions independently of the royal authority. This decree was proposed by M. Thouret, who the day before had incurred

some

ſome unpopularity, by a motion thought to prejudge the queſtion in favour of the king. He was now loudly applauded by the galleries; till the preſident, M. Treilhard, commanded ſilence, and was obeyed. It had in truth been decreed on the firſt of the month, that whoever ſhewed any marks of approbation or diſapprobation, ſhould be turned out; but this law was never attempted to be enforced.

Four days were the king and his family on the road; expoſed perpetually to all manner of inſults, from the harangues of the magiſtrates as they proceeded through every village, and from the cries of the armed multitude that ſurrounded the carriages. They were doomed alſo to witneſs a ſcene, more afflicting than any words to their ſenſes. * The Marquis Dampierre, learning that they were paſſing near his eſtate, mounted his horſe, pierced through the crowd, approached the carriage, alighted, bowed, and reſpectfully kiſſed the hand of his captive ſovereign, in which attitude he received, in his body, three muſket balls, diſcharged at him from behind. He fell; and the king in vain ſtretched out to him the hand which he had juſt kiſſed; the wheels of the carriage went over him, and his laſt breath was uttered in a cry of loyalty.

When the three commiſſioners met the royal family near Epernay, the king ſeemed touched with the attention and reſpect expreſſed in the decree of the aſſembly. He made a ſhort anſwer, and declared, as he did on every occaſion, that he never meant to quit the kingdom. From that period till his arrival in the neighbourhood of Paris, the journey was a little more ſupportable; eſpecially as from Dormans, where they ſlept that night, the commiſſioners, alarmed by increaſing apprehenſions of a reſcue, quickened their motions, ſent forward to have relays of horſes ready, and took with them as a guard only ſuch armed men as were on horſeback. At Bondy, on the 25th, the pariſian guards took charge of their royal priſoners, † and covered over with ſweat and duſt, breaking out into invectives as ferocious as their countenances, they ſtruck the three captives on the coachbox with ſo much terror, that, having reaſon to fear the moſt refined barbarity of torture, theſe unfortunate men implored death as a favour. Some choſen grenadiers, however, marching on each ſide, ſo as to cover them, and the commiſſioners being placed ſo as to protect the king and queen with their own perſons, all arrived at Paris in ſafety. June 25.

As they approached the capital, the multitude that flocked out to meet them retarded their progreſs. It was about ſeven in the evening when they entered the city. All the ſtreets were lined with an immenſe concourſe of ſpectators of all ages, all ſexes, obſerving a profound ſilence, with their heads covered, having been forbidden by La Fayette, on pain of corporal puniſhment, to ſhew any of the accuſtomed

* *Hiſtoire de la Conjuration de D'Orleans, tom.* iii. p. 105. The fact has alſo been verified by the teſtimony of a gentleman, now in England, who knew M. Dampierre.

† *Hiſtoire, &c. par deux Amis de la Liberté, tom.* vii. p. 165.

marks of reſpect. La Fayette himſelf rode before the king, commanding all to be covered. Behind the two carriages was ſeen an open chariot, adorned with laurels, in which the national guard, who firſt ſeized the royal family at Varennes, was drawn in triumph. When the king and queen arrived at the Thuilleries, and were going to alight, the populace there ſtationed, burſt into repeated ſhouts of "the law, the "law." Inſtantly a tumult began around the royal carriages, and continued to thicken, till the horrible cries of blood reached the aſſembly, at that time deliberating on ſome indifferent ſubject; and commiſſioners were deputed, who happily ſucceeded in reſtoring tranquillity. The royal family entered their priſon, and the iron-gates were cloſed upon them.

Whatever could lead to any diſcovery was demanded from the king; the keys of his coach-ſeats, his pocket-book, every thing: he was denied all communication with his wife, his ſiſter, his children, and his ſervants; and confined under cuſtody of the national guards, who had ſhewn ſuch evil diſpoſitions towards him. * Fifteen officers conſtantly watched in his apartment, and the door of his bed-chamber was left open during the night. The reſt of the royal family were guarded in the ſame manner. All night long a ſentinel took poſt in the armed chair by the bed-ſide of the queen, who dared not to undreſs herſelf; and at frequent intervals the commanding officer undrew the curtains to ſee that ſhe was there. At every window of her apartment, on the terrace over which it looked, was placed a ſoldier, and two on the outſide of a door which led toward the room where her ſon was confined. It is ſaid, that among thoſe who were appointed to this duty, ſhe recollected one man to have been a principal actor in the horrible ſcenes at Verſailles, in October 1789, and that applying to have him exchanged, ſhe was refuſed that favour by M. La Fayette. But the moſt afflicting circumſtance in the captivity of this unhappy family, was the malignant art uſed to poiſon the mind of the dauphin againſt his royal parents, from whom he was ſeparated. He was taught by his guards, in ridicule of his father's misfortunes, to play at the arreſt of the king. The treatment of † Charles the Iſt, to the laſt moment of his life, though not to be praiſed, was much leſs reprehenſible. When ſome of the ſoldiers, at the inſtigation of their officers, cried "Juſtice," the multitude bleſſed him. He had no ſentinels in his chamber. Colonel Hacker uſed to knock ſubmiſſively at his door, nor ventured, without being ordered from within, to enter; and Colonel Tomlinſon, in conducting him to the ſcaffold, walked by his ſide bare-headed.

When the commiſſioners appointed by the aſſembly to take the king's declaration, waited upon him for that purpoſe, finding that he was not required to anſwer upon interrogations in legal form, like an accuſ-

* The facts which follow to the end of this paragraph, are given on the authority of a lady who attended the queen, and who is now in England. One circumſtance only, reſpecting the guard, who had been ſo diſtinguiſhed on the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, is from another quarter no leſs authentic.

† See Herbert's Memoirs.

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ed perſon, he expreſſed a readineſs to gratify the deſire of the aſſembly; and added, that he ſhould never be afraid to publiſh the motives of his conduct. He gave in ſubſtance the account of his inducements, his purpoſes, and the circumſtances of his departure, which has been already woven into this hiſtory. In proof that he had no intention of quitting the kingdom, he mentioned, that he had with him only 13,200 livres in gold, and 560,000 in aſſignats; and that apartments were actually prepared for him and his family at Montmedy. As to the proteſt in the declaration which he left behind him, he remarked that it did not apply to the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, but to the form of the ſanction, from his want of liberty, and the decrees not having been preſented to him in a body, ſo as to enable him to judge of the whole conſtitution at one view. The chief reproach contained in his memoir, he ſaid, was relative to the difficulties in the means of adminiſtration and execution. He acknowledged himſelf to have found, on his journey, that the public opinion was decidedly in favour of the conſtitution, on which point he could never have been ſatisfied at Paris; but he profeſſed himſelf to have been convinced at the ſame time, how neceſſary it was, even for the ſupport of that conſtitution, to ſtrengthen the hands of the powers charged with the maintenance of public order. As ſoon as he was ſatisfied of the general will, he declared, that he did not heſitate, as he never had heſitated, to ſacrifice every thing perſonal to himſelf for the happineſs of the people, which had always been the object of his deſires: and he would gladly forget whatever he had ſuffered, to enſure the peace and felicity of the nation.

This declaration ſhewed a diſpoſition not to puſh matters to extremities with the aſſembly: but from the general character and conduct of Louis the XVIth, and his refuſal at Varennes to let force be employed for his deliverance, there is reaſon to believe that it ſpoke the genuine feelings of his heart. His love of his people was ſincere, conſtant, and unbounded. The declaration of the queen was ſhorter; and principally confined to the circumſtances of their departure. As to their deſtination, ſhe confirmed the king in the moſt poſitive manner.

The attendants alſo having been interrogated, the conſideration of the evidence thus collected, and of the whole queſtion as it regarded the king, was referred to a committee appointed for that purpoſe. One inſtance of the king's accuracy deſerves to be recorded. He ſent for the commiſſioners again. It was to inform them of an omiſſion which he had made, in not apprizing them that he had given expreſs authority for the orders iſſued to the troops by M. de Bouillé: but he was told that any addition to that effect was unneceſſary. The authorization itſelf had been found, tranſmitted, and juſt received by the aſſembly.

The whole conſtitution of the kingdom was changed by theſe meaſures: from a monarchy it became in effect a republic. M. Malouet ſtrongly urged this to the aſſembly: M. Cazalès acted upon it, abſtained from taking any ſhare in the debates, and preſented his reſignation. In him the monarchy, the order to which he belonged, truth, juſtice, morals, and religion, loſt a zealous, an upright, and eloquent defender.

defender. Deputed to the ſtates-general by the nobility of his province, he had arrived in Paris uninfluenced by any favours of the crown, and unconnected with any of the factions which aſpired to power through the people. He ſoon took his part, and conſcientiouſly perſevered in it, notwithſtanding all the inſtances of a nobleman well acquainted with the court, who early aſſured him that the royal cauſe could not be ſupported, and that he had abilities to make himſelf what he pleaſed on the popular ſide. * A writer of his own party applied to him what was ſaid of Fabricius, that "the ſun could "ſooner be turned from his courſe, "than he from the paths of "honour;" and his integrity was even reſpected by the multitude amidſt ſedition and inſurrection. His talents were quick and ſtrong; his judgment ſound; his general knowledge, eſpecially for a military man, as he had been, far from inconſiderable. He was a debater rather than a rhetorician, ſeldom delivering written diſcourſes. Abbé Maury, his rival and friend, ſaid of him, that he was ignorant of his own ſtrength: and Madame Roland, his enemy, in deſcribing the principal ſpeakers of the national aſſembly, gives him an epithet of praiſe ſuperior to all;—ſhe calls him "the "aſtoniſhing Cazalès."

Though they had unneceſſarily, and perhaps unwiſely for the ſtability of their own power, gone thus far, the principal leaders of the majority in the national aſſembly, now united to ſave the monarchy, which they had degraded, weakened, and in a manner ſubverted. The good diſpoſition which M. Barnave manifeſted on the firſt knowledge of the king's flight, has been noticed. In the execution of his miſſion to bring back the royal family, he is alſo ſaid to have been touched with compaſſion for the ſituation of fallen and inſulted majeſty; as on the other hand, in the recent debates relative to the colonies, he had been taught the uncertainty of popular favour. M. la Fayette too, on his ſide, had received many ſtrong intimations of his danger from the Orleaniſts, and never more than on the preſent occaſion: vain as he was, he could not but be ſenſible, that his ambition of deſcending to poſterity as the Waſhington of France was become deſperate; that the conſtitution of which he was the profeſſed champion, and the actual power which he exerciſed, could have no exiſtence but in ſome ſort of monarchy; and the generous protection which he had juſt received from M. Barnave, had reconciled him to the party of his former adverſaries, the Lameths. In conſequence †, notwithſtanding he had long amuſed M. Briſſot with private aſſurances that he was a republican, he now united himſelf and his friends to the Lameths, by which junction all oppoſition in the national aſſembly ſeemed to be effectually cruſhed. At the ſame time, the remaining members of the club of 1789 were formally reconciled to the mother-club of the Jacobins, and by their numbers and weight put a ſeaſonable reſtraint on the projects of the more violent ſpirits in that ſociety. A new committee was form-

* M. Audainel.

† See Madame Roland's Appeal. Eng. Tranſ. v. ii. p. 84. Thomas Paine thought the ſame of him. See the dedication to the Second Part of the Rights of Man.

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ed, and a more regular correſpondence opened with the revolution ſociety of London.

On the other ſide, the republicans endeavoured to give a more ſyſtematic direction to their efforts. They planned and advertiſed a new paper, under the title of "The Republican," which was principally to be conducted by M. Dumont, a Geneveſe, with the aſſiſtance of Briſſot, Condorcet, and our countryman, Thomas Paine. The latter immediately threw out a challenge to all the champions of monarchy; and it was at once accepted by Abbé Syeyes, but as if he rather meant to betray than defend the cauſe in which he profeſſed to engage. Mr. Paine replied, and there the controverſy ended. However, the new paper, notwithſtanding this triumph, was dropped, probably on account of the events which ſoon followed.

The republicans were zealouſly ſupported by the Anarchiſts and the Orleaniſts. This enſured the exertions of the Cordeliers, the Ironmouth, a ſtill more violent ſociety, if poſſible, under the Abbé Fauchet, and other clubs of the ſame ſtamp. But it was of more importance to regain, if poſſible, the aſcendancy among the Jacobins. With this view, on the 10th of July, when a report was daily expected from the committee appointed to enquire into the flight of the king, M. Briſſot addreſſed the ſociety in a long, laboured, and able harangue, urging the neceſſity of depoſing Louis the XVI. In it he anſwered, much at large, the objection of the more moderate party, that ſuch a meaſure would alarm all neighbouring ſovereigns, and draw down their united reſentment. He delineated with great force of language, and with general fidelity, the political map of Europe, for the purpoſe of ſhewing, that it was neither the inclination nor the intereſt of any prince or ſtate to commence war againſt France: in particular he inſiſted, that it was neither probable from the character, nor poſſible from the exiſting embarraſſments of Leopold, that he ſhould venture on ſuch a ſtep.

The ſeven committees, who had been ordered to report on the whole queſtion reſpecting the king, are ſaid to have ſuppoſed, at firſt, that the reſtoration of Lewis XVI. was to be put wholly out of conſideration. The committee of conſtitution was occupied only in diſcuſſing what ſhould be the mode of government adopted during the minority of the young king*. M. Adrian Duport was the firſt who made his colleagues pauſe; and even he could not venture directly to combat the opinion which was ſo deciſively pronounced. It was only by ſhewing the committee in detail, the abſurdity and inconveniences of all their projects, that he ultimately prevailed. There was then another difficulty: no member could be found, for ſome time, who would undertake to communicate their final reſolution to the other ſix committees; till M. Alexander Lameth at length accepted this delicate commiſſion, which he is repreſented to have diſcharged with equal ability and ſucceſs.

During the time that the united committees were employed in framing their report, the populace was worked up to the higheſt ſtate

* *Hiſtoire, &c. par deux Amis*, vol. vii. p. 236, 237.

of

of fermentation. On one side, whoever hesitated about the dethronement of the king, was called a traitor and hireling. On the other, whoever proposed by a public trial to infringe the inviolability which the constitution had attributed to the royal person, was accused of a design to make a counter revolution; the two factions were tearing each other to pieces with mutual reproaches, under the invidious appellations of republicans, and friends of the civil list.

13th July. At length the report was produced: and to the surprise, grief, and consternation of the more violent faction, it was in favour of the king. It clearly demonstrated, that according to the positive letter of the constitution, the king could not be punished, and that his flight was no crime, under any existing law. There were even some expressions, which distinctly asserted his right to criticise the labours of the assembly, as he had done, till he should have accepted the whole constitution complete in one revised code. But whatever tenderness was shewn to the king, all who had immediately or voluntarily assisted in that escape, which in itself had been just stated to be no crime, were pronounced to be criminals. That very night, a deputation from the market house club, went to the jacobin club, for the purpose of requesting that society to concur in a petition to the national assembly, that they would come to no vote on the subject of the report, without having collected the will of the nation. The next day the former presented their petition, couched in very indecent terms, and signed by a hundred persons, in the name of the whole people; and the latter were debating what petition they should present, when it was announced that four thousand people were at the door, and demanded admittance. The hall was filled in an instant with boys, mechanics, women of the lowest kind, and rioters of every description. *"I saw them tumbling," says Madame Roland, "from the Palais Royal at ten o'clock at night. The society deliberated with that mob, who also voted." It decreed the substance of a petition proposed by La Clos, the friend and agent of the duke of Orleans, that the assembly should be required to pass judgment on the traitor who fled, or to take the sense of the nation on the punishment which he might deserve, and in the mean time to declare that he had lost the confidence of the people of Paris. A committee was appointed on the spot, to reduce it into form. La Clos, who was one of the members, pretending a head-ach, desired Brissot to hold the pen, but when he was come to the stringent part, calling upon the assembly to accept the abdication of the king, La Clos, with an air of seeming indifference, suggested the propriety of adding "and to make provision for "replacing him by all constitutional "means." Brissot rejected the proposal with great eagerness. La Clos appeared to give it up, but the next morning, it appeared in the printed paper, which was circulated every where, as the resolution of the Jacobins. On the other hand, Brissot,

* Mad. Roland, Engl. Transl. vol. i. page 6. and vol. ii. page 85. see also *Histoire, &c.* page 241. &c.

having

having concluded with a declaration to the effect that, "till the majority of the nation ſhould have expreſſed a will contrary to that of the petition, the ſociety would not acknowledge Louis XVI. for their king, *nor any other king*;" the laſt words were omitted.

The object of this was evidently to open the way for the elevation of the duke of Orleans to the regency, if not to the throne. When the commiſſioners appointed by the Jacobins carried this petition to be ſigned publicly in the Champ de Mars, on what they called the altar of their country, objections were raiſed by many to the interpolated paſſage. Some began to draw up new petitions; others inſiſted on the obnoxious words being eraſed, and the renunciation of all monarchy, which they ſaid had been omitted, being again inſerted in its proper place. The commiſſioners, however, would not ſuffer any change to be made, and, after much altercation, this knotty point was referred back to the club. They were occupied in this diſcuſſion, when a member brought intelligence, that, after a debate of three days, the national aſſembly had paſſed a decree agreeable to the report of the ſeven committees. The club then voted, that the petition muſt now be ſuppreſſed. The populace, however, was not ſo tractable. They were inflamed by ſome words which Roberſpierre let fall, as he came out of the aſſembly: "My "friends," ſaid he, "all is loſt, "the king is ſaved." They went in crowds to all the places of public amuſement, and compelled them to be ſhut up, as in times of general mourning for ſome great public calamity. The opera-houſe only was protected by M. la Fayette and ſome of the national guards.

On the Sunday, another popular meeting being expected in the Champ de Mars, an old invalid and a hair-dreſſer's apprentice concealed themſelves under the altar in the Champ de Mars, for ſome purpoſe or other, as it is now generally agreed, of idle and licentious curioſity. But they were ſoon detected, accuſed of a gunpowder-plot, and inſtantly hanged at the firſt lamp-poſt: the cord broke; they were beheaded alive, and their heads ſtuck on pikes to be carried in triumph through the ſtreets of the city to the Palais Royal. About eleven o'clock, three municipal officers, accompanied by M. la Fayette and an armed force, went to proclaim martial law. The rioters fled at their approach; all but one ſoldier, who attempted the life of the general, was pardoned, and ſet at liberty. Hardly was M. la Fayette gone, when the crowd gathered again; ſome deputies of the Cordeliers, the Ironmouth, and other of the more furious ſocieties, bearing pikes in their hands and flags with inflammatory inſcriptions, harangued the by-ſtanders, and excited their rage; and M. Robert, a factious journaliſt, with the aſſiſtance of his wife, having written a ſuitable remonſtrance to the national aſſembly, carried it about to be ſigned. Theſe tranſactions being denounced to the aſſembly, the preſident, C. Lameth, wrote a ſtrong letter to the common council of Paris; martial law was proclaimed, the red flag was diſplayed from the town-hall, and, after a delay of two hours, finding that ſignal not regarded, M. la Fayette, with M. Bailly, the mayor, marched to the Champ de Mars, at the head of ſome

ſome national guards. On his appearance, there was a tumultuous cry of "down with the red flag, down with the bayonets." As he continued his march, a ſhower of ſticks and ſtones was poured down upon him and his men, and a piſtol was fired, which, narrowly miſſing the mayor, mortally wounded a ſoldier who was near him. In return, the national guards fired in the air, which only increaſing the audacity of the aſſailants, inſtead of intimidating them, their inſults and outrages were redoubled, and ſeveral other piſtols diſcharged. The troops then levelled their pieces at the place whence the ſhots came. About eleven or twelve of the rioters are ſaid to have been killed, and as many more wounded, on this occaſion. Several of the ſoldiers too ſuffered ſeverely; one was beat off his horſe, and one grenadier was left dead on the field. Two chaſſeurs and an artillery-man were afterwards murdered the ſame evening.

Nothing could now equal the diſcomfiture of the republican faction, but the exultation of the dominant party. Marat, Robert, Royou, and other incendiary writers, concealed themſelves in lurking holes and hiding places. Many who were pointed out as the principal inſtigators of the diſturbances, were thrown into priſon. Briſſot was ſhunned by all, and was obliged to withdraw himſelf from public notice. Roberſpierre, in the utmoſt conſternation, expected every day to be made the object of ſome rigorous proceeding in the aſſembly, and menaces were uſed towards the whole committee of the jacobin club, which had prepared the original petition. Every thing however evaporated in a general decree againſt the men of blood, who by placards, writings, or public motions ſhould excite the people to carnage. Victorious as they were, the leaders of the legiſlative body did not dare to propoſe any ſtrict and preciſe law againſt the abuſe of the preſs. At the ſame time, they declared that they could not be voluntary members of a ſociety with thoſe who had offended againſt the law. They ſeparated themſelves, therefore, once more from the jacobin club, in which now remained only ſix perſons who belonged to the national aſſembly: theſe were Roberſpierre, Petion, Buzot, Antoine, Coroller, and Rœderer. The whole company that attended at the firſt ſitting after the rupture, is ſaid not to have exceeded thirty. It is probable, they might have been eaſily cruſhed, had not the ſeceders, inſtead of taking that opportunity to abjure and to deſtroy all ſuch dangerous aſſociations, only thought of ſetting up a rival club, which, from the place of meeting, was called the club of the Feuillans, and to aim at drawing to themſelves the affiliated ſocieties, to whom they gave an account of the ſchiſm in a circular letter. But the thirty, who ſtayed with Roberſpierre, were in poſſeſſion of the old place of meeting, and the old name of Jacobins. They ſoon filled up their numbers, and became more violent, as they were leſs reſtrained by the preſence of thoſe whoſe better education, manners, and condition would always impoſe ſome check upon their behaviour.

The impreſſion which had been made on the minds of the demagogues, by the military execution in the Champ de Mars, had not wholly ſubſided, when the aſſembly entered on the great taſk of reviſing the

the conſtitution. The principal manager of the buſineſs was M. Thouret, who had originally been one of the party in connection with M. Mounier, the heads of which were driven into exile, partly from diſguſt, and partly from terror at the atrocities of October 1789; and though he remained behind, yet he had never run into any extreme meaſure of democracy. Under his auſpices, ſeveral alterations for the better, though none of very important operation, were propoſed and adopted. Some laws, in derogation of the crown, which, in order to make them irrevocable, had been decreed as parts of the conſtitution, were now rejected, and left to the conſideration of the future legiſlatures; in others, which were admitted into the amended code, temperaments and explanations favourable to the monarchy, were added. When

Aug. 5. he brought forward the report of the committees, he alluded with ſome triumph to the deſtruction of the ancient conſtitution, by the decrees of the fourth of Auguſt 1789, which in effect aboliſhed the two higher orders of the ſtate. "Laſt night," ſaid he "was "the anniverſary of the ever-me- "morable epoch, when ſo many "abuſes were overturned. This "very fitting is the anniverſary of "that, wherein you began to lay "the corner ſtone of that majeſtic "edifice which is now finiſhed. It is "preciſely at the expiration of the "ſecond year of your ſeſſion, that "your committees of the conſtitu- "tion, and of reviſion, come to pre- "ſent you with the fruit of your la- "bours." He then proceeded to read the code, without any further preface, as it had been agreed that it ſhould lie over for further conſideration, without any immediate diſcuſſion.

The day before the queſtion was to come on, the municipality iſſued a proclamation, exhorting the people to tranquillity, and ſtruck the red flag, which had been flying at the town-hall from the time of the late affair of the Champ de Mars; but they thought it neceſſary to add an intimation, that "martial law was always alive for the diſturbers of the public ſafety." As ſoon as M. Thouret had opened the general plan of the code, an attempt was made by M. Malouet to criticiſe the whole; M. Chapelier, however, ſoon ſtopped him, and all the efforts of M. Deſpremenil, the Abbè Maury, and others of that party, could not obtain a hearing. A decree was paſſed to prohibit all general cenſure of the conſtitution, which was conſidered as unchangeably fixed.

M. Thouret and his colleagues at firſt ſeemed likely to encounter few obſtacles from the other ſide, and they ſhewed a proper diſpoſition to beat down thoſe which they did encounter. When M. Petion, on debating the firſt title of the code, objected that the liberty of the preſs was not ſufficiently ſecured, and inſtanced what he thought the extreme oppreſſion of this country from a ſimilar omiſſion at the time of our revolution; he was told by M. Duport, that if inſtead of oppoſing there, he and M. Buzot would do their duty by attending the committees of which they were members, they would have ſpared the aſſembly that diſcuſſion. But having alſo ventured to defend the king's power of pardoning, M. Duport was the next day anſwered by a reference to a ſpeech of his own, ſix weeks before,

fore, on the other ſide of the queſtion.

As the aſſembly proceeded in their taſk, the ſpirit of the republican faction began to riſe again. Libels in news-papers, hand-bills, and pamphlets came thicker and more daring, againſt M. la Fayette, the Lameths, Barnave, and the reſt of the coalition, who were openly charged with having ſold themſelves to betray the people. The rights of Man, and the ſacred duty of inſurrection, of which M. la Fayette had been the firſt promulgator, were now cited againſt himſelf. The conduct which he and his new friends had purſued, two years before, in promoting and heading different acts of ſedition and rebellion againſt the government of that time, was applied in juſtification of thoſe, whom they now treated as rebels and conſpirators. It was denied, that there was any diſtinction in principle, and the late uſe of the military, was publicly denominated a maſſacre. The ſittings of the Jacobins began to be more frequented, and the other clubs to reſume their former ferocity and extravagance of character. As this tone was daily more and more heard, the republicans in the legiſlative body came forward in the debates with more effect, and their numbers gradually increaſed, ſo as to extort many conceſſions from the coaleſced majority. Their principal ſtrength lay in the advantage which they had, of quoting the former ſpeeches of the leading members againſt their preſent conduct.

It will be unneceſſary to enter into any detailed remarks on a form of government which did not laſt a year, and the principles of which have already been incidentally examined in the courſe of this hiſtory. The whole is printed at length among the * ſtate papers of the laſt volume; and the alterations made on the reviſion, are there diſtinguiſhed. Only ſuch points will be here particularized, as ſhew the temper and ſpirit of the two parties, between whom alone the queſtion now lay.

No regular and decided oppoſition was given, till M. Thouret moved the paſſing of the third title, which treats of the public powers. In defining and deſcribing the ſovereignty of the ſtate, ſome articles of popular faith had been curtailed. The ſovereignty was ſaid to be one and indiviſible, but it was not expreſſed to be impreſcriptible and inalienable: it was declared to belong to the nation, and it was added, that no ſection of the people could attribute to itſelf the exerciſe of the ſovereignty; but the old declaration, that no individual could exerciſe it, (a declaration levelled at the king) was dropped. The committees probably intended by theſe changes, to remove ſome terms and phraſes, which had been miſconſtrued and abuſed to juſtify perpetual inſurrections againſt the monarchy. M. Petion thought it neceſſary, in order to prevent the annihilation of their political liberty, like that of England by the aſſerted omnipotence of the king and parliament, expreſsly to declare the ſovereignty inalienable. M. Thouret, after cavilling a little, and anſwering as to the example of England, that there was not any national act here authorizing thoſe erroneous doctrines, wiſhed to prefer the word impreſcriptible. M. Buzot propoſed to take both

* Page 151*.

words,

words, and carried them. M. Rœderer, in a ſet harangue, attacked another part of the ſame title, which laid down the French conſtitution to be repreſentative, and the repreſentatives to be the legiſlative body and the king. He was ſupported by Roberſpierre, Prieur, and others. But the committees prevailing, M. Rewbell propoſed, and the aſſembly conſented, to add, in the firſt article of the title, that no individual could exerciſe the ſovereignty.

The qualifications which had been fixed for active citizens in primary aſſemblies, for electors and for repreſentatives, were the next prominent ſubject of contention. Theſe, as they ſtood, were indeed ſo low, as to be quite nugatory; they were only ſo many monuments of the diſcordance between their conſtitution, and the theory of rights on which it profeſſed to be founded. The committees, after a violent ſtruggle, ſucceeded in raiſing conſiderably the value of the contribution required for an elector: but on the other hand, in the hope of quieting the republicans, they reduced that required of repreſentatives, from a mark of ſilver to the ſtandard of a mere active citizen. While in this they pretended a regard to the principle of equality, they knew that in practice the electors would always chuſe men rather above than below their own condition. The debate was curious for the mutual charges of inconſiſtency.

Perceiving the drift of the alterations, M. Petion, Roberſpierre, Buzot, Rœderer, Gregoire, and the reſt of that connexion, demanded that the old qualifications ſhould remain. M. Rœderer made an expreſs motion of order, that, conformably to the uſages of the aſſembly, all diſcuſſion againſt the conſtitution ſhould be prohibited; and he grounded himſelf particularly upon the interruption given to M. Malouet. But the majority diſregarded their own precedent, and voted the continuation of the diſcuſſion. In the courſe of it, M. Chapellier reminded the other ſide, that long after they had taken that oath to the conſtitution, which they were now ſo rigid in maintaining, they had been conſtantly calling for the repeal of the law relative to the mark of ſilver. Roberſpierre obſerved, that the plan of the committee replaced a bad limitation with one ſtill more unjuſt and burthenſome; and that all the inconveniences before objected, applied with increaſed force to the new ſyſtem. The committees, he ſaid, appeared to him to be in one continual ſelf-contradiction. The people were to have the free choice of their repreſentatives, but not of the intermediate body, in whom was the actual election. The aſſembly had recogniſed, on the propoſal of the committees, that every citizen was admiſſible to every function, without any other diſtinction, than thoſe of virtue and talents; but here was an immediate violation of that promiſe. Theſe remarks were certainly not unfounded in the profeſſed principles of the revolution, and the declaration of rights, which ſtood at the head of the code; and ſurely in itſelf it is not poſſible to conceive a greater ſoleciſm; than that the ſame man who is not eſteemed fit to be truſted with one voice among many, in chuſing a perſon to exerciſe the higheſt powers of the

ſtate, ſhould be conſidered as worthy himſelf to exerciſe thoſe very powers.

The manner in which Robeſpierre and Petion had carried the decrees for rendering thoſe who had been members of two legiſlatures, ineligible to the third, has been already related *. To that article the committees added a note, declaring that they regarded the limitation as contrary to liberty, and prejudicial to the intereſts of the nation. The aſſembly, however, would not conſent to any alteration †.

But the point which gave occaſion to the great trial of ſtrength between the parties, was the degree of connexion that ought to ſubſiſt between the miniſtry and the aſſembly.

The reviſed code of the conſtitution did not contain the ſelf-denying decrees, which prevented any member of the legiſlative body from being taken into the adminiſtration till the end of four years from a diſſolution. It was brought forward, a little out of its place, by M. Saint Martin, as ſoon as the article juſt mentioned had been adopted. M. Thouret and his colleagues oppoſed it with all their force, but after ſome conſiderable agitation, a compromiſe, propoſed by M. Buzot, was voted, which reduced the diſqualification to the term of two years. M. Guillaume thought this a good opportunity to reſtore an article relative to the reſponſibility of miniſters, which having been originally rejected by the aſſembly, was then carried by M. Buzot againſt the oppoſition of M. Cazalès, without a debate, but had been now omitted on the reviſion. It recogniſed the right of the legiſlative body to tell the king, that his miniſters had loſt the confidence of the nation. An invidious diſtinction which the mover applied to himſelf and his party, as the true friends of the conſtitution, produced a violent tumult. It was not without ſome difficulty that M. Barnave at length obtained an hearing. He delivered a forcible and apparently prepared ſpeech, relative to the menaces which were hinted on that and the preceding day, and the diſcord which began to reign in the aſſembly. He remarked, that beſide the conſtant enemies of the revolution, there were two other claſſes, who oppoſed the labours of the committees. He ſpoke with reſpect and tenderneſs of thoſe, who conſcientiouſly preferring another form of government, diſguiſed their object more or leſs in the part which they took, and tried artfully to expunge from the conſtitution every thing monarchical, which was an obſtacle to their views. The other claſs he ſaid conſiſted of thoſe who were not actuated by any love of a republic rather than a monarchy; of democracy rather than ariſtocracy; who, in truth, loved no ſort of government: to whom, whatever fixed the political machine, whatever was public order, whatever gave to every man his due, whatever aſſigned his proper rank to the man of worth and honour, to the worthleſs and baſe calumniator, was odious, becauſe it was hoſtile. He

* See page 147.

† Page 158 of the laſt vol. Sect. 3. art. 6. the tranſlation is inaccurate, the reader is deſired to correct it as above.

contented himself, however, with simply moving the order of the day, to which they immediately passed. The remaining article of the same section, and the three following sections of the code, were then adopted almost without an observation. The next day, when the subject was renewed, the reporter prefaced what he had to offer, with a solemn protest of the committees, against the proceedings of the last sitting, as having destroyed all means of force and energy in the executive power, and they accordingly exonerated themselves of all responsibility for the consequences.

When the situation of the royal family came to be considered, M. Goupil thought that all members of it should be distinguished by the title of French princes, and be precluded from exercising the ordinary rights of citizens. The duke of Orleans instantly started up, to put the previous question. M. Charles Lameth attempting in part to defend M. Goupil, was desired to answer himself, as he had once before answered Mirabeau on the same subject, whereupon M. A. Lameth interposing, said, that by common consent the title of prince could not be conferred on any person, and therefore that it was unnecessary to send it to a vote. The latter proposition, however, was referred to the committees, and a compromise ultimately admitted. The title of French prince too, notwithstanding an ostentatious resistance by the duke of Orleans, was allowed, and ordered to be used after the christian name, without any other addition *.

There was no further opposition till the question was put on the tenth article of the section, relative to the connexion of the legislative body with the king. It was proposed, that the ministers should have a distinguished place in the legislative assembly, and be allowed to speak whenever they pleased, as well as when any explanation might be required of them. Robespierre immediately attacked this arrangement, as contrary to a fundamental principle of their constitution, which separated all the powers of the state into the legislative, executive, and judicial. The proposed article he insisted had a tendency to confound the two former. A compromise was suggested by M. Barrere, allowing the ministers only to speak when required so to do, or upon the business of their own several departments. On M. Chapelier endeavouring to support the original motion, M. Lanjuinais expressed his astonishment, that such a proposition should come from the very men who had so vehemently opposed it, when brought forward by Mirabeau. After a warm altercation, in which the English parliament was treated with much disrespect on both sides, M. C. Lameth found it prudent to be himself the author of an amendment similar to that which had been thrown out by Barrere; and it was carried without a division.

The remainder of the code having been quietly approved, an interval of six days was occupied by the committees in digesting and drawing up several articles which had been postponed. The debates were then resumed Aug. 16.

* The interpolations made on the revision fill half the section. See Ann. Reg. vol. 33. State Papers, page 163.

with equal eagerneſs and heat, but nothing paſſed deſerving of particular notice till the aſſembly entered on their great, their final, and moſt important queſtion: What right of altering this conſtitution ſhould be recogniſed in the people at large? After placing the whole ſovereignty in the bulk of the people, it was difficult for the majority to recede from their former profeſſions, and yet they had evidently a mind to ſuggeſt that their work was unalterable. On the contrary, ſome of the remaining royaliſts, and all the republicans, from oppoſite views and hopes, wiſhed it to be left open, though in different modes, to eaſy correction. M. Malouet led the way. Among a variety of articles deſigned to put an end to the revolution, and reſtore peace, he propoſed, that on the firſt of June 1793, the primary aſſemblies ſhould conſider of ſuch modifications as might be laid before them on the part of the king, and be confined ſimply to approving or rejecting them; till which period the conſtitution was not to be taken as definitively accepted. M. Petion, on the other ſide, caught up a notion thrown out, though diſapproved by the reporter, which ſeems to have been common in France, and to have been founded on a falſe conception of our hiſtory. It was ſuppoſed, that ſome extraordinary powers for making a conſtitution, were denoted by the name of a convention, which was given in truth to that grand council of lords and commoners, who conducted the ſettlement of our revolution, only becauſe they had not the regular form and eſſence of a parliament till there was a king at their head. The fundamental principle in M. Petion's project was, that no conſtitution or laws ought to extend beyond one generation, and therefore he would have had a convention meet every twenty years, except the firſt, which was to ſit in the commencement of the next century, the epoch preferred in a plan of the committees for holding an aſſembly of reviſion. Many other devices and expedients were propoſed and rejected, till at length a decree was paſſed, conſiſting of many articles, which ſhould be read at full length in the code itſelf. It is plainly a contrivance (inartificial and awkward, as the union of contradictions ever muſt be) to render that which is admitted in principle, difficult and almoſt impoſſible in practice.

Aug. 29.

During theſe proceedings, ſeveral detached acts of the aſſembly took place, which it may be proper to mention. The firſt general law againſt emigrants, paſſed the great ſeal. It had a ſhort preamble, grounding the meaſure on the particular circumſtances and ſituation of the country; and the penalty was only a triple taxation. The national guard of Paris, was eſtabliſhed and regulated by a law. A new tarif of duties, inwards and outwards, was publiſhed. What was called the police of navigation, and the ports of commerce, was ſettled; and proviſion was made for the payment of ſome of the king's debts.

But the moſt ſtriking occurrence, was the appearance of Madame Guillin du Montet at the bar of the aſſembly. * She was the widow of an old officer, who having

* See the ſtory ſtated in her petition, read at the bar of the aſſembly. Moniteur, Auguſt 16th 1791, and note, page 243, Auguſt 13, Code Nationale.

attained

attained the rank of brigadier in the ſervice, and been governor of Senegal, had retired, covered with honourable ſcars, to his ſeat near Lyons. Though he had enjoyed the eſteem of his countrymen previous to the revolution, and led a domeſtic life amidſt his own family, he now became ſuſpected. His houſe was frequently ſearched, but nothing was found, except his innocence. His brother, M. Guillin de Pougelon, an old man of ſixty-eight years of age, had been languiſhing eight months in priſon, on a charge, which afterwards appeared to be groundleſs, of being engaged in a plot againſt the revolution; and diſtracted with his loſs, his daughter in-law, after bathing her infant with her tears, precipitated herſelf from a window, and was daſhed in pieces. His family, however, found an aſylum in the houſe of M. Guillin du Montet; but it was not long capable of affording protection to them, or to its unfortunate maſter. In June, the municipal officers, accompanied by three hundred national guards, came under a pretence of ſearching for arms. In vain he aſked for their authority, and appealed to the law. While he was diſputing with the municipal officers, cries and ſhouts were heard at a diſtance, alarm-bells ſounded, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring pariſhes flocked around, demanding his head. His ſervants ſaved themſelves by flight; without attempting the life of any one of the aſſailants, he concealed himſelf at the inſtance of his wife; in ſpite of her ſupplications and tears, the doors were forced open, the furniture broken, and the houſe ſet on fire. She preſented herſelf before the ruffians, with her two infants in her arms, to move their compaſſion towards her unhappy huſband, but neither her ſex, nor their tender age was regarded. She was received with blows and inſults. Driven at laſt from his retreat by the flames, M. du Montet eſcaped only from one terrible death, to meet another more cruel. He was literally hacked in pieces alive. He fell: he turned his dying eyes on his wife, and with his laſt breath bade her adieu. His head was cut off, and, with his bleeding limbs, carried as a trophy round the neighbouring villages. The reſt of the aſſaſſins quarrelled for his mangled trunk, and ſmearing their hands and faces with his gore, exhibited themſelves in that hideous guiſe to the populace. They roaſted and were devouring his fleſh, when they were diſturbed by the troops of the police at their abominable repaſt. By the murder of her huſband, Madame du Montet and her children loſt annuities on his life to the amount of more than eleven hundred pounds a year; and by the deſtruction of the houſe and effects, upwards of twelve thouſand pounds more. They were deſtitute, and, by the impriſonment of M. Guillin de Pougelon left without a protector.

Madame du Montet addreſſed herſelf to the aſſembly with a grace and dignity which made a powerful impreſſion in her favour. She deſired the liberty of M. de Pougelon, the guardian of her children, and an indemnification, which but for thoſe children ſhe would have diſdained. The recital of her afflicting ſtory ſhe declared herſelf unable to ſupport, and delivered it

therefore in the form of a petition, requesting that it might be read after her departure by the secretary.

The president, M. Victor Broglie, told her in answer, that amidst the flattering marks of approbation which had encouraged the assembly in its indefatigable labours, it could not dissemble to itself, that some private misfortunes had tarnished the lustre of the revolution. These disasters, he said, had afflicted all good citizens; they had served as an excuse for the estrangement shown by men of peaceable dispositions, from any change of that government which was proscribed by reason, and the enlightened wisdom of this age; *but* * *under which they at least saw protection given to the sleep of slavery.* After mentioning the horror of the nation and the assembly at the ravages which had been committed, and the strong desire of the latter to effect, without any convulsions, the passage from a state wherein the mildness of manners mitigated the influence of despotism, to a state wherein it might hope to see manners carried to their perfection by the effect of a free constitution, he predicted the accomplishment of that hope. "Yet," continued he, addressing Madame Guillin, "the certainty "of seeing its wishes one day ful-"filled, does not render it insen-"sible to your sorrow. May this "assurance be a consolation to your "sufferings! Yes, the assembly shares "your regrets; at the sight of your "tears it feels itself moved, and pays "with satisfaction a tribute to na-"ture, in receiving with tenderness, "and hearing with interest, the ac-"cents of virtue in distress."

After the petition had been read, a motion was made for the immediate release of M. de Pougelon, or an immediate report of the evidence in his favour. A second member, instanced an interference of the assembly to enlarge a constitutional priest who was under arrest on a criminal charge, by the decree of a court of justice, while there was no regular charge against M. de Pougelon. Other members made other propositions, and at length the assembly referred the whole matter to the committee of pensions, and committee of reports. There does not appear to have been a single word about vindicating the honour of the country, by the public prosecution and punishment of the monsters who had so disgraced it; nor does even the reference to the committee appear to have procured to the sufferers any alleviation of a loss so much beyond all pecuniary compensation.

A mutiny which had recently taken place in several regiments, both of cavalry and infantry, now convinced the assembly of their impolicy in encouraging the soldiers to frequent the clubs. On the representation of M. Duportail, who had obtained that decree, the societies who had mixed at all in the military

* The passage which is here printed in Italic, is to be found in the Moniteur, in which the president's answer is plainly inserted from authority; but in the Code Nationale it is suppressed, and the better to disguise the omission, what immediately follows is thrown into the same paragraph, instead of being divided, as in the Moniteur. There are similar instances in longer speeches, where little escapes of the same kind, which have been afterwards found to admit too much, have been reformed in the same manner.

adm-

adminiſtration, were directed to be puniſhed according to law. Nor many days after, M. Duport Dutertre, keeper of the ſeals, found himſelf compelled with regret, as he ſaid, to denounce the ſocieties of the friends of the conſtitution, who were every day forfeiting that title by attacking that which they profeſſed to defend. They had committed acts of arbitrary power, which he declared would have frightened the ancient deſpotiſm. He was ſupported by M. de Leſſart, miniſter of the home department, who teſtified the very frequent complaints which he had received againſt the clubs from the adminiſtrative bodies. He produced alſo a letter from the bailly of Lauſanne, to the municipal officers of Dijon, complaining of the libels circulated by the jacobin club of the latter city, to excite inſurrections in the Swiſs Cantons. To crown the whole, M. Vieillard ſtated from the committee of reports, that many ſimilar repreſentations had been made to them, but he was willing to conſider the ſocieties as led aſtray by patriotiſm. He brought however a formal accuſation againſt M. Fauchet, the new biſhop of Calvados, and one of his grand vicars, for agitating and inflaming the clubs of Caen and Bayeux, and preaching ſyſtematic anarchy from the pulpit. The aſſembly ordered a report on their conduct, but rejected the motion of M. Joubert, the new biſhop of the Lower Charente, to take them both into cuſtody.

When the code of the conſtitution was ſettled in the details, before it was finally read and paſſed, a mode of acceptance by the king was decreed. He was to give what orders he pleaſed for his guard, and the dignity of his perſon, and if he ſhould agree to adopt it, then he was further to appoint the day and the ceremonial for the ſolemn occaſion. Two days after it was preſented to him by a deputation of ſixty members, who proceeded in great pomp to the palace, and, to give it the greater effect, by torch-light, eſcorted by a numerous detachment of the national guards, and attended by the applauſes and ſhouts of a vaſt multitude, hired as uſual for the purpoſe. The royal priſoner, to whom they brought the firſt ſemblance of liberty, returned them a favourable anſwer, promiſed to ſignify his ultimate determination as ſhortly as poſſible, and declared that he did not mean to leave Paris, and would iſſue the orders which he thought expedient for his guard to the commander in chief.

Sept. 2d.

In the mean time, the minority in the aſſembly were not wanting to themſelves and to their country. When the king was brought back a priſoner on the 29th of June, two hundred and ninety of them publiſhed a ſpirited declaration, * exculpating themſelves for continuing there, and avowing their reſolution to take no ſhare in any buſineſs, but to watch over the ſafety of the monarch and the monarchy. On the order of the day being read, for beginning the reviſion of the conſtitution, on the 8th of Auguſt, they roſe, and aſſerted their adherence to all their former declarations on the ſubject, but no mention was made of it in the journals of the aſſembly; they thought it

* Ann. Reg. vol. 33, State Papers, page 138*.

therefore incumbent upon them now to print it, with their ſignatures, to the number of 340, at the head of which ſtood the name of the cardinal de la Rochefoucauld. It was preceded by another much longer and highly eloquent proteſt†, ſigned by M. d'Epréméſnil, and 192 other, chiefly noble, deputies. This ſets out with expoſing the uſurpation of the aſſembly. "A ſet of men," it obſerves, "called by the king, "and deputed by the baillages to the "ſtates general, had declared themſelves ſuperior to the baillages "and to the king: with their "imperative inſtructions in their "hands, inſtructions which they "had ſworn to execute, they proclaimed themſelves a conſtituent "aſſembly. They prohibited the "provinces, their natural judges, "from meeting. They ſaid to the "king, you are no longer he who "could call us together or diſſolve "us. They ſaid to the baillages, "you are no longer our conſtituents, you are nothing, you have "no exiſtence: they created the departments, and ſaid to them, we "regulate all your powers; we "give you even that of being our "conſtituents, but that ſhall not "hinder us from being your "judges! By means of inſurrections "which they called the diſcharge "of the *moſt ſacred of duties*, they arrogated to themſelves a new and "independent miſſion." It then proceeds with equal animation to ſtate the reſult of all the meaſures taken to the injury and the ruin of the monarchy, the church, of all the higher orders and conditions of ſociety, every kind of property, manners, morals, all government, all religion. It affirms and develops the invalidity of all that had been done, from the want of free will, and free action in the king, the aſſembly, and the nation itſelf. Then follows a ſublime perſonification of France, demanding an account of thoſe whom ſhe had choſen to labour in the reſtoration of the finances, to ſecure perſonal liberty, to defend property, to protect the ſtate of all ranks, and to concur with the king in the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution; recapitulating cloſely and forcibly, the general devaſtation of all; and aſking, who ſhall reſtore her opulence, when her commerce has been annihilated, civil war kindled in her colonies, and the precious metals vaniſhed; who ſhall reſtore her internal tranquillity, when diſcord and diſtruſt have been every where ſown, thouſands of citizens maſſacred, property plundered and waſted, and houſes burnt with an impunity that increaſed the cataloguc of crimes, in the midſt of troubles that had been called a happy regeneration; and who ſhall reſtore her external ſafety in a moment when ſhe had neither army nor navy, while the ſurrounding powers who had been her allies, were juſtly exaſperated againſt her. "When France (continues the "proteſt) ſhall make theſe terrible "words reſound from one extremity of the kingdom to the "other; let them whoſe opinions "and whoſe acts we have ever "combated, prepare their anſwer. "Our's will be ſimple. Reproach "not us with theſe calamities; far

† Declaration d'une Partie des Deputés aux Etats Generaux, touchant l'Acte Conſtitutionnel & l'Etat du Royaume, without any title page, dated 31ſt Auguſt.

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" from being the authors of them, " we are the firſt victims. But we " have fulfilled every duty, ſince " we have never ſwerved from our " fidelity to God, to the king, to " the inſtructions which were the " foundation and the rule of our " power." The whole concludes by excepting, in a dignified ſtyle, to the conſtitutional act decreed by the majority, as being deſtructive of all thoſe authorities which it ought not only to reſpect, but to ſtrengthen; thoſe of the church, of the king, and of the nation; as well as againſt all the other decrees of the ſame majority, as being for the moſt part ſupremely unjuſt, and altogether eſſentially null and void. This was ſhortly after ſucceeded by a public addreſs * from 139 of the clergy in the aſſembly to their conſtituents; at the head of the liſt ſtood the cardinal Rochefoucauld, who with many others had not ſigned the proteſt juſt mentioned. The addreſs is a more temperate but not leſs able compoſition. It touches on nearly the ſame topics, but in a more reaſoned manner, better ſuited to the character of that body from which it came. " The baſis of a good govern- " ment," it is ſaid " is public li- " berty. There is an end of liberty, " if the ſame aſſembly dictates the " laws, directs or deſtroys all the " powers of the ſtate, eſtabliſhes the " impoſts, employs the revenues, " and diſpoſes of the armed force " of the whole realm. It is the " cauſe of the people as well as " that of the king: and it is a " remark which may be made on " the hiſtory of France, that the " people and the kings have always " united againſt every authority " that wiſhed to raiſe itſelf on the " ruins of monarchy and of liberty. " This peaceable but conſtant union, " the effects of which were ſtill " more ſure in peace, eſtabliſhed " under Charlemagne, and renewed " by St. Lewis, ſeemed likely to " become everlaſting by the re- " union of the three orders in the " ſtates-general. One ſole aſſem- " bly has deſtroyed all the bonds " which held together kings, " clergy, nobility, and the great " body of the nation." " By the " new conſtitution," it is afterwards obſerved, " a legiſlature had " been eſtabliſhed on the principles " of democracy with relation to the " king, but which formed the moſt " domineering of ariſtocracies with " relation to the people. The " king and the people were no- " thing." Theſe paſſages, and there are many more of a ſimilar tendency, ſeemed to ſpeak ſentiments and intentions in thoſe unfortunate men who have ſince been murdered or exiled, very different from every thing which their enemies and perſecutors have attributed to them: they ſeem to ſhew much ſober and enlightened wiſdom.

The eyes of the whole kingdom and of foreign nations were now turned upon Louis XVI. Many ſtill believed that he would not accept a conſtitution, with the defects of which he had already ſhown himſelf ſo intimately acquainted, though ſome things had been ſlightly improved, and others left open to re-conſideration. But his natural character, his ruling wish to make his people happy in their own mode, his love of his family

* Compte rendu par une Partie des Deputes a leurs Commettans, 1791.

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in preference to himself, and the intrigues and promises of those who governed his ministers, the national assembly, most of the departments, and administrative bodies, the municipality and army of Paris, and divided the affections of the multitude, prevailed over his own deliberate judgment, of which he always had too much diffidence. Three forms of a letter to notify his acceptance, are reported to have been submitted to him. He * chose one, which is generally understood to have been the work of M. Thouret. It is written with much ability, for the purpose of reconciling the king's former objections at the time of his flight, with his acquiescence in the code, as it had been modified in the revision. It avows in his name, that he did not perceive in the means of execution and administration, all the energy necessary to give motion, and preserve unity in all the parts of so vast an empire; but he consents to leave that objection to the test of fair experience, and the remedies provided by the constitution itself. He recommends respect for the laws, the re-establishment of order, and the re-union of all citizens in a general oblivion of the past.

When the letter was received by the assembly, M. la Fayette immediately moved the liberation of all those who had been confined for assisting the king's escape, and that the committee of the constitution should propose the next day a decree of general amnesty. This vote was immediately dispatched to the king, who received it with cordial satisfaction †: he added, with reference to another decree of that morning, by which he and the Dauphin alone were permitted to wear the blue ribbon, that he had never set any other value on that decoration, than as he had the power to communicate it; he should therefore lay it aside, and requested that the assembly might be informed of his resolution.

Sept. 13.

The next day he went down to the assembly, at the hour which he had appointed, amidst the roar of cannon, and the shouts of the people. When he entered the hall, there was a profound silence. He advanced to the chair of state which had been placed for him, and began speaking as he stood, to the assembly, which was also standing. The president sat down, and all the members followed his example. The king perceived it, and hastened to take his seat also. He threw his eyes round the assembly, with a calm steadiness of countenance, and went on with his discourse. It shortly and plainly expressed his solemn acceptance of the constitution, and his oath to execute it faithfully, with a wish for the re-establishment of peace and union, the happiness of the people, and prosperity of the empire. The ancient acclamations of loyalty long forgotten were now again heard. The keeper of the seals, now called minister of justice, put the code into the king's hands, who signed it, and delivered it back again, with a repetition of his acceptance, and engagement for the execution of it. The minister countersigned it, and returned it to the president to be

* See it at length in the Ann. Reg. vol. 33, State Papers, page * 141.

† Code Nationale, tom. 19, page 310, in the note.

deposited

depoſited among the archives. The preſident then addreſſed the king in a ſpeech, which of courſe magnified the labours of the aſſembly, aſſerted the general conſent, and predicted from that period a golden age of happineſs and glory to the people and the king. While the preſident was ſpeaking, a ſcreen unfolded, and diſcovered the queen holding the dauphin in her hand. New applauſes and acclamations reſounded, and interrupted the ſpeaker. When he had done, on the king's riſing, the whole aſſembly roſe with him and attended him to the Thuilleries, with redoubled demonſtrations of joy and triumph.

The aſſembly then paſſed the amneſty which had been promiſed, for all crimes ariſing out of the revolution, and for all military offences ſubſequent to the firſt of June 1789. They alſo added a clauſe to repeal the late penalties impoſed upon the emigrants, declaring, in very remarkable words, that "in conformity with the conſtitution, there ſhall never more be any obſtacle given to the right of every French citizen to travel freely within the kingdom, and to paſs out at pleaſure."

The ſame day they preſented the king with a new territory, in return for his acceptance of their conſtitution. The queſtion reſpecting the union of Avignon with France, has already * been mentioned. It having been then carried in the negative; three commiſſioners however, M. M. Scene-Deſmaiſons, Abbé Mulot, and Verninac Saint-Maure, had been ſent, under a decree of the 25th of May, as mediators to appeaſe the troubles fomented by the French themſelves in that diſtracted country, and put an end to the actual war then raging between the revolutioniſts of Avignon, and the inhabitants of Carpentras, which was the principal town of the Comtat Venaiſſin, an adjacent diſtrict belonging to the Pope. M. Scene-Deſmaiſons gave his account of their proceedings to the aſſembly on the tenth of September, profeſſing to explain faithfully the rights and the miſconduct of all parties. Without entering into any examination of ancient titles, he pronounced the revolution effected in Avignon and the Comtat Venaiſſin, to have been the natural and inevitable conſequence of that in France, or rather the ſame thing. The territory he conſidered as a natural portion of the French territory, which had been ſeparated by ignorance, ſuperſtition, and weakneſs. He ſhortly traced the various ſcenes of confuſion and bloodſhed from the end of Auguſt 1790, the period of the firſt inſurrection at Avignon, down to the arrival of himſelf and his colleagues. He then proceeded to ſtate his execution of the particular charge allotted to him under his miſſion. The fidelity of this narrative will be ſeen from the circumſtance, that he openly defended the character of the well known Jourdan, the headſman †: M. Scene-Deſmaiſons expreſſing great indignation at the calumnies of a profligate and corrupt people, explained the whole ſtory, from Jourdan's own word, to have had no

* See page 136.

† See page 74.

other

other foundation, than that one of the national guards, in the ſhocking ſcenes of October 1789, at Verſailles, had borrowed his ſabre, and returning it all ſtained with blood, had told him that it was the blood of one of the victims of that day. Jourdan himſelf he deſcribed as a coarſe man, of complexional courage and vulgar language, whoſe character, was ſenſibility rather than ferocity. Yet however partial to the imitators of the French revolution at Avignon, the commiſſioner could not avoid many admiſſions of the graveſt kind againſt that faction, eſpecially with regard to the early tranſactions, in which he was not implicated. M. Saint-Maure followed, with a report upon a new diſturbance at Avignon, in the latter end of Auguſt, when M. de Scene-Deſmaiſons was not preſent. He hinted an opinion on the neceſſity of taking Avignon and the Comtat to themſelves, becauſe they were a heap of combuſtibles joined to the French empire. The tranquillity of the ſouthern departments depended on the deciſion of the aſſembly. In concluſion, he confeſſed that himſelf and his colleagues were the objects of what he called calumny and malevolence, very generally among all the better ſort. The commiſſioners, he ſaid, were accuſed of giving themſelves up to the ſpirit of party; but he added, that in the language of ſome men, to be of a party, ſignified to profeſs certain principles, and to love the French conſtitution, which every one of the three adored. Two days after a report was made by M. Menou, from three united committees, to which the aſſembly for a fourth time had referred the ſubject. It was divided into four principal heads: Whether the wiſh for an union, which the commiſſioners had obtained from that country, had been expreſſed freely, ſolemnly, and in a legal manner; whether it was the intereſt of France to accept that union; whether foreign nations would calmly look on; and whether it was the intereſt of the two ſtates to be united to France? The ſolution of theſe points led to the propoſition of a decree for the union. When it was taken into conſideration, on the 14th of September, M. Clermont-Tonnere endeavoured once more to ſupport his opinions, but he was not heard. The vote was paſſed, amidſt the tumultuous approbation of the galleries, and the crowd without caught the cry, "Avignon is our's, Avignon is "our's."

A ſupplement to the conſtitutional code was ſoon after decreed. It related to the legiſlation of the colonies. The deputies from St. Domingo had predicted great miſchiefs and diſtractions in that ſettlement, from the amendment which had been carried by the democratical party in the law of the 15th of May; and in conſequence of its paſſing, they had thought it their duty to withdraw from the aſſembly. In the month of Auguſt, repeated accounts came of thoſe predictions having been too fatally verified. The decree was conſidered by the white inhabitants as contrary to the engagements contained in two former decrees, on the 8th of March, and 12th of October, 1790, by which it was declared that the French conſtitution was not intended for the colonies, and that no plan ſhould be determined with reſpect to them, without

without the previous knowledge of their public wiſhes. Thoſe of the planters and proprietors, who favoured the revolution, and who were much the greateſt number, began to loſe their faith in the national aſſembly, and joined with the oppoſite party, againſt the men of colour. Some were ſuppoſed in their diſguſt to be deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing the ancient government; ſome of following the example of the American ſtates; and others, of putting themſelves directly under the protection of this country. The mulattoes on their ſide gave every poſſible currency to theſe reports, in order to prejudice their adverſaries in the opinion of the mother country. They are ſaid to have ſent over conſiderable ſums of money for the purpoſe of purchaſing or rewarding the ſervices of their partiſans in France *. They maintained a cloſe correſpondence with Gregoire and others of the ſame faction. Emboldened by the ſtrength which theſe intrigues gave their cauſe, they inſiſted on the punctual execution of the late decree. At length they excited the negroes to an open revolt, attended by the moſt afflicting and horrible atrocities. In the mean time the committees, alarmed by repeated diſpatches, repreſenting the dangerous ſtate of the colony, were known to be employed on the reviſion of the former decree. The violent party therefore obtained, about the beginning of September, a petition from the jacobin club at Breſt, in favour of the mulattoes and negroes. It was ſupported by Robeſpierre, who perſonally attacked M. Barnave and the Lameths. He was loudly applauded by his own faction in the aſſembly, and the galleries. M. Barnave ſaid in anſwer, that the club of Breſt had always been a principal fomenter of the diſturbances in the colonies. He obſerved, that oppoſite addreſſes from Rouen, Rennes, and Honfleur had been preſented, but were not ſuffered to be read; and he proceeded to glance at M. Briſſot, as having ſtirred the queſtion in the electoral aſſembly of Paris, when M. Rœderer cried out, that he needed not abuſe M. Briſſot there, he did it ſufficiently every day in the journals. M. Barnave, however, went on; aſſerted that the galleries had been filled that day with perſons brought there to influence the debate, and concluded by ſaying, that he had been a long time obliged to ſtruggle againſt every obſtacle that could be oppoſed by the prejudices of ſome, and the bad faith of others, on a queſtion, which, if care were not taken, would end in the ruin of France. The committees were of his opinion, and a decree in conformity with it was finally adopted. The aſſembly reſerved to Sept. 24th. their ſucceſſors the entire right of external legiſlation, except in regard to the proviſion-trade, which might

* If the authority mentioned by M. Bertrand Moleville can be credited, which perhaps, from the character of the perſon principally concerned, can only be admitted with great caution, Briſſot, about this period, or ſoon after, received from Raimond, one of the mulattoe agents in Paris, no leſs a ſum than 300,000 livres; Condorcet 150,000; the Abbé Gregoire 80,000; and Petion 60,000; Robeſpierre alone refuſed to accept any thing. M. Moleville's Memoirs, vol. 2. page 284.

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be opened, or otherwiſe regulated, in caſes of emergency, by the colonial aſſemblies; but on every other queſtion of commerce or defence, they could only preſent petitions and remonſtrances. The point however which had excited moſt jealouſy, the political condition of the mulattoes and negroes, both ſlaves and freemen, was left excluſively to the colonial aſſemblies, with the ſanction of the king; while all other ſubjects of internal regulation were to be under the legiſlature of the mother country, after having heard the repreſentations of the colonies. Theſe articles, which contained an expreſs repeal of all former laws to the contrary, were made a part of the conſtitution, and as ſuch accepted by the king. On the ſame day the general amneſty, which had been paſſed before, was extended to the colonies.

The court and the majority of the national aſſembly ſeemed to vie with each other in giving every kind of artificial popularity to the conſtitution. The king and queen once more ventured to ſhew themſelves at places of public entertainment, and were received with plaudits by the audience. The aſſembly ordered a ſolemn proclamation of the code, and paſſed various laws to provide for its preſervation, to direct the ceremonial of its future production to the ſucceeding legiſlature, and to guard it with all the impoſing forms which, in their eſtimation, could teach the people to reverence what had no hold on their habitual affections. They were ſenſible, however, of the ſhocks which it might have to encounter. Fearful of the effect which might be produced by the declarations and proteſts of the minority, they enacted, that all who ſhould ſign any ſuch paper, ſhould be incapable of holding any public employ. From the oppoſite quarter they entertained ſtill more ſerious apprehenſions. The jacobin club had carried the elections of Paris, againſt all the intrigues and exertions of the Feuillans, and at the head of the liſt ſtood Briſſot, with his confidential friend Garan de Coulon. Indeed the credit of that ſociety was every day increaſing, and extending itſelf over the whole kingdom, while the leaders of the national aſſembly ſunk as rapidly in the public eſteem; ſo that partly from diſſatisfaction at their conduct, and partly from a natural deſire of novelty, there was now a general wiſh for the termination of the preſent long-protracted ſeſſion. The end of the month therefore was fixed for that important epoch. In the mean time, having run with little impediment through a great variety of buſineſs that remained; having finiſhed what was called the organization of the national guards and the army; re-modelled the regiment of Swiſs guards, and other guards of the king; arranged the police, the proceedings of criminal juſtice, and the inſtitution of juries; ſettled the code of penal law; employed themſelves on that of the law martial; adopted a plan of public education, propoſed by M. Telleyrand Perigord; made ſome proviſion for the payment of the public debts; directed different iſſues of large and ſmall aſſignats; confirmed and granted many penſions; appropriated a ſum for the ſupport of the fine arts; and charged the king, in a ſpecial manner, on the recommendation of the committee of conſtitution, to execute their decrees for raiſing

raiſing a ſtatue and conferring other public honours on the memory of Rouſſeau, they ſpent a conſiderable part of their laſt two ſittings, in debating on meaſures to check the power and influence of the clubs. A long addreſs on the ſubject was drawn up by the committee of conſtitution, and a law paſſed, prohibiting any popular ſocieties from aſſuming a public function, interfering with any branch of the adminiſtration, or ſetting its name to any petition or declaration as a collective body, under the penalty that all the members who ſhould take part in the deliberation, ſhould be ſuſpended from the rights of active citizens, and be rendered incapable of any public employ, during ſix months for ſome offences, and for others during two years. A fine of twelve livres was ſet on ſuch members as might not be active citizens, and of three thouſand on foreigners. This laſt proviſion was probably introduced to lend ſome authority to the cry, which had been encouraged for political purpoſes, that the late commotions in Paris had been excited or fomented by agents of Pruſſia and England. The whole decree, to which was appended the addreſs of the committee, ſhewed at once the ſenſe which the majority entertained of the miſchief done, and likely yet further to be done by thoſe engines of diſtraction, confuſion, and anarchy, as well as of their own weakneſs and inſufficiency to meet the evil with any adequate remedy. Some other points, of inferior importance, were then diſpatched, and more referred to the new legiſlature; when notice was given of the king's approach to cloſe the ſittings of the aſſembly.

Sept. 30th.

He appeared, preceded by a deputation of the national aſſembly, and accompanied by his miniſters, and pronounced a ſpeech, ſuited to the occaſion, in a ſtyle neither too haughty nor too timid. It was received with lively and reiterated applauſe. M. Thouret, the preſident, made a decorous anſwer. The king with his miniſters departed, and the aſſembly put a period to its own exiſtence, by formally declaring its miſſion finiſhed, and its ſittings terminated.

The character of this famous aſſembly, than which none ever more raiſed the expectation, and fixed the attention of Europe, has been variouſly delineated. Many ſtill hold its memory in reſpect, who yet look with horror on the events which have followed in France. In truth, all its firſt proceedings were received with general favour in this country. Bred up in an ardent love of liberty, and too generous to envy others that bleſſing which they themſelves enjoy, the people of England admired whatever came recommended to them by that ſpecious name; and they were the more ready to take this impreſſion, becauſe, in a political view of attaching them more firmly to their own conſtitution, the old government of their rival and enemy France, was always painted to them in the darkeſt colours, as a perfect contraſt to their own limited monarchy. But uſed alſo to ſee liberty connected with public order, they were, perhaps, the firſt nation that learned to form a ſober eſtimate of the French revolution. At this diſtance of time, when, as ſome of the principal actors in thoſe ſcenes have ſince confeſſed, years have brought the experience of ages,

ages *, the impartial hiſtorian can find in it but little to praiſe. Undoubtedly, in aboliſhing every thing, the firſt aſſembly aboliſhed ſome abuſes, which had grown up during the long intermiſſion of the ſtates-general, the ancient guardians of the rights and liberties of the people of France; but it muſt be remembered, that when the ſtates-general once more met, moſt, if not all, of thoſe abuſes, had been quietly ſurrendered, or might have been ſubmitted to an eaſy reformation. The clergy, in general, declared their willingneſs to give up their privilege of exemption from ſome taxes, never ſo unequal as they have been, ſometimes ignorantly, and ſometimes wickedly, deſcribed †; and the nobility in many places had concurred in the ſame liberal ſentiment. The legality of impriſoning the ſubject by lettres de cachet, had been invariably and ſteadily denied by the courts of juſtice; and the king himſelf conſented, that any regulations in that reſpect ſhould be made, which might be thought moſt expedient for the general good. He alſo agreed in a much more important principle, which would have been a ſecurity for every thing: from firſt to laſt he conſtantly profeſſed his conviction ‡ (and as he was uncommonly well verſed in the hiſtory of his kingdom, he could not but have diſtinctly known) that the controul of the public purſe belonged of right to the ſtates-general. Had the chiefs of the aſſembly, in the firſt inſtance, contented themſelves with getting effectual and ſure poſſeſſion of that ſalutary power; had they then practically examined the uſages of former times; had they changed nothing till they had found it upon trial to be incurably unſound, they would have deſerved well of their country, and might ſtill more largely have benefited mankind. They took, however, a contrary courſe. In no one act did they ever turn their eyes towards their ancient conſtitution. They ſeemed, by common conſent, to have renounced their forefathers. They affected to ſet themſelves up as a totally new model of perfection for the imitation of the univerſe; yet differing in their motives, their intentions, their ends, their means, their notions, and their ſpeculations; ſome hurried away by the characteriſtic vivacity of the nation, ſome miſled by vanity, part deceived by the falſe light of a dangerous philoſophy, part ſeeking the gratification of their own ambition, others covering the worſt deſigns under plauſible pretences, they only united to deſtroy. They early entangled themſelves with principles pretended to be drawn from an imaginary ſtate of nature

* See JOHANNOT's report from the committees of public ſafety, general ſecurity, legiſlation, commerce, and finance, December 22d, 1794. Preſident DANOU's ſpeech in the national convention, 10th Auguſt, 1795; and proclamation to the people of France, upon the completion of the conſtitution, 23d Auguſt, 1795.

† See, in page 146, the authority of the aſſembly itſelf on this ſubject.

‡ This is particularly noticed by Mirabeau, in the ſixth reſolve of a motion made by Mirabeau, on the 15th June, 1789. See his eleventh letter to his conſtituents, page 26.

anterior

anterior to civil ſociety; and for their agents and inſtruments, they let looſe from every religious or moral reſtraint, all the moſt ungovernable paſſions of the human breaſt. There was nothing in their demeanour which had the ſemblance of wiſdom: whatever they ſaid, was turgid and declamatory; whatever they did, was oſtentatious and theatrical.

In reviewing their acts, it is impoſſible for an Engliſhman not to throw his eyes back to the hiſtory of his own country in the laſt century. There will be found many circumſtances of ſtrong ſimilarity, between the conduct of the French aſſembly, and our Long Parliament; but the compariſon is in all inſtances to the advantage of the latter. The commons of England, in November 1640, met after much imprudence and much irregularity on the part of the king, who had alſo interrupted the redreſs of many undoubted grievances, by the angry diſſolution of the preceding parliament. Yet even the apologiſts of Charles I. own the tranſactions of the firſt ſeſſion, with the exception of lord Strafford's attainder, to be entitled to praiſe from all lovers of liberty *; and the ſtatutes of that period have remained amidſt all ſubſequent changes, and are ſtill the exiſting law of the land. The reign of Louis the XVI. had been one continued ſeries of conceſſions and favours to his people, yet the commons of France began, in effect, with meaſures which here were only the reſult of long inflammation on both ſides, and an actual civil war. Pym and his aſſociates, gave the thanks of the houſe for a popular petition, which propoſed, "that thoſe noble worthies of the "houſe of peers, who concurred "with the happy votes of the "commons, ſhould ſeparate themſelves from the reſt, and ſit and "vote as one entire body." But without attempting any ſuch alteration, they long ſuffered frequent checks from the peers. It was not till after the forcible expulſion of the majority from the houſe of commons, that the houſe of lords, having rejected the bill for the trial of the king, was voted uſeleſs, with liberty for the peers to become members of the other houſe. The third eſtate in France, poſſeſſing a double number of repreſentatives, ſupported by a prince of the blood at the head of a conſiderable minority among the nobles, and early joined by ſome of the inferior clergy, who had not been admitted to the former ſtates-general †, at once extinguiſhed all the political power and privileges of the two higher orders, by ſtyling themſelves alone the national aſſembly, and inſiſting on the other co-equal branches of the legiſlature ſitting there, where they were certain of being conſtantly outvoted. This was the more glaring, as in the ancient meetings of the ſtates-general, the third eſtate had always been the moſt ſtrenuous for the independence of the three orders, and

* Hume, chapter 54, towards the end.

† The *curés a portion congrue*, as having no direct intereſt, in the nature of a freehold, in the lands of the church, were conſidered formerly as not qualified to elect, or be elected. Their admiſſion is ſaid to have been an innovation of M. Necker's.

positive ordinances and laws on that head had been made at different epochs *, in compliance with their demand.

The next remarkable event, was their celebrated oath on the 20th of June 1789. The king had adjourned their sittings for two days. Notice of this was given by public proclamation, and by a letter from the proper officer of the household to the president †; yet the deputies demanded entrance to the hall, which the workmen were then preparing for the king's reception. Being refused, they went in a sort of public procession, calculated to inflame the people, to a tennis court, and there swore never to separate till the constitution and regeneration of the realm should be established and secured. Thus, by their own authority, they took away the royal prerogative of prorogation or dissolution, and gave to themselves that duration which the long parliament of Charles I. only obtained with the consent of the king, but which (however natural and perhaps inevitable was the demand, after the preceding misconduct of that indiscreet and misguided prince) has been generally considered as the corner-stone of the usurpation which ensued. It is remarkable, that this happened only five days after the great leader of the assembly, Mirabeau, had strenuously argued, on the soundest principles, for the king's prerogative of proroguing or dissolving them, and putting a negative upon all their decrees ‡. He told them that it would be better to live in Constantinople than France, if the king had not a negative. "Nothing," he

* Particularly in 1355, 1560, and 1576. See *Les Principes des Droits des Ordres dans les Etats Généraux, par M. l'archevêque d'Aix*, page 24, 25, 32, 33, 34. In page 33 is to be found, at full length, the petition of the third estate in 1576, for the allowance of that independence as the inviolable usage of the constitution.

† This fact is admitted by Mirabeau, in his 12th letter, page 6. It is stated a little differently by mistake, in our 31st vol. Hist. Art. page 231*.

‡ Mirabeau's speech and reply on the fifteenth of June 1789, when Abbé Syeyes proposed that the commons should call themselves, *the assembly of acknowledged and verified representatives of the French nation*, contained some passages which bear so strong a testimony against the subsequent pretensions and conduct of the assembly, that it is thought right to insert them here in the original.

" Nous proposeroit-en de nous constituer sous quelqu'autre denomination " synonime après tout de celle d'états généraux? *Je demanderai toujours:* " *aurez-vous le sanction du roi? Et pouvez-vous en passer? L'autorité du* " *monarque peut-elle sommeiller un instant?* Ne faut il pas qu'il concoure à " votre decret, ne fût-ce que pour en être lie? & quand on meroit, *contre tous* " *les principes*, que sa sanction fût nécessaire pour rendre obligatoire tout acte " exterieur de cette assemblée, accordera-t-il aux décrets subséquens une sanc- " tion dont on avoue qu'il est impossible de se passer, lorsqu'ils emaneront d'un " mode de constitution qu'il ne voudra pas reconnoître."—11me. Lettre, p. 13.

" Vos mandats, vos cahiers, vous autorisent-ils à vous declarer l'assemblée des " *seuls* représentants connus & vérifiés? et ne dites point que le cas ou vous vous " trouvez, n'a pas été prévu; il l'a trop été, puisque quelques-uns de vos man- " dats, heureusement en très-petit nombre, vous enjoignent de vous retirer, " s'il vous est impossible de parvenir à la délibération en commun, sans qu'il " y en ait un qui vous autorise à vous dire *les seuls représentans connus & vé-* " *rifiés*. Il ne vous suffira donc pas de vous donner ce titre pour l'avoir en effet,

" *ni*

he declared, "could be more terrible than a sovereign aristocracy "of six hundred persons, who to "morrow might render themselves "irremoveable, the next day hereditary, and conclude, like all "aristocratical governments, by "seizing upon every thing." He could only defend the proceedings of the tennis court, by discovering that the assembly was a convention, which he explained to be an English and American term of public law, signifying a body of citizens commissioned to make a constitution; though, in his latter days *, he again denied that assembly to have any such powers.

The royal session, which Louis then held for the purpose of proposing the outline of a settlement, was the very reverse of the rash and ill-advised intrusion which Charles committed, in violation of the undoubted privileges of the commons, when he went to demand the five members. Yet the former raised nearly as great a ferment as the latter. It could not be denied, that in the declaration of the king's intentions, there were some articles truly wise, and of a popular tendency †; but it was objected, that the executive power ought not to originate laws: it was thought a sufficient reason for rejecting at once whatever one of the most gracious of princes offered, that he had talked of conferring benefits on his people.

There were various mutinies among the soldiers, just before the meeting of the long parliament, but the commons when they met, did not shew any countenance to the mutineers. Some of the French guards having refused to obey their officers, were put in confinement. The populace of Paris rose, broke open the prison doors, and carried away the men in triumph. The national assembly, as it had now called itself, sanctioned both the mutiny and the insurrection, by soliciting a pardon from the crown, at the same time, that it insisted on the fresh troops being sent away, which that mutiny had induced the king to collect around him.

The party which brought on the civil war of England, studiously endeavoured to bottom themselves on the constitution of their country, in their memorable remonstrance. The French revolutionists brought forward their declaration of the Rights of Man, for the purpose of raising a ferment and sedition. A committee, in which was M. Mounier, and others of the moderate party, had been appointed to propose an order of proceeding for the

"ni pour qu'on vous en croie legalement revetus. Mais si vous échouez, si le "roi vous refuse sa sanction, si les ordres réclament sans son autorité, *qu'arri-* "*vera-t-il? Dissolution ou prorogation.*"—Ibid. pp. 15 and 16.

"Il répond [M. Barnave] à ce que j'ai dit sur la nécessité de la sanction royale, que lorsque le peuple a parlé, il ne la croit pas nécessaire. Et moi, Mes- "sieurs, je crois le *veto* du roi tellement nécessaire, que j'aimerois mieux vivre à "Constantinople qu'en France, s'il ne l'avoit pas: oui, je le declare, *je ne con-* "*noîtrois rien de plus terrible que l'aristocratie souveraine de six cents personnes* "*que, demain, pourroient se rendre inamovibles*, après demain hérédetaires, & "finiroient, comme les aristocrates de tous les pays du monde, par tout en- "vahir." Ibid. pp. 39 and 40. For his last opinions see above, p. 153.

* Mirabeau's 12th letter, page 8. † Mirabeau's 13th Letter, page 5 and 6.

future diſcuſſion of the conſtitution. On the 9th of July, they made a report, in which they recommended that there ſhould be prefixed a declaration of the Rights of Men, but they expreſsly gave their opinion, that it ſhould be placed as a preamble, and not ſuffered to appear ſeparately *. The latter courſe, they ſaid, "could be of no uſe, and "was full of inconvenience; becauſe "abſtract and philoſophical ideas, if "they were not accompanied with "their conſequences, were liable to "be miſconſtrued and perverted." They inſiſted, therefore, that the preamble of rights ſhould not be definitively voted, till all the conſtitutional act had been ſettled. Yet only two days after, M. la Fayette, moved in the aſſembly, the well-known declaration of the Rights of Man, and the very ſame day ſent it to the electors of Paris, already in great agitation. It was immediately diſperſed over the city in hand-bills, with a ſhort but inflammatory preface, pointing out the *practical* utility of M. la Fayette's motion, in giving new force to theſe principles, by their ſolemn recognition: *becauſe to love liberty, it is enough for a nation to know it; to be free, it is enough for a nation to will it* †.

The power of the ſword was never directly aſſumed by the Engliſh parliament, till, in the hands of Cromwell, it re-modelled the parliament itſelf. It was only by importunities and remonſtrances, that the commons, having prevailed upon the king to diſplace two governors of the Tower, at laſt extorted from him that appointment, for an officer more agreeable to them; and it is well known, that war was made upon the king, in the king's own name. The French aſſembly, in principle, ſeized all the royal fortreſſes from the king, and ſet up the ſtandard of a new army, wholly independant of him, as well as openly encouraged revolt among the troops of the line, when they approved the taking of the Baſtile. The true nature of that enterpriſe is not ſufficiently known. It was not an impulſe of popular rage, whether well or ill directed, againſt an odious priſon; it was a military aſſault upon a hoſtile fortreſs. The evening before, a permanent committee of electors, whoſe only legal authority was to chuſe repreſentatives, but who had met again after the opening of the aſſembly, and erected themſelves into magiſtrates of the city, took upon themſelves, by their reſolutions, to create a body of militia, in the certainty that they ſhould be ſupported by the aſſembly ‡. This armed force was no ſooner actually eſtabliſhed, than

* See page 10 and 11 of *Rapport du Comité, &c. par M. Mounier*, attached to the proceedings of the 9th of July, 1789. vol 1. of the *Proces verbal de l'Aſſemblée des Communes, et de l'Aſſemblée Nationale.*

† See *Proces Verbal des Electeurs de Paris*, tom. 1. p. 166 and 167; and for the hand-bill itſelf, ſee Appendix to the third volume, page 164. The words in the text above marked by Italics, are ſo diſtinguiſhed in the *Proces Verbal.*

‡ See the proceedings at the Hotel de Ville, and the recital of M. Delavigne to that aſſembly, *on the 13th of July*, 1789, page 239 and 247, vol. 1. of the *Proces Verbal des Electeurs de Paris, Rédigé par M. M. Bailly*, and *Duveyrier.* The ſecretary concludes his account with the following obſervation:

"Ce récit a été entendu dans le plus grand ſilence. L'Arrêté pris par "l'aſſemblée

than the Baſtile was attacked, and a regular ſummons ſent by the committee to the governor. The inſtrument is remarkable, and ſhows incontrovertibly the real character of the event *. The ground of it is, that there ought to be no military force in Paris, which was not in the hands of the city: the committee therefore demanded, that their troops ſhould be admitted to guard the place, in concert with the troops of the garriſon, under the orders of the city. It has already been mentioned incidentally, in the courſe of this hiſtory †, that early in the following year, a plan was laid for carrying all the king's fortreſſes in the ſame manner, and ſome murders, accompanied with the ſame ſhocking circumſtances as thoſe of M. de Launay, and his fellow-ſufferers, were in conſequence perpetrated.

The country committees, eſtabliſhed during our civil wars by the houſe of commons, were never reproached for not proſecuting murder, but in two ‡ dubious inſtances never openly diſcuſſed in parliament. Afterwards, the impartial ſeverity with which Cromwell cauſed juſtice to be adminiſtered, was highly laudable, and was in vain called to the notice § of the national aſſembly: indeed it is notorious, that he was anxious to have judges of the greateſt learning and integrity on the bench. The blood that was ſhed at the taking of the Baſtile, and the horrible aſſaſſinations of M. M. Foulon and Berthier, attended with acts of cannibaliſm, were only the beginning of a long catalogue ‖ of barbarities, all which found indemnity, excuſe, and every thing but direct approbation, from the aſſembly. All the judi-

" l'aſſemblée nationale, et *la certitude de ſes réſolutions patriotiques, ont jetté* " *dans tous les cœurs une eſperance nouvelle, un nouveau courage.*" Ibid. page 250.

* The ſtyle of the ſummons ſeems to be of ſo much conſequence to the right underſtanding of this tranſaction, that to obviate all doubts on the fidelity of the repreſentation given above, it is added, from the *Proces Verbal des Electeurs de Paris*, tom. 1. page 318.

" Le comité permanent de la milice Pariſienne, conſidérant *qu'il ne doit y* " *avoir à Paris aucune force militaire qui ne ſoit ſous la main de la ville*, charge " les députés qu'il addreſſe à M. le Marquis Delaunay, commandant de la Baſ- " tille, de lui demander s'il eſt diſpoſé à recevoir dans cette place les troupes de " la milice Pariſienne, qui la garderont de concert avec les troupes qui s'y trouvent " actuellement, et qui ſeront aux ordres de la ville.

" *Fait à l'Hotel de Ville, le* 14 *Juillet*, 1789. Signé à l'original, *Fleſſeles*, " prevôt des marchands, et préſident du comité; *Delavigne*, préſident des elec- " teurs; *Moreau de Saint Mery*, préſident des electeurs; *Legraud de Saint* " *René*, le Marquis *de la Salle*, *Deleutre*, *Boucher*, *Perignon*, *Bancal des Iſſarts*, " *Hyon*, *Chignard*, *Fauchet*, membres du comité."

It may not be amiſs to remark, that throughout the proceedings, the Baſtile is called " the fortreſs," and not the priſon.

† Hiſt. Art. page 96.

‡ Walker's Anarchia Anglicana, 1648, page 6.

§ See above, page 107.

‖ See above, the termination of the enquiry into the crimes committed at Verſailles, on the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, page 75; the reſult of the proceedings reſpecting the ſlaughter of more than three hundred perſons at Niſmes, page 107; and the reference of the petition of Madame Guillin, page 180.

catures of the country were likewiſe deſtroyed upon ſyſtem, though no corruption or miſdemeanour of any kind was found in any of them; and Mirabeau himſelf, who had been the object of more proſecutions than any man, ſpoke with reſpect and praiſe of the purity with which juſtice was adminiſtered by the parliament of Paris.

The ſweeping havock which was made by the famous decree of the 4th of Auguſt 1789, in property, as well as in the diſtinction of ranks common to all the great ſtates of Europe, has no parallel in any thing done by our two houſes in the laſt century. The title of lord was not only continued, but a marked ſolicitude was ſhewn by the commons, to preſerve the pedigrees and records of families. When ſome legal proceſs was iſſued againſt the college of heralds, a particular order was made by the lower houſe, that all the books, monuments, and papers, ſhould be kept from being demoliſhed, defaced, embezzled, or purloined *. Being for the moſt part of a ſect different from the eſtabliſhed church of England, they aboliſhed biſhops and deans, with their chapters, but they never aſſumed an abſolute dominion over all the eccleſiaſtical property in the kingdom. The deprivations inflicted by them, though ſufficiently ſevere, were never ſo numerous as thoſe in France; they were inflicted after the war had reached its height, and only upon political grounds, for refuſal to take the ſolemn league and covenant exacted from all perſons within the power of the parliament. The allowance made to the deprived prieſts was alſo more liberal, and though it was often intercepted by ſimilar frauds, yet thoſe reſpectable men, who had freely ſacrificed their intereſts to their conſciences, did not ſuffer ſuch a direct perſecution of unjuſt violence. In France, the aſſembly perſecuted the miniſters of the religion which they pretended to profeſs; they deviſed an oath contrary to their known tenets, and excluſively applying to them, after they had taken the civic oath generally required of all ſubjects; the penſion aſſigned equally to all, was leſs than what the public or private charity of this country ever thought of allotting for the ſurvivors; and it was kept back from them, not only by fraud, but by force. After the flight, arreſt, and impriſonment of the king, the nobles and prieſts became more than ever the objects of real or affected ſuſpicions, were watched with increaſed jealouſy, and purſued with more inveterate rancour, by the jacobin clubs, in every quarter of the kingdom. A new emigration of the former took place, but the latter, impreſſed by the veneration and affection manifeſted towards them by the majority of their reſpective flocks, ſtill lingered in obſcure retreats, to diſcharge, as far as they could, a duty more imperious, in proportion as it was more perilous. In the provinces of Maine and Anjou, and the adjoining parts of Poitou and Brittany †, ſince the principal ſeat of civil war, the non-conforming clergy were treated with the greateſt harſhneſs. An hundred were ſeized by the troops and national guards, without any accuſation having been lodged againſt them,

* 14th March 1642. Scobel. Ord. p. 7.

† Barruel's Hiſt. of the Clergy, Eng. tranſ. p. 146 to p. 153.

dragged

dragged away amidſt imprecations, raillery, and menaces, to Angers, there, without any inquiry, thrown into priſon, and kept in the cloſeſt and moſt rigorous confinement. At Chateau-Gonthier, ſixty more were ſhut up in the cells of a Benedictine convent. They were ſurrounded by centinels, who had orders to fire, if any of them ſhould appear at the windows. All perſons, who ſhewed any compaſſion for them, were inſulted, and the municipal officers viſited the priſon only to heap freſh outrages upon them. At length, on a report having been ſpread, that the prieſts of Laval had ſet fire to that town, all the ruffians were ready with hatchets to maſſacre the prieſts at Chateau-Gonthier, when fortunately a courier arrived from Laval, and contradicted the report. Fourteen were plunged at one time in the dungeon of Craon, and among them M. Volgerard, a venerable man of exemplary piety, who after an impriſonment of ſix weeks, which had much impaired his health, had been that very ſame day ſet at liberty. At Breſt, ſeventy others, who had been arreſted in different parts of Brittany, and had been in imminent danger of loſing their lives on the road, were crowded into a Carmelite convent. There they were expoſed to be daily reviled and threatened by the populace, the liberated galley-ſlaves, and all the ſcum of the port. The magiſtrates, unable to afford them any protection, petitioned that the priſoners might be removed to a place of greater ſafety: But their petition was rejected through the influence of M. D'Expilly, the new biſhop of Quimper. Even when the general amneſty paſſed, the department of Finiſterre, as it was called, refuſed for a long time to allow the benefit of it to thoſe innocent and oppreſſed men. At laſt, they were releaſed, but not without being obliged to hear a long ſpeech of invective, calumny, and menace. Though the very law under which they had been freed, had declared paſſports to be no longer neceſſary; they were compelled to go and receive thoſe inſtruments at the other extremity of the town, followed and hunted by an unprincipled multitude, from whom they continually expected nothing but immediate death. They did finally eſcape; but an arbitrary ſentence of the department, peremptorily forbade them to return to their homes, their relations, and their friends.

M. Thouret very juſtly conſidered the decree of the 4th of Auguſt, as having fundamentally ſubverted the old fabrick of the French conſtitution; and in the previous tranſactions here enumerated, all which took place within ſix weeks from the time that the aſſembly entered on buſineſs, may be perceived the firſt ſtage of the errors, crimes, and calamities, which formed the ſcaffolding of the new edifice. All the accuſtomed authorities, civil and military, had been vilified, enfeebled, or deſtroyed, all dignities diſgraced, property invaded, uſeful and ſalutary prejudices rudely torn away, principles inculcated on which nothing ſtable could ever be built, and a new armed force created, of which no commander yet appears to have gained the entire confidence and certain controul.

This rapid progreſs of a revolution, which in ſo ſhort a time ſo far outſtripped the march of rebellion

bellion for years in the Engliſh annals, and which truſting little to the incidental aid of circumſtances and events, but raiſing them as it paſſed for a cover and concealment, drove ſtrait forward to the diſtant goal, can only be explained by one conſideration, that the minds of all were but too well prepared, in different manners and degrees, to favour and aſſiſt its career. It is a fact not to be doubted, that there long exiſted in Europe a claſs of men*, who were conſtantly and buſily

* The following account of this literary conſpiracy, might naturally be ſuppoſed to come from an enemy: But it is in ſubſtance the boaſt of Voltaire's favourite pupil Condorcet, of whom his maſter ſaid, that he ſhould feel a conſolation in leaving him upon earth, when himſelf and D'Alembert ſhould die. The whole paſſage is too curious not to be inſerted in the original. The two parts which Abbé Barruel has already publiſhed of his hiſtory of jacobiniſm, are little more than an illuſtration of this text, by quoting the works to which Condorcet alludes. Some facts and details, have however been taken from the Abbé's very accurate developement of the plot.

Extract from "Eſquiſſe d'un Tableau Hiſtorique des Progrès de l'Eſprit Hu-
"main, par Condorcet, 9e époque."

"*Il ſe forma bientôt en Europe, une claſſe d'hommes* moins occupés encore de "découvrir ou d'approfondir la vérité, que de la répandre; qui ſe dévouant à "pourſuivre les préjugés dans les aſiles où le clergé, les écoles, les gouvernment, "les corporations anciennes, les avoient receuillis & protégés, mirent leur gloire "à détruire les erreurs populaires, plutôt qu'a reculer les limites des connoiſ-"ſances; manière indirecte de ſervir leurs progrès, qui n'etoit ni la moins pé-"rilleuſe, ni la moins utile.

"En Angleterre, Collins & Bolinbroke, en France, Bayle, Fontenelle, Voltaire, "Monteſquieu, *& les écoles formeés par ces hommes* combatterent en faveur de "la vérité; employant tour à tour les armes que l'érudition, la philoſophie, "l'eſprit, & le talent d'écrire peuvent fournir à la raiſon; *prenant tous les tons*; "*employant toutes les formes*, depuis la plaiſanterie juſqu'au pathetique, depuis "la compilation la plus ſavante & la plus vaſte, juſqu'au roman & au pamphlet "du jour; *couvrant la vérite d'un voile qui ménageoit les yeux trop foibles, & "laiſoit le plaiſir de la diviner*; careſſant les préjugés avec adreſſe, pour leur "porter des coups plus certains; n'en ménaçent preſque jamais pluſieurs à la "fois, ni même un ſeul tout entier; conſolant quelquefois les ennemis de "raiſon, en *paroiſſant ne vouloir dans la religion qu'une demi-tolerance, dans la "politique qu'une demi-liberté*; *ménageante le deſpotiſme, quand ils combattoient "les abſurdités religieuſes*; *& les culte, quand ils s'élevoient contre le tyran*; *atta-"quant ces deux fleaux, dans leur principe, quand même ils paroiſſoient n'en vou-"loir qu'á des abus révoltans, ou ridicules*; *& frappant ces arbres funeſtes dans "leurs racines, quand ils ſembloient ſe borner à en élaguer quelques branches "égarées*; *tantôt en apprenant aux amis de la liberté que la ſuperſtition qui "couvre le deſpotiſme d'un bouclier impénétrable, eſt la première victime qu'ils "doivent immoler*; *la première chaine qu'ils doivent briſer*; tantôt au contraire, "*la dénonçant aux deſpotes comme la véritable ennemie de leur pouvoir*, & les "effrayent du tableau de ſes hypocrites complots & de ſes fureurs ſanguinaires; "mais ne ſe laſſant jamais de réclamer *l'indepedence de la raiſon, la liberté "d'écrire*, comme le droit & le ſalut genre humain; s'élevant avec une enfa-"tigable énergie contre tous les crimes du *fanatiſme & de la tyrannie*; pour-"ſuivant dans la *religion*, dans *l'adminiſtration*, dans *les mœurs*, dans *les loix*, "tout ce qui portoit le caractère de l'oppreſſion, de la dureté, de la barbarie;

"ordonnant

busily employed in undermining religion, government, morals, manners, and laws. The whole ancient order of things, was in their eyes a confused heap of prejudices, which it was their duty to explode. And they conducted their approaches with no less malignant art than vigour and perseverance. They changed with every fashion, they assumed every shape, they employed every style, from pleasantry to pathos, from vast compilations of learning and science, to sentimental tales, novels, and pamphlets of the day. They wrote under feigned names and descriptions, nor did they scruple direct forgeries in literature. They were careful that more should always be meant than met the eye or the ear, and it was their policy, for fear of exciting general alarm, never to push forward their whole design at once. Whenever they directly attacked what they called one prejudice, they were sure to flatter another; they caressed all by turns, that they might strike at all a surer and more deadly blow. Sometimes they intentionally withheld half their strength, that they might throw their adversaries off their guard, and affected a moderation which they did not feel. Thus to lull good and easy men into a false security, they occasionally professed to desire no more than a half-toleration, and a half-liberty. They paid their court to kings, when they combated against religion under the name of superstition; they spoke with reverence of priests when they rose against monarchy by the name of despotism; they secretly levelled their aim at the principles of both, when they seemed only to be sporting with trifling abuses. They observed a treacherous silence on the consolations of piety, and the security of good government; while they were for ever crying out, with indefatigable exertion, against the crimes of fanaticism and tyranny. They never expressed indignation at the guilt of that wrong and violence, which the safety of society demands to be repressed by punishment; but they censured, in a tone of the most authoritative reprehension, kings, soldiers, priests, and magistrates, for the human blood shed in war, or by the hand of criminal justice. In all their enterprizes their cry of battle was "reason, toleration, "and humanity." Their end was universal demolition; their means were deceit, fraud and falsehood. Beyond the ruin, which they were endeavouring to spread around them, they never looked distinctly forward to any settled plan, which might be substituted, and it was impossible that they should, consistently with the end which they

" ordonnant au nom de la nature *aux rois, aux guerriers, aux prêtres, aux ma-*
" *gistrats* de respecter le sang des hommes; leur reprochant avec une énergique
" révérité, celui que leur politique, ou leur indifférence prodiguoit dans les
" combats ou dans les supplices; prenant enfin pour cri de guerre, *raison*, tolé-
" rance, humanité.

" Telle fut cette philosophie nouvelle, objet de la haine commune de ces
" classes nombreuses, qui n'existent que par les préjugés.—Ses chefs eurent
" presque toujours l'art d'échapper à la vengeance, en s'exposant à la haine;
" *de se cacher à la persécution, en se montrant assez, pour ne rien perdre de leur*
" *gloire.*"

sought,

ſought, and the means which they employed; for the baſis of all civil ſociety muſt be laid in good faith, which cannot ſubſiſt without morals and religion, and without an habitual reverence of both, forerunning reaſon in the multitude, who, by the common lot of man, are doomed to the labour of the body, not of the mind, to lives of action, not of meditation.

Among our own countrymen, Collins and Bolingbroke are reckoned the principal leaders of that claſs; to whom may be added Shafteſbury, who made ridicule the ſole teſt of truth, Hobbes, Chubb, Tindal, Toland, and perhaps ſome others. In France, we are told from the beſt authority, they were Bayle, Fontenelle, Voltaire, and Monteſquieu, with all the more eminent of their followers and rivals.

All who preceded Voltaire, only aimed their ſtrokes more or leſs directly at Chriſtianity, and with reſpect to him, he ſeems literally to have found rebellion in his way, or he would probably never have ſought it. His natural vanity, his temper, his purſuits as a hiſtorian, his ſituation in the lordſhip of Ferney, and his intimacy with Frederic the Great, all conſpired to give him, in the earlier part of his life, a tendency to monarchy. He had then hoped to make kings and princes his inſtruments in cruſhing, according to his impious injunction, that divine teacher, whom he always deſignated by a term of blaſphemous reproach. When he was obliged to publiſh his tracts of infidelity and irreligion at the Hague, about the year 1743, he grew in love with republics. After his quarrel with the king of Pruſſia, in 1753, and his ſubſequent deſpair of obtaining his object from other ſovereigns, he added a hatred of kings. It is probable alſo, that he became more decided in his political opinions, from the fear of being ſurpaſſed by his own diſciples, who began to puſh his principles, beyond what he had gone, to all their extenſive conſequences.

His confidential friends, D'Alembert and Diderot, though fed by the bounty of princes, participated in all his ſentiments. They projected the great French Encyclopedie, for the purpoſe of quietly and inſidiouſly inſtilling their notions into the learning and ſcience of Europe, and at the ſame time of drawing around, and attaching to themſelves, a ſort of literary aſſociation, by the fame and patronage of that immenſe work. They inſtituted alſo a ſecret club for the diffuſion of what they called the new philoſophy. It firſt met about the Year 1764 or 1765, at the houſe of the Baron * Holbach, in Paris, and Voltaire, though abſent, was elected the honorary and perpetual preſident. To conceal their real object, they took the name of œconomiſts, oſtenſibly employing themſelves only on the theories of agriculture, commerce, and finance, but in reality ſpreading over Europe an inundation of books and pamphlets, calculated to impair and overturn religion, morals, and government. As ſoon as the ſale was ſufficient

* See in Abbé Barruel's Memoirs, 1ſt part, page 354, Fr. ed. the penitent confeſſion of M. Le Roi, who had been ſecretary to the club of Holbach; and in page 358 and 359, the letters of Voltaire, in 1763, to his fellow-labourer Helvetius, containing the project of ſuch a ſociety.

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to pay the expences, inferior editions were printed and given away, or sold at a very low price, circulating libraries of them formed, and reading societies instituted. While they constantly denied these productions in the face of the world, they contrived to give them a false celebrity, through their confidential agents and correspondents, who were not themselves always trusted with the entire secret. In this manner they moulded and fashioned public opinion as they pleased, and one principal use which they made of their absolute dominion over taste in letters and politics, was to assist such of their members and friends as were in the rank of statesmen, to acquire credit with the people, and power with the prince. Accordingly, we find that several of the highest ministers in France were of that connexion; D'Argenson, who projected the municipalities, and Turgot, who divided the kingdom into 83 departments, for the equalization of the revenue; M. Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, who after his disgrace destroyed himself; M. Malesherbes and M. Brienne, afterwards the well-known Cardinal de Lomenie. Voltaire himself remarked with exultation on the accession of Louis the XVIth. that all the young king's ministers, with the single exception of M. de Muy, were philosophers * of his sect, and he truly pronounced that state of things to be the commencement of a great revolution.

Another engine of D'Alembert, was a kind of office which he kept to supply all schools with teachers, by which means he got into his hands a great part of the education of the children throughout the kingdom. Louis the XVth. was besieged for years, by the professors of the new philosophy, and the œconomists, with unceasing intrigues and importunities, that he would found schools in every parish, under lay persons; but M. Bertins †, the keeper of the privy purse, undeceived his royal master, who was frequently heard to express, with great emotion, a curiosity to know how his successor would extricate himself from the snares which would beset his throne. Perhaps too it may not be impertinent to observe here, that in the old established schools, under the French ecclesiastics, there had long prevailed an usage, which had a tendency to familiarize young minds with republican notions; the boys, according to their seniority and proficiency, were honoured with the different titles of magistracy in ancient Rome.

Independently of baron Holbach's club, there was also a school of political œconomists, which began with Dequesnai, a physician and favourite of Louis XVth. They too were generally tainted with the doctrines of irreligion, and they were the more dangerous, as they only touched upon these topics collaterally, and with something of apparent moderation.

The great, and in many respects the well-deserved reputation of Montesquieu, made the enemies of

* Letters to the king of Prussia, 3d August 1775. M. de Muy, mentioned above, lived but a short time after his appointment.

† See M. Bertin's account of his conversations with Louis the XV. and the evidence which he himself collected, Abbé Barruel's Mem. 1st part, page 343, &c.

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the Chriſtian faith very deſirous * of adorning their confederacy with his name. He no where openly attacks Chriſtianity, he ſpeaks of it always with decency, and occaſionally with diſtinguiſhed praiſe. Yet ſome paſſages certainly have eſcaped him, which may be conſtrued to the prejudice of revealed religion, but in which he declared with his dying breath, that he was conſcious of having ſacrificed too much to the love of novelty and ſingularity, and the fear of thoſe who were able to give or withhold renown. In his political creed, he held one maxim which ought to be deeply engraven on the mind of every man who touches public affairs; and which, had it been regarded, would have ſpared his country much calamity: it was, that "*mankind would better find their account in a mean, than in extremes.*" As a practical government, he warmly admired what he underſtood to be the Engliſh conſtitution; he preferred it in many parts to moſt of the ancient republics, and in one very eſſential part, to that of Rome, to which he might naturally be ſuppoſed to have been moſt attached; he ſaw in it, and explicitly declared that he ſaw, the neceſſity of a monarch in a great ſtate. He entangled himſelf notwithſtanding in theory, and in conſequence of that error, has perhaps done more injury than any man, both to our country and his own. Inſtead of tracing the fact of the Engliſh conſtitution, from records and uſages, and thence drawing his concluſions, he ſets out, in his celebrated chapter on this ſubject, with a ſpeculative diſtribution of power, ſuch as he thought eſſential to a perfect form of government; and to that he

* D'Alembert himſelf tells us that he quoted to Voltaire the example of Monteſquieu, to ſatisfy him that a philoſopher on his death-bed, might receive the ſacrament with reverence. It is in his letter of July 1778 to the king of Pruſſia, printed among the poſthumous works of Frederic. The whole is well worth reading. He had before, in a ſhort letter, given the king a general account of the event, of Voltaire's confeſſion of faith, the refuſal of Chriſtian burial to his body in Paris, and the joy of the fanatics, as he terms them, on the circumſtances of his death; without a ſyllable about the conſtancy and tranquillity of the deceaſed. The king, in a letter which is ſuppreſſed, deſired to know the particulars. In anſwer, M. D'Alembert ſends a laboured narrative, evidently intended to gloſs over what very plainly appears to the ſame general effect with the account given by Abbé Barruel in the 1ſt part of his Memoirs. It is confeſſed by M. D'Alembert, that Voltaire had, though the writer profeſſes not to know why, a great averſion to being buried in unconſecrated ground, and that in his confeſſion of faith, which he wrote with his own hand, and which is inſerted at length by Abbé Barruel, he went further than his friends and relations approved. If we can believe him, Voltaire, from the uſe of opium, was quite delirious from the end of April to his death on the 30th of May; except when he uſed two ſhort and equivocal phraſes, which M. D'Alembert interprets in his own way. But in all that time, there is no direct mention of more than one viſit from the clergyman of his pariſh, and that on the day of his death; yet in a poſtſcript, the fact peeps out, that there were many more viſits, of which M. D'Alembert ſpecifies nothing; and that in one of them, the ſick man gave 25 louis d'ors to be diſtributed in alms among the poor of the pariſh. It is ſtated alſo, that his nephew went to fetch the prieſt on the day of his death.

adapts

adapts his panegyric on our "beautiful ſyſtem," with more regard, in many * obvious inſtances, to his own favourite poſition, than to the truth; while in reality the excellence of our government, conſiſts in nothing more than in not being what he repreſents it to be, and in preſerving the unity of the kingly power, which pervades every part, but in every part is ſubjected to effectual checks and limitations. He intimates, at the ſame time, that we do not actually enjoy that liberty which, according to his conception of our laws, we ought, and ſhows himſelf fully aware, that his eulogies on our ſuppoſed form of government could not but operate to diſcredit that of France. Nor is this all: Throughout his book, he is perpetually throwing forth elementary propoſitions, which he feebly attempts to circumſcribe and bound, but which fairly lead to conſequences much beyond what he avowedly draws from them.

The advantage which he had thus left open, was ſeized by Rouſſeau. The baron ſprung from the nobility of the robe, and himſelf filling a high office in the law, would have ſaved his own order, and the magiſtracy to which he belonged, from the reſult of his own ſpeculations. The citizen of Geneva, born in a low ſtation, and bred an artiſan, felt nothing to reſtrain him from going to the utmoſt extent of the principle. The former was guarded and plauſible, the latter was bold and powerful. Triflingly ſuperſtitious, yet braving his Maker† and Judge with a profligate diſplay of his guilt; a devout communicant‡ of the Proteſtant church, yet an unbeliever; denouncing death itſelf to atheiſts, connecting himſelf with the chiefs of the atheiſts, writing his Eloiſa for the purpoſe of reconciling them with the deiſts, then quarrelling with his aſſociates, becauſe they wanted him to employ his pen againſt the exiſtence of a God §, which after all he profeſſed to doubt, flying from them to a diſtant retreat in a fit of terror and deſpondency, again ſeeking to be received by them, and throughout, promoting their grand ſcheme of deſtruction; temperate and ſober-

* It may be proper to give an example. Monteſquieu lays it down as a firſt principle, that "the judiciary power ought never to be given to a ſtanding "ſenate," and alſo, that "in criminal caſes, the accuſed ought always to be "judged by his peers." He, *therefore*, takes not the leaſt notice of bills of pains and penalties, and bills of attainder, nor of impeachments before the lords, except againſt miniſters, though charges may be preferred in that court againſt all commoners, for all high crimes and miſdemeanours puniſhable with fine, impriſonment, and even baniſhment, and have been actually preferred for capital crimes. The judiciary power exerciſed by that ſtanding ſenate, is in fact the great conſtitutional ſecurity for the due exerciſe of all other judiciary power, by judges and juries; and there is a ſtanding committee of the houſe of commons, to inquire into the conduct of the courts of juſtice.

† See his own Confeſſions.

‡ D'Alembert's Letters to Voltaire. Letter 105, A. D. 1762.

§ There are ſome new, curious, and authentic documents, in a note to *M. Audainel's Denonciation aux François Catholiques*, page 21. The firſt part of that pamphlet contains a very conciſe but able and ſpirited account of Voltaire's conſpiracy, to the ſame effect with Abbé Barruel's more complete inquiry.

minded in all his political counſels, which looked towards practice, yet in all his theories, for ever aſcending beyond the foundation of civil ſociety; loving the arts and ſciences, living by them, yet libelling them all his life, from the accidental circumſtance of having once gained a prize by taking that ſide of the queſtion for the ſake of ſingularity; chooſing always to exhibit the romantic and extravagant in morals and manners, for no better reaſon* than that the marvellous and preternatural in machinery had been exhauſted; with a heart full even of morbid ſenſibility, yet hardened to the baſeſt and moſt unfeeling crimes; the vaineſt of mankind, yet affecting to live in the moſt ſecluded obſcurity; this extraordinary man delighted in paradoxes, and was himſelf, from his birth to his death, one continued paradox. His ſtyle was wonderfully faſhioned for popular effect, lending to ſophiſtry an air of gravity and importance, intereſting the heart with a warm and impaſſioned but vicious eloquence, and debauching it with ſpecious and ſeductive but abuſed ſentiment. He had altogether a vaſt, mighty, and irregular mind, with all that pregnancy of genius, which is moſt nearly allied to madneſs. Whether, as he tells us in his preface, he had long before thrown down his thoughts upon paper, with a view to the little republic of his native country, and afterwards prepared them for the preſs, or whether he was ſtimulated by the glory of Monteſquieu to enter into the liſts with him, he reſolved, in his Social Contract, to mount above the Spirit of Laws. He begins by aſſerting, that men, though born free, are every where in bondage; he expreſsly pronounces Engliſhmen, except at the moment of a general election, *to be ſlaves, to be nothing*. He ſeems to tolerate all conſtitutions, yet contends for principles on which none ever did, or ever could ſtand; and he concludes by proſcribing all public eſtabliſhment of divine worſhip.

The lovers of wit and polite literature were caught by Voltaire; the men of ſcience were perverted, and children corrupted in the firſt rudiments of learning by D'Alembert and Diderot; ſtronger appetites were fed by the ſecret club of baron Holbach; the imaginations of the higher orders were ſet dangerouſly afloat by Monteſquieu; and the multitude of all ranks was ſurpriſed, confounded, and hurried away by Rouſſeau. There were many mutual contradictions and many ſelf-inconſiſtencies to be found in their productions: ſuch defects and miſcarriages, however, are uſually diſregarded in thoſe who attack; they are fatal to thoſe who defend.

The deſigns of theſe public diſturbers were ſure of receiving a degree of collateral ſupport from different bodies of men, who, though altogether unconnected with them, were from their circumſtances naturally diſpoſed to ſome particular innovations.

The Janſeniſts could not be ſuppoſed averſe from ſuch a change in the conſtitution of the church, as would eſtabliſh their tenets. They had alſo found active aſſiſtance

* He declared this to a perſon of eminence in this country, when he came here with Hume.

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from the school of the new philosophy, against their old adversaries the Jesuits; and after the extinction of this latter order, their religious zeal, no longer fanned by contention, gradually cooled. M. Camus, who took a very prominent part in the measures of the national assembly, and above all in those relative to the church, was the leader of the Jansenists.

The Jews were numerous and rich in some parts of France, especially in Alsace and Lorraine, where a considerable part of the landed property was mortgaged to them. Little esteemed as they are in most Christian countries, they were ready to favour any alteration, because they saw in it only a chance of improving their condition. They were therefore early taken up by the demagogues of France, as they were later by those of England, during our troubles in the time of Charles Ist. and the bishop of Autun became their protector in that country, as Hugh Peters was in this *.

The Calvinistical protestants of the South, formed a still more important strength. They had formerly put the kingdom itself to the hazard, in obstinate and bloody civil wars. The discipline of their church has always been supposed, and clearly must tend, to incline them to a republican form of government. Nor must it be dissembled that, from whatever reason, the mass of protestant dissenters throughout Europe has been infected, in more than just proportion to their numbers, with the new doctrines. Voltaire early courted those of France, by taking up the cause of the unfortunate Calas; and from a policy which had in it no real kindness for them, he had used all his influence to get them a complete toleration, twenty years before the revolution. This was at last done by his scholar M. de Brienne, during his short administration in 1788. The part which was taken by their chiefs in the assembly, Barnave and Rabaud St. Etienne, and the calamitous history of Nismes, have been sufficiently detailed.

There was besides a secret force, which was dispersed over all France. These were the elect of certain new orders introduced by the French into free masonry, which having some centuries ago been transplanted from France into England †, and having long flourished here as a brotherhood of real benevolence, or at least of innocent conviviality, is said to have been carried back to the continent, by the adherents to the unfortunate house of Stuart. Out of two hundred and eighty-nine lodges in France, there were, in 1784, only twenty-three which kept to the simplicity of their original institution; the other two

* Walker's Anarchia Anglicana, part 2. page 60.

† It is so stated in a very curious paper on the subject, written by our Henry the VIth. who seems to have been a brother, and preserved by Leland the antiquarian, at the command of Henry VIII. See An. Reg. vol. xv. for 1772. Selections, page 141. This most authentic document of antiquity, seems wholly to have escaped the researches both of Abbé Barruel and Professor Robison. By "*Peter Cowre, the Grecian,*" there mentioned, is evidently meant *Pythagoras*, according to the pronounciation of his French name *Pythagore*; and the *Venetians* seem to be confounded with the *Phenicians*.

hundred and ſixty-ſix had been remodelled, and were united under the name of the *grand Orient* *.

In the interior maſonry of this ſyſtem, the cuſtomary words and ſigns of the craft underwent a different explanation, and were all turned againſt the altar and the throne. The principal members in Paris were, the duke de la Rochefoucault, his preceptor Condorcet, Abbé Syeyes, Mirabeau, La Fayette, the biſhop of Autun, Petion, and other leaders of the revolution: The duke of Orleans was grand maſter. Some of the ſpeeches officially made to theſe lodges by brother orators (the moſt diſtinguiſhed of whom were Mirabeau and Robinet, a diſciple of Voltaire's ſchool) have been printed; they are filled with the ſame principles and language with which the national aſſembly afterwards reſounded. The connexion of this fraternity with the events of the revolution, was early manifeſted. When, after the taking of the Baſtile, Louis was adviſed to make a public entry into Paris, they for the firſt time openly performed one of their ſolemn ceremonies in the face of day: on his alighting from his carriage at the manſion houſe, thouſands of drawn ſwords were croſſed over his head, and he paſſed under them to the top of the ſtair-caſe, where he was met by M. Bailly, the mayor. This is known to be the higheſt honour of maſonry, and is called the *Arch of ſteel* †; but whether the compliment was paid to the king, or to ſome of the ſuperior maſons who attended him, has been juſtly doubted.

Literature, in France, was eſtabliſhed as a diſtinct and known profeſſion. From the univerſal prevalence of their language throughout Europe, the men of letters ranked higher, and were much more ‡ numerous there, than in other countries. The majority of them followed, as to acquire fame or emolument they ever muſt, the faſhion of the day; very few indeed could aſpire to give their own direction to public taſte: each of courſe copied, as well as he was able, that reigning model which was moſt congenial to his own qualifications. But Rouſſeau had moſt imitators, as in him was leſs of learning, and his popular excellencies were of a kind which could be moſt nearly reached by a warm imagination, quick feeling, and a natural rhetorick. Some little time before the revolution, their long impunity and increaſing credit gave them freſh confidence; their publications became more daring, and Condorcet thought it a fit ſeaſon to remove the veil with which his maſter had for years covered his machinations: he printed, in 1785, Voltaire's private correſpondence with the members of the club at baron Holbach's, and his other confidential friends and fellow labourers in the cauſe of impiety, licentiouſneſs, and rebellion. Afterwards, when the revolution in its

* See Abbé Barruel's Memoirs, part 2. chap. 8, 9, 10, 11; and ſee alſo, more particularly, Profeſſor Robiſon's Proofs of a Conſpiracy, chap. 4.

† See M. Montjoye's l'Ami du Roi, ou Hiſtoire de la Révolution de France, &c. quatrieme partie, page 40. The fact could alſo be proved from unqueſtionable private authority. Profeſſor Robiſon, page 387, mentions another fact of the ſame kind, unleſs it be a miſtake of the occaſion.

‡ See An. Reg. vol. xxxii. 1790, Hiſt. Art. p. 10 and 11.

outſet

outset took off every restriction from the press, there was not a writer who did not apply all his talents to politics. News-papers sprang up every day, with a fecundity never known in any other country. There was hardly a member of note in the assembly, who was not concerned in one or more of them, and France became for a period an empire of journalists, who poured forth, without reserve, the undisguised result of all which had been taught with so much management by the first corrupters of public opinion.

The leading notions of the three great parties, into which the revolutionists of the national assembly may be divided, can be generally traced to some or other of the authorities which have been named. The moderate party, which, under Mounier, was suffered to have considerable sway at the beginning, consisted of well-intentioned but weak theorists, who were advocates for two instead of three chambers in the states-general, and professed to be warm admirers of the English constitution. These seem not to have carried their views beyond Montesquieu. They were used to put the revolution in motion, and then broken to pieces, and driven away with scorn and derision.

The bulk of the assembly, comprehending all those who, though from jealousy and envy they at times quarrelled among themselves for the pre-eminence, yet concurred on the whole in the outline of the constitution, adopted the sentiments of the philosophical cabal, which formed what might be denominated the aristocracy of French literature. Like Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Diderot, they frequently railed in unmeasured terms at monarchs as tyrants, and at monarchy as tyranny in its very essence: yet at the bottom they were, perhaps, not so desirous to annihilate kings, as to get a permanent controul and dominion over them. Their principles, fairly pursued, would have led them any length; but they felt the doubt of the rich Helvetius, and they settled it by his compromise, that "a "king ought to be nothing but the "first clerk of the nation. *" This was the exact description of their monarchy. In the details of their constitution, where Voltaire and his immediate associates deserted them, they chiefly borrowed from the refinements of Montesquieu; they professed indeed to keep in view the English and American constitutions, but it was only to hold them forth as foils to their own intended master-piece of political architecture; and for their ground-plot, they took those metaphysical opinions, which were common to all the revolutionists of France, but upon the application of which, they were so often at variance with each other and themselves. With regard to the church, the track of their policy was the same which had been marked out by D'Alembert, "to destroy the "orthodox Catholics by the Jan-"senists, then to destroy the Janse-"nists by means of the Protestants, "and an universal toleration; to "introduce the marriage of the

* "S'il nous faut absolument des Rois, au moins faut-il nous souvenir qu'un Roi ne devroit être autre chose que le *premier commis de sa nation*." "Helvet. de l'Homme."

" clergy, aboliſh confeſſion, and " cruſh the chriſtian religion before " its danger was perceived *." The ſcholars muſt be preſumed to have known their own maſter. Voltaire was the next after Mirabeau, whoſe aſhes the majority thought worthy of being depoſited in the new Pantheon, whither they were brought with a triumph as indecent as his funeral had been ignominious.

The third party, comparatively ſmall, but energetic, was that to which Roberſpierre belonged. He was from the firſt, like Rouſſeau, whoſe writings he diligently ſtudied and perpetually cited, a deiſtical republican. If he ever ſeemed to compromiſe any thing, it was from that waywardneſs, with which his connexions complained that he forever threw himſelf acroſs their meaſures, or the perſonal timidity to which they imputed his retirement, in every critical effort of hazardous violence. Petion and Buzot were more ſure and ſteady, though leſs working and pertinacious. That party had no fixed plan of any thing deſerving the name of a conſtitution: with them, the many were all in all, and could not diveſt themſelves for a ſingle hour of the ſovereignty, or of the right to exerciſe it according to mere arbitrary will and pleaſure. They had the ſame advantage over their competitors for popularity, that Rouſſeau had over Monteſquieu; they were always ready to puſh on their common principles to all the conſequences, of which the others ſtopped ſhort. Accordingly, we have ſeen them frequently extort points conformable with the poſitions of Rouſſeau, which the leaders of the majority have thought incompatible with their conſtitution; and they particularly gloried in the ſtatue and other public honours decreed to the memory of their teacher and guide.

The duke of Orleans, having little comparative influence within the aſſembly, but actuating, and actuated by, a numerous faction of the moſt deſperate kind abroad, ſaw no ſcope for his ambition, without the deſtruction of the monarch and the preſervation of ſome ſort of monarchy. The firſt was indiſpenſable to his views; of the ſecond his ſituation compelled him to take the chance. He had for his inſtruments, all over the kingdom, the elect of the interior maſonry, who, on their admiſſion, are ſaid to be proved by trials that outrage human nature; in Paris, by his hired emiſſaries, he commanded a mutinous ſoldiery, whom he had corrupted at an enormous expence; he kept in pay the moſt ſeditious of the ſtreet-haranguers, and the moſt profligate of the writers; and he cheaply bought, when occaſion required it, the moſt turbulent of the populace. With the aſſiſtance of all theſe, by applauſes and hiſſes from the galleries, by tumults at the doors of the aſſembly, by riots at the palace, he from time to time overawed the government, and ſtifled whatever might have been otherwiſe faintly heard, of decency, virtue or wiſdom, in the legiſlative body. His anarchical power might at more than one juncture have been cruſhed, had not they who ſaw it levelled at themſelves as well as their prince, been implicated in practices of a ſimilar kind,

* D'Alembert's Letters to Voltaire, Letter 100.

though

though leſs atrocious in degree. They threw a veil over his treaſons, becauſe they did not like an enquiry into their own. They could not puniſh the prophane lectures and irreverent exhibitions of his hirelings, becauſe they were themſelves ſilently ſapping the foundation of the chriſtian religion. Nor could they expreſs abhorrence at that total depravation of morals and manners, which his faction was carrying to its height, in all modes and by all ways, becauſe they themſelves held up to reſpect and honour, men who for years had notoriouſly employed the ſame horrible engine of evil. The great maſs of the peaſantry, from their more pious habits, and the circumſtances of their condition, eſcaped with ſlighter contamination, but it deeply tainted all the young and active minds in the cities and great towns; nor has there been any thing in the whole courſe of the revolution, which has done ſuch laſting, if not incurable injury, as the licentiouſneſs ſo ſyſtematically communicated. Whatever ravage is made in the natural world may be ſoon repaired; in the moral world the good and laudable habits of a people are the growth of ages.

The diſtance of the colonies did not ſave them from the infection, which there operated, in a manner, if poſſible, ſtill more afflicting, as it more generally met with uncivilized and ſavage natures. While the aſſembly was conſidering how laws ſhould in future be made for Saint Domingo, that valuable poſſeſſion was exhibiting the moſt hideous caricature of the revolution in the mother-country. Two of the mulatto deputies to the aſſembly, Fleury and Hirondelle Viard, having clandeſtinely returned to the iſland after the inſurrection of Ogé, imported thither all the artifices uſed by the demagogues of Paris. They diſtributed libels and incendiary publications of every kind, and provided perſons to read them in private meetings of the ſlaves, who could not read; all was ſummed up in one favourite expreſſion from Roberſpierre, "*periſh the colonies, "rather than one of our principles.*" More immediately to excite them to open revolt againſt their maſters, the king's name was employed, as it before had been in France * to inflame the populace and the peaſantry againſt the nobles and prieſts, but eſpecially againſt the former. It was induſtriouſly diſſeminated, that the king had given liberty to the negroes through the influence of Abbé Gregoire; but that the white coloniſts withheld the boon which had thus been granted to them. Gregoire was in conſequence conſidered by them as their patron, and by a pleaſant miſtake, ſome of them, in honour of him, wore leaden medals repreſenting the Catholic Saint of the ſame name. The revolt broke out on the night between the 22d and 23d of Auguſt, and was marked in its commencement with the ſame ingratitude, which too often enhanced the guilt of bloodſhed in the mother-country. The firſt perſon of any diſtinction who fell, was M. Odeluc, member of the general aſſembly, and the attorney of M. Galifet's eſtates, on all which the treatment of the ſlaves had been ſo eminently mild, humane, and paternal, that it was at the Cape a

* Ann. Reg. vol. xxxii. 1790. Hiſt. Art. page 15.

proverbial mode of expreſſing any man's happineſs, to ſay, that he was as happy as one of Galifet's negroes. Among his aſſaſſins, M. Odeluc perceived his coachman: "I "have ever treated you with kind-"neſs," ſaid he, "why do you "ſeek my death?" "true" replied the hardened wretch, "but I have "promiſed to cut your throat;" and inſtantly the whole gang of ſlaves ruſhed in, and murdered their benefactor. About twenty white perſons, nearly all preſent, periſhed with him. Another principal place where the inſurrection appeared at the ſame time, was the plantation of M. Flaville. The attorney who reſided there owed his death, and the colonies attributed all their miſeries, to his gentle and merciful diſpoſition. About eight days before, a negro had been detected in ſetting fire to an out-building belonging to M. Chabaud; the man, on his examination, gave intelligence of a plot for a general conflagration and maſſacre, and pointed out, as principal ring-leaders, four negroes of M. Flaville's. Acquainted with this charge, the attorney had ſo much confidence in the attachment which he had deſerved from thoſe under his management, that he aſſembled them, told them of the accuſation and his own diſbelief, urged the enormity of ſuch a crime, and offered his own head as an atonement, if he had injured any of them. With one voice they anſwered that the ſtory was a groſs calumny, and ſwore aloud inviolable fidelity to him. They now kept their oath, by burſting into the bed-chambers of his family, murdering five, and him among them, in the preſence of his wife, who on her knees in vain implored mercy for him, and who then, in mockery of her ſorrow, was informed that ſhe and her daughters ſhould be ſpared, to ſerve their pleaſures. Theſe particulars were related by a youth of ſixteen, the only male who eſcaped alive, though with two wounds. The murderers then, throwing down their weapons, took torches, and ſoon every thing on the ſpot was in a blaze. It was the appointed ſignal. All the neighbouring gangs inſtantly ſtarted to arms. Wherever were any white inhabitants, there were ſo many victims immolated. Men, women, the young and the old, expired indiſcriminately under the unrelenting fury of the aſſaſſins. Troops marched from the Cape, but finding the numbers continually increaſe againſt them, and receiving a feigned ſubmiſſion from one camp againſt which their artillery was pointed, they returned to the town for a reinforcement. The revolters availed themſelves of the interval, to fill up the meaſure of their devaſtation. The communication with the town was interrupted. The flames gained ground on all ſides. The adjacent diſtricts preſented to the view nothing but heaps of aſhes and mangled carcaſes. The governor and the general aſſembly knew not how to act; they had in the town but 3,000 men at moſt, to keep in check 15,000 black inmates ready to follow the example of thoſe without, and many ill-diſpoſed mulattoes and Europeans. It was not for a conſiderable ſpace of time that they dared to ſend out troops, and then only two ſmall parties, which however, having formed a junction with ſome planters and others who had taken up arms

in their defence, gained several important advantages over the insurgents, though they could not wholly subdue them. Meanwhile the negro force had increased to 100,000 men, who, beaten in one quarter, spread themselves into another, till they had filled with carnage and desolation much the greater part of the northern province. The false use which had been made of the king's name, saved the lives of one or two persons who were in his service. But that circumstance has since been applied to furnish an insinuation against the royalists, as if they, meaning by such a hazardous fiction to serve their own party, would have given the credit of the king's supposed grace to their bitter enemy, the Abbé Gregoire! There was not a word glancing at any connexion with the royal cause, in the examinations and confessions of the murderers who were taken and brought to justice. They pointed * more truly to the real source of the mischief: "he was not," said the prisoners, "a bad or a cruel man; we killed him for the sake of the nation. They have laboured in France to give us freedom."

The crimes committed in this struggle for the French rights of man, are shocking in the recital, but they are due, as a dreadful lesson, to the world and posterity.

M. Blin, an officer of police, was † nailed to a gate, and his limbs lopped away one by one. M. Robert, the carpenter of M. Galifet's plantation, was tied between two planks, and deliberately sawn asunder. Many planters were bound to green trees, and in that situation burnt alive; others were flead alive to make drumheads of their skins. Infants were commonly slaughtered before the eyes and clinging to the bosoms of their mothers, and a white child impaled on a stake, served the murderers of M. Odeluc for a standard. One of the rebel chiefs, is reported to have had the throats of several prisoners cut in his presence, that he might drink their blood fresh and reeking. Another carried about with him fifty white women, whom he subjected by force to brutalities, which no narrative of these abominable scenes has found words to describe, or even to intimate with any precision: We can guess only from that which has not been thought too bad to be disclosed. In some instances, we are told that an affectionate wife was stretched on the mangled body of a beloved husband, and there violated by the slave whom his murdered master had most distinguished by kindness. On other occasions, a tender father, bound hand and foot, was condemned to behold his

* Memoire sur la Situation de Saint Domingue, a l'Epoque de Jan. 1792, page 23. This publication is signed by M. Cormier, who had been deputy from the colonies in the first assembly.

† This circumstance is taken from the Mot de Verite, page 5, published at Paris, in December 1791, by M. Baillio, who was just then arrived from St. Domingo. The rest of this hideous catalogue is from a speech of the deputies sent purposely from St. Domingo, at the bar of the national assembly, 30th November; and M. Cormier's Memoir quoted above. Mr. Edwards relates many of the same facts in his 6th chapter, and tells us, page 88, that he had some of them from an eye witness.

daughters deflowered; who in their turn, amidſt the lamentations of their own ſufferings and diſgrace, were compelled to ſee him expire in torture, and were then butchered upon his bleeding remains. Many women, having provoked death by reſiſtance, ſatisfied with their fleſh the cannibal appetites of the inhuman wretches whoſe luſt they had defrauded.

Nor did the ferocity of their natures, ſtimulated as they were by the new principles, ſhew itſelf only againſt thoſe whom they conſidered as their enemies, but againſt their confederates, their countrymen, and kindred. Such of their own race as declined joining in their exceſſes, they frequently ſeized and roaſted by the next fire. They were ſometimes ſeen placing in the front of the battle old men, women, and infants, to parry the firſt ſhock of their adverſaries. When they were in want of ſurgeons, they confined their wounded in a hut, and ſet it on fire. Their different chiefs were always at bitter enmity with each other; they commanded ſo many parties, always ready for mutual deſtruction; they exerciſed over their followers an abſolute deſpotiſm and unparalleled tyranny; their claims to ſuperiority, were outrages of nature: beſide many inſtances of mulatto children having aſſaſſinated their fathers, it is related of a negro general, that having killed with his own hand, not only his maſter, but his own father, his brothers, his wife, and his children, he preſented the dead bodies to his accomplices, as the proofs of his courage, and his titles to their confidence.

Before the period when the national aſſembly diſſolved itſelf, authentic information had been received by the government of St. Domingo, that property had been deſtroyed to the amount of more than twenty-five millions ſterling; above two thouſand white inhabitants had periſhed miſerably; and at leaſt fifteen thouſand of the inſurgents themſelves had fallen, leſs by the deſpair to which they had driven the coloniſts, than by their own internal jealouſies, and the barbarity of the leaders whom they had choſen. It is a melancholy fact, that the ſlaves who had been moſt kindly treated by their maſters, were generally obſerved to be the very foul of this no leſs perfidious than bloody inſurrection. Yet, for the honour of human nature, it * ſhould be alſo known, that ſome were found, who, at the riſk of their lives, rejected with diſdain all attempts to ſeduce them, and that their integrity was rewarded as it deſerved, by liberty conferred with the moſt public and honourable ſolemnity.

Unfortunately for the ſubſequent ſettlement of peace in the colony, ſome troops of the mulattoes, who had notoriouſly favoured the negroes, extorted from the diſmay and diſtreſs of the coloniſts, an agreement, in which they were not

* Mr. Edwards has given us a very intereſting account of the eſcape of Monſieur and Madame Baillon, with their family; but it were to be wiſhed, that he had mentioned his authority, as all the leading circumſtances which he relates are very nearly the reverſe of the ſtory told by the deputies of the colony, at the bar of the French legiſlative aſſembly.

contented

contented to exact the admiſſion of their own pretenſions, but loaded the government with an obloquy, which only could have been ſanctioned from terror. It was ſigned the 11th of September, and beſide ſtipulating for the adoption of the decree which the national aſſembly had paſſed in their behalf on the 15th of May, pronounced the condemnation of Ogé to be * "*in-famous, and worthy of being de-voted to all contemporary and future execration*;" words literally taken from a letter of Abbé Gregoire. In conſequence, on the 20th of September, very few days before the national aſſembly in France repealed their decree of the 15th of May, the colonial aſſembly publiſhed a proclamation, promiſing to carry it into execution, and holding forth indiſtinctly ſome ulterior indulgencies to the mulattoes. But the repeal again ripping open the whole queſtion, the white coloniſts ſoon found their agreement to be vitiated by the force, of which it bore evident marks on the very face of it; and the revocation of a meaſure which had been the immediate cauſe of a rebellion, only led to new ſuſpicions, animoſities, and diſturbances.

We muſt now turn our eyes to the conduct of the aſſembly towards foreign nations. That conſpiracy againſt the ancient order of things, which had been carried on long before the revolution, was not confined to France, but had its ramifications in various parts of Europe, eſpecially in the adjacent countries. Sovereign princes and ſtates favoured it againſt religion, without perceiving the danger to their own reſpective governments. Frederick the Great, though he was afterwards the firſt to take alarm, had at one time given his conſent for the eſtabliſhment of a colony, projected by Voltaire, at Cleves. The prince of Heſſe Caſſel too, is ſaid to have offered his protection on the ſame occaſion. But there ſoon aroſe in Germany a native ſociety, by whom the French philoſophers, at an advanced period of maturity, were not aſhamed of being inſtructed. Theſe were the *Illuminated*, as they called themſelves; a kind of ſecret order ingrafted on free maſonry. The Germans received this latter inſtitution, indiſputably, from theſe kingdoms. Impoſtor ſucceeded impoſtor, holding out the promiſe of new myſteries to be revealed, and ſporting with the credulity of the brethren to his own emolument. Religious doctrines, politics, alchemy, and myſticiſm of every kind, at different times, ſeparated the lodges into parties and factions; but theſe only added a more lively intereſt to the craft, and a grand maſter became in ſome places a character of greater importance than the prince. During the ſeven years war, ſome French officers, who were priſoners at Berlin, are ſaid to have introduced there the interior maſonry of their own country, which in Germany was denominated the Eclectic ſyſtem.

Munich, among other places, had one of theſe lodges, which had received its patent from Berlin, but

* M. Cormier's Memoir, page 19. Mr. B. Edwards ſeems not to have ſeen the *Concordat*, as the agreement was called; at leaſt he does not take any notice of this remarkable part.

formed to itself a particular constitution, in consequence of instruction from Lyons, in France; and among the principal members, were most of the professors in the university of Munich. Dr. Adam Weishaupt, professor of canon law, was of the number, and he became, in 1776, the legislator of the new order of the *Illuminated*, which seems to have been first projected by an Italian adventurer, the Marquis di Costanza, and a German baron of the name of Knigge. Nothing could be better contrived than their plan for obtaining universal influence and dominion. They chose from a lodge such a person as they judged fittest for their purpose, and if he expressed a desire to become a candidate for admission among them, he was put on a course of instruction and probation, under the title of a minerval, for three years, during all which time he knew nothing personally of the superiors, except his appointed tutor, who was styled his Mentor. In this way they soon formed a picked body of masons, dispersed over all the lodges in Germany. They used also nearly the same arts as Voltaire and his confederates, to work upon public opinion; and in this they were powerfully assisted by M. Nicolai, a rich bookseller of Berlin, who having printing-presses and shops, in various parts, bore great sway in the book-fairs of Leipsic and Frankfort, and through them, very much governed the literature of the empire. The elector of Bavaria however, having been made acquainted, in 1783, with the proceedings of this mischievous society in his capital, examined four of his professors, who were pointed out to him as members. They being interrogated upon oath, revealed the hidden schemes and conduct of the *Illuminated*. The elector immediately broke up the lodge, and banished Dr. Weishaupt, and several other principal brethren, who were notwithstanding received in other states of the empire, and some of them taken into the confidence of princes. Three years after, a large collection of their private papers was found in searching the house of a member, and the next year a still larger in a similar depositary. It now appeared beyond a doubt, that the end of the institution, was to lead the minds of the initiated, by very cautious degrees, to the extreme doctrines of the new French philosophy. The anonymous writings of the club at baron Holbach's, the productions of Robinet and Mirabeau, and "for the "strongest stomachs" those of Helvetius, were particularly recommended by the founder to his confidential associates; and the whole character of the higher class, is very fully summed up by him in one short sentence *, where he declares, that "*no man is fit for that* "*order, who is not a Brutus or a* "*Cataline, and is not ready to go* "*every length.*" His own morality was of that stamp. He seduced his sister-in-law, attempted to

* Spartacus to Cato, February 6th 1778. See Professor Robison's Proofs, chap. 2. page 134. That letter principally, and some which follow, develope the arts of influence recommended to be used by the order, similar to those of the club of Holbach.

destroy

deſtroy his unborn infant, and clearly hinted at murdering the mother to prevent ſcandal. One of his principal Areopagites, as he nick-named his higher claſs, appears to have robbed one of the brethren, but the affair was huſhed up, becauſe the culprit was a moſt excellent man, and of great uſe to the order, as he had the direction of an eminent ſeminary for education. The reſt of them are generally deſcribed by the ſame authority, in a moment of ſpleen, as debauchees, liars, bankrupts, braggarts, and vain fools. There was found alſo with this correſpondence, a bundle of recipes, pointing to means of fraud and deſtruction, ſo nefarious, as to make Voltaire's league of conſpirators innocent and pure in the compariſon *. The imagination can ſcarcely go beyond this in wickedneſs, but there is ſaid to have been a third collection of papers ſeized in Bavaria, all which the government thought it prudent to ſuppreſs. We might heſitate to believe ſuch iniquity, even on the cleareſt evidence, if hiſtory did not furniſh us with undoubted examples, in the profligate conſpiracy which, under cover of the myſteries of Bacchus, had well-nigh overturned the Roman republic, and in the ſecret abominations of the Knights Templars, in modern Europe.

Previous to theſe laſt important diſcloſures, the order, notwithſtanding the diſperſion of the lodge in Munich, had grown and flouriſhed, and princes, nobles, eccleſiaſtics and men of letters had been admitted into it. Among the latter was Mirabeau, though, either from not being acquainted at the time with their true principles, or for the purpoſe of quieting all jealouſy on that head, he wrote a book to ridicule the *Illuminated*, as a ſect of wild fanatics. When he returned to his own country, he ſoon ſaw the advantage of making himſelf eminent among the interior maſons of the grand Orient, and taking the lead in one of the remodelled lodges at Paris, adviſed them, in 1788, to ſend for inſtructions from the *Illuminated*, in Germany. The reſult of this was a deputation of three of the principal brethren, next after Weiſhaupt and Knigge; and by them, two of the principal lodges in Paris were taught the German † method of working.

Italy, the native country of the principal author of this ſyſtem, could not be ſuppoſed to be out of their view. They had lodges at Rome, Naples, Ancona, and Florence ‡; and indeed, Voltaire had long before

* See Profeſſor Robiſon's Proofs, &c. chap. 2. pp. 138 and 139. It is very important to obſerve, that none of theſe letters and papers were ever denied by Weiſhaupt; on the contrary, he wrote to explain, palliate, and defend them.

† Profeſſor Robiſon, chap. 4. p. 397, quotes ſeven different German authorities for this deputation, and among them that of Dr. Girtanner, a Swediſh phyſician, who was then at Paris, and in the ſecret of the philoſophical and political cabals there.

‡ See Profeſſor Robiſon's Liſt of Lodges, pages 201, 202, of the Proofs. There is alſo a curious account of a lodge at Rome, in the 4th chapter of the *Hiſtoire de l'Aſſaſſinat de Guſtave III. Roi de Suede*, juſt publiſhed at Paris. It is ſaid to be by a Poliſh officer, who had his intelligence of the lodge from a gentleman in Dalecarlia.

boaſted

boasted of the progress made by irreligion in that country. In Switzerland, where he had said, in 1766, that there was not a single Christian from Geneva to Berne, they are represented to have had many lodges. They had many also in Holland, and various planted in different cities of the Netherlands. In all England we hear only of eight, and of no more than two in Scotland. Yet both Weishaupt, and Voltaire before him, appear from their correspondence to have looked with great, though it is to be hoped with unfounded, confidence to this country for support, and they certainly had, at times, disciples and missionaries who travelled through our island. The fact seems to have been, that they were deceived by the boldness which the freedom of our press gave to our freethinkers, but who were in reality more popular abroad than at home; though it must be added with regret, that since the French revolution, our literature has every day sensibly imbibed a deeper tincture of the new philosophy, sometimes more, sometimes less, coloured and disguised.

It was from this country, that the first opportunity was afforded to the national assembly, of publishing to the world the foreign policy of the revolution. Immediately after the king had been carried prisoner from his palace at Versailles to Paris, the revolution society at the London Tavern, sent to the assembly their well-known address of * congratulation. The assembly accepted the homage, and without noticing the government of this country, expressed their lively and deep sensibility at the address which "breathed those sentiments of humanity and universal benevolence "that ought to unite together, in all "countries of the world, the true "friends of liberty and the happiness of mankind." This was a distinct recognition of that noxious principle, which was the common bond of all the different cabals already mentioned, that of setting the authority of a voluntary association above the legitimate authority of the state, and so dissolving all the local ties of birth and country: It was to put themselves at the head of all the disaffection and intrigue of Europe. Never had any government, or any public body exercising a part of the government, issued a declaration so directly hostile to the governments of all other nations.

The English revolution society now entered into that close correspondence and affiliation with the jacobin clubs of France, which has been repeatedly noticed in the course of this history †, and must again come under review in different parts of this volume. The leading members of those clubs, were also the principal revolutionists in the assembly. Nor was it long before the assembly itself became implicated in these proceedings. At the meeting of the revolution society, immediately following the first French federation, a vote was passed, which, after expressing exultation in their former congratulatory address, took honour to themselves

* See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 130*.

† See Ann. Reg. Hist. Art. vol. xxxii. pp. 63, 64, 65. and vol. xxxiii. Hist. Art. pp. 126 and 213. See also specimens of the correspondence, Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 128*.

felves for "their correſpondence with "the patriots of France, as conduc- "ing to animate the ſons of freedom "to aſſert their rights among all the "nations of the earth;" and the preſident of the aſſembly, in anſwer, after an oblique lamentation over the Engliſh government, as not being ſufficiently philoſophized, declared his expectation, that "it "was reſerved to the worthy mem- "bers of the ſociety to haſten this "new revolution, and encircle with "their benevolence the whole cir- "cle of the globe:" He added too, in the ſame ſtrain of flattery, a general acknowledgment of the gratification which had been afforded by the reſolutions tranſmitted to them.

This immediately referred to England alone. But nearly about the ſame time, an open indication of the ſame ſentiments was given, with more direct affront and offence, to all Europe. The reader * may remember the farcical ſpeech of baron Cloots, the orator of the human race, attended by his motley train of ſelf-empowered embaſſadors, (and a good *miltonic* Engliſhman, as he ſaid, among the reſt) at the bar of the aſſembly; a ſpeech as diſguſting for its impiety, as ridiculous for its bombaſt. At the ſame time he preſented a petition, purporting to come from a ſtanding committee of foreigners of all nations, whoſe miſſion he declared was tacitly avowed by all their fellow citizens, "*the op-* "*preſſed ſovereigns.*" Abſurd and indecent as the whole of this exhibition was, yet having the merit of falling in with the politics of the revolution, it was moſt ſeriouſly and favourably received. The preſident, in his anſwer †, thought that

* Ann. Reg. vol. xxxii. 1790. Hiſt. Art. p. 148.

† The orator's ſpeech has appeared in Engliſh, but the preſident's has not, which is moſt important to aſcertain the true ſpirit of the tranſaction. It is therefore ſubjoined here, tranſlated from the *Procès Verbal*, No. 324; and to make it more intelligible, preceded by Baron Cloots's concluſion.

Extract from Baron Cloots's ſpeech.

"You have in authentic form acknowledged, gentlemen, that ſovereignty re- "ſides in the people. Now, the *people is every where* under the yoke of dicta- "tors, who call themſelves ſovereigns in deſpite of your principles. Dictator- "ſhip may be uſurped, but ſovereignty is inviolable; and the ambaſſadors of "tyrants could not honour your auguſt feſtival, like the greater part of us, whoſe "miſſion is tacitly owned by our countrymen, by ſovereigns under oppreſſion.

"What a leſſon for deſpots; what a comfort for unfortunate nations, when "we ſhall inform them, that the firſt nation in Europe, in aſſembling its ſtand- "ards, has given us the ſignal of the happineſs of France, and of both worlds. "We ſhall expect, gentlemen, in a reſpectful ſilence, the reſult of your delibe- "rations on the petition dictated to us by the enthuſiaſm of univerſal liberty."

The Anſwer of the Preſident.

"Gentlemen,

"You have this day proved to the whole univerſe, that *the progreſs which one* "*nation makes in philoſophy and in the knowledge of the rights of man, belongs* "*equally to all other nations.* There are epochs in the annals of the world, "which have an influence over the happineſs or miſery of every part of the "globe;

that France might now dare to flatter herſelf, with having her example followed by every people acquainted with the value of liberty; granted the petition of the ſtrangers, to appear in the federation; and demanded of them, in the name of France, that they ſhould ſhow their gratitude, by going home and doing their beſt to make ſimilar revolutions in their own countries. The orator and the ambaſſadors were admitted to the honours of the ſitting; two decrees followed, manifeſtly glancing at theſe doctrines; Cloots and his train had a conſpicuous place allotted to them in the ceremony of the confederation; and there, on behalf of all the nations of the earth, joined in ſwearing fidelity to the king, the law, and the nation of France.

Here was not only a declaration, but a clear act of hoſtility to each, and to all the eſtabliſhed governments; and there can be no doubt but that, according to all the ancient notions of policy and the public law of Europe, every foreign power had a right to remonſtrate, and, on juſt ſatisfaction and reaſonable ſecurity being refuſed, to take up arms in a common league for the common defence. If this inſolent aggreſſion was at the time overlooked, it could be only becauſe it was mingled up with ſomething of burleſque which made it contemptible, and becauſe the internal diſtractions of France did not then ſeem likely to allow her leiſure for putting her avowed intentions into execution againſt her neighbours, who were alſo occupied at the moment with their own diſputes. The next year their patience was further tried by M. Montmorin's circular letter, which directly forced the principles of the revolution on their attention; and upon that occaſion, as in * other inſtances, which have been related in this volume, ſentiments, in the ſame ſpirit of hoſtility to all eſtabliſhed governments, were exultingly proclaimed on the part of the aſſembly. It has never been ſince pretended by the French themſelves, that any confederacy whatſoever, at this period, exiſted between any two European ſtates againſt the revolution.

The plan of diſquieting other governments, was perhaps at firſt promoted by the leſs violent leaders,

" globe; and *France now dares flatter herſelf, that ſhe has given an example,* " *which will be followed by every people,* who knowing how to appreciate liberty, " will teach kings, that their real greatneſs conſiſts in governing free men, and " in putting the laws in force; and that they cannot be happy otherwiſe than by " making thoſe happy *who have choſen them for their governors.*

" Yes, gentlemen, France will honour herſelf in admitting you to the civic " feaſt, for which the national aſſembly has juſt directed preparations to be " made. But as the price of this benefit, ſhe believes ſhe has a right to de- " mand of you, ſome ſtriking mark of gratitude.

" After this auguſt ceremony, *return to your native countries, tell your ſove-* " *reigns, tell thoſe who adminiſter your reſpective governments, whatever names* " *they may bear, that if they are willing to have their memories tranſmitted to* " *the moſt remote poſterity, tell them, they have only to follow the example of Louis* " *the XVIth, the reſtorer of French liberty.*

" The national aſſembly invites you to the honour of the ſitting."

* See particularly above, pp. 155 and 156.

only

only with the view of keeping those busy at home, who they apprehended might have an interest and a disposition to interfere with their projects in France. Not that this set of men was without ambitious designs, to the full extent which the nation has since discovered; but they never accurately calculated the wild strength of their own principles. They grew frightened at their situation, and were intent chiefly on securing the fruits of their own internal victory. The true republican faction, on the other hand, was from the first more consistent in their foreign, as well as their domestic politics, and appeared better to know their own power, by which alone they measured all right. They were perpetually clamouring for France to intermeddle, by menaces and violence, with all her neighbours. They insulted the princes of the Empire who had been stripped of their possessions and titles in Alsace and Lorraine. They were early vociferous for the seizure of Avignon. When the prince bishop of Leige was restored by a judicial sentence of the chamber of Wetzlar, and when the insurrection was quelled in the Austrian Netherlands, they regarded these events only as opening the way to an attack upon France. They cried aloud "the "diplomatic * committee is asleep, "the ministry is asleep, the national assembly is asleep, while "the storm is gathering. Even "the Jacobins are divided about the "means. But ardent patriots see "only twenty-five millions of "men, and nothing of fears or "managements." To inflame the populace, they forever ascribed, with deliberate falshood, to Austrians, Prussians, and Englishmen, all the tumults and seditions which they had themselves excited.

The common school of foreign policy to all the revolutionists, was that of M. Favier, who had been a subordinate agent under M. Broglio, in the double diplomacy of Louis the XVth. This man's language was, that France had been degraded by the treaty of 1756 with Austria; that she was sunk from her primitive superiority, to a power of subaltern rank; that under a "prescription "consecrated by a thousand years," she ought to govern Europe; that to this end she should melt down, and recast, her whole military and federative system; that she should every where be opposed to the house of Austria on the continent; that in Holland, she had nothing to hope from the Stadtholder, and should make it a primary object to break off the connection of that country with Prussia and England; and that she should exert all her means to overturn the colossal power of the latter, which he described as standing, with regard to France, in the situation of Rome to † Carthage. The ambition and

* This passage is from Brissot's Paper, Le Patriote François, 1st January 1791. He was continually writing in the same strain.

† See a memorial of M. Favier, containing all his opinions, in *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe*, published at Paris, plainly by authority, in 1793, and recommended, "as *comprising in a great part the germ of the revolution, "and necessary for understanding the events of the present day.*" The part respecting England, is in the 2d vol. and was written, it should be remembered, in 1773, during a time of profound peace.

vanity

vanity of the nation had long made these speculations highly popular; we find two of the more prominent points, animosity against the Stadtholder, and mortal enmity to England, scattered up and down in the writings of Mirabeau and Brissot *, previous to the revolution. Early resort was also had to the huge magazine of claims and pretensions, with which M. Dupuy, in the last century †, flattered the pride of Louis the XIVth, and spread the first alarm over Europe. This book was ransacked, to afford a colour for the union of Avignon, on which it will presently be necessary to touch more particularly; the same sort of arguments would equally apply to Nice, Piedmont, Liege, the Netherlands, and other adjacent territories. M. Cloots, who is the best interpreter of the plot of the piece which he was appointed to play, very plainly informed ‡ foreign nations, that the "inherent attraction of the political system, "newly established in France, evidently tended to re-unite to it "the portions which had been "detached under the old government, *such as Avignon, Savoy, Liege, and Brabant.*"

The first actual infringement of the rights of any neighbouring power, arose probably from accidental circumstances, rather than from any settled design. It was the violation which has been mentioned § in its proper place, of the various treaties between France and Germany, relative to the princes in Alsace and Lorraine. The exercise of complete sovereignty over them, was an usurpation which Louis XIV had indeed attempted under his construction of the treaty of Westphalia, but which in effect was relinquished by the subsequent treaty of Ryswick, referring, in the 4th and 5th articles, to a list drawn up by the French embassador himself, and containing most of these very principalities; a precise stipulation, of which the diplomatists of the || revolution could only get rid, by pronouncing it to be a mistake. In their declared war against every thing feudal, such examples could not be left within the limits of their own territories, and therefore were swept away without consideration of public faith. But whatever was the original motive, the injury was maintained, by a fresh insolence and violation of treaty. The official correspondence between France and the Empire, was by old compact and usage to be in Latin; yet now the French was arrogantly substituted, of which the diet loudly complained.

The apparent moderation of the

* See Mirabeau's "*Doutes sur la Liberté de l'Escaut*," and Brissot's Travels in America.

† *Traité des Droits du Roi, sur plusieurs Etats et Seigneuries, possédés par divers Princes voisins: par Pierre Dupuy*, folio, Paris, 1655, and Rouen, 1670. See also the note to Abbé Maury's speech on Avignon, May 24th, 1791.

‡ In a letter to Mr. Burke, dated 12th May 1790, and printed by the author, as he says, for the edification of foreign countries. Some other pieces are added, and among them a letter to Charles Stanhope, "whose mind he professes to dis-"pose favourably, by denying him the title of lord."

§ Ann. Reg. Hist. Art. vol. xxxii. 1790. p. 134, 135.

|| This is the literal fact in a report made by M. Koch, from the diplomatic committee to the legislative assembly.

assembly,

assembly, in refusing to assist the insurgents in Brabant, when traced to its real cause, shews the true spirit of the French revolution, no less than their declarations of their intention to spread universal liberty. It was not because the Emperor Joseph, in his secret letters to general Dalton *, which had been intercepted and published, had strictly forbidden his ministers to lend an ear either to the Dutch malecontents, or to the French who were dissatisfied with the new constitution. Two deputies from the states of Brabant were actually received at Paris, by † La Fayette; and Dumorier, with private credentials reluctantly extorted from M. Montmorin, was sent back with them to Belgium, as even then it was the affectation to call Flanders. His report, much to the disappointment of La Fayette, as we are expressly told by him, discouraged the notion of any interposition, and "the assembly rejected ‡ the Belgic "provinces, because their *theo-* "*cratic* revolution was the reverse "of the French."

But the first clear practical essay of their foreign politics, was in Avignon § and the comtat Venaissin. Louis the XIVth twice, and Louis the

* Letters of the Emperor Joseph to general Dalton, published at Brussels, p. 177 and 178.

† Vie de Dumorier, liv. 3. chap 4. page 17.

‡ Dumorier's Letter to M. Noailles, March 19, 1792. See below, State Papers, *237.

§ This short history of the union of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin, is extracted from the following authorities, and as much as possible from those on the revolutionary side of the question.

De la Restitution du Comté Venaissin, des Ville et Etat d'Avignon, motion imprimée sous l'autorisation de l'Assemblée Nationale, par Charles François Bouche. 1789.

Declaration des Deputes du Comté Venaissin.

Des Droits du Pape, et Refutation, par M. Bouche. 1790.

Récit Abregé, mais exact, des Troubles arrivés d'Avignon. 1790.

Les Crimes Dévoilés, ou Lettre d'un Avignonois sur les Troubles de sa Patrie. This tract is anonymous, but it is said to have been written by M. Nevon.

Discours sur la Réunion d'Avignon a la France, par J. Petion.

Discours de M. de Robespierre, sur la Pétition du Peuple Avignonois. 1790.

Bref de notre Saint Père le Pape. Latin and French. 1790.

Le Comté Venaissin accusé, détendu, justifié d'après des Mémoires originaux. 1791.

Premier Rapport sur Avignon et le Comtat Venaissin, par M. Jacques Menou.

Opinion de Stanislas Clermont-Tonnere, sur l'Affaire d'Avignon. 1791.

Correspondance de l'Armée Avignonaise, assiégeant Carpentras. 1791.

Pièce très-importante dans l'Affaire d'Avignon, par M. Clermont-Tonnere. 1791.

Lettre des Officiers Municipaux de la Ville d'Avignon, au Roi, avec la Lettre de M. de Lessart. 1791.

Second Rapport sur l'Affaire d'Avignon, par M. J. Menou.

Seconde Opinion de M. l'Abbé Maury, sur la Réunion de la Ville d'Avignon a la France. 1791.

Compte rendu a l'Assemblée Nationale, par M. le Scene-Desmaisons. 1791.

Rapport,

the XVth once, having disputes with the court of Rome, had taken these little domains into their hands, as a pledge to obtain redress of their complaints. On the last occasion, M. Montclar, the king's law-officer in the parliament of Provence, drew up a memorial on the rights of the crown, chiefly extracted from the work of M. Dupuy; but when printed, it had been suppressed by the Duc de Choiseul, then prime minister. M. Bouche, an advocate of the same parliament, having been deputed from Aix to the states-general, procured instructions from his constituents to press the union of these districts to France, and as early as November 1789, made a detailed motion on the subject, which the assembly ordered to be printed and circulated. "This "smiling, this fertile, this deli- "cious country, said he, is alone "worth a whole province, and "was fraudulently obtained of the "kings of France, when the Popes "distributed crowns and ana- "themas, and kept the greater "part of Europe enslaved under "the yoke of terror and super- "stition." He then proceeded to examine, and of course decided against, the validity of the alienation made to the Pope by queen Joan of Naples, in the year 1348, nearly four centuries and a half since; he as easily dispatched the title to the Comtat Venaissin, which was transferred almost six centuries since to the Roman See, by a solemn treaty containing, at the same time, many large cessions to Louis the IXth of France, and which was confirmed by Philip the Bold, when he succeeded by inheritance to the Counts of Toulouse; but it was now found that Louis the IXth had the right of a conqueror, which the Pope could not have; that any defect of right in his original acquisition was cured by Philip's right of blood; and that Philip could not alienate any of his domains, because he was king of France. These clear reasons of law and equity were wound up by some reflections, which, it was said, might be useful. They were: that it was essential for France to possess Avignon, on account of the great expence incurred by surrounding it with custom-houses and guards to prevent smuggling, and the refuge which bankrupts and debtors found there; that "the sky was constantly serene, "the wines exquisite and abun- "dant, the meadows well wa- "tered, the arable fields highly "fertile, the habitations numerous, "and the productions various; "that the natives were naturally "mild, industrious, economical, and "patient, and that the country, in "the hands of France, would "become a valuable workshop and "warehouse, between the north "and the south of Europe; that "the air was salubrious, the peo- "ple had fine complexions, were "robust and long lived; and that

Rapport, par M. Verninac Saint-Maur. 1791.
Troisieme Rapport, &c. &c. par M. J. Menou. 1791.
Dernière Opinion de M. Clermont-Tonnere, &c. &c. 1791.
Opinion de M. Malouet, sur la Réunion, &c. &c. &c.
Reclamation de notre Très Saint Père le Pape Pie VI. 1791.
Situation Politique d'Avignon et du Comtat, avec Piéces Justicatives, par Ducros, Agent de la Province du Comté Venaissin. 1791.

"Petrarch,

" Petrarch, who had rendered it " famous, had not ſcrupled to de- " clare, that he was as much in- " duced to make his abode there " by the beauty of that delicious " climate, as by his love for " Laura." On theſe grounds he propoſed to the aſſembly, to make an " *amicable*" offer, through the French embaſſador at Rome, of a million of livres, or ſomething above forty thouſand pounds ſterling, which if the Pope would not accept in fifteen days, the country was to be ſeized by force, and the property of every kind poſſeſſed by any native of Avignon in France, to be ſequeſtered till the union ſhould be ratified. On the other hand, he wiſhed to give the protection of the law of France to all Jews, great numbers of whom were at Avignon, and added the project of a ſeparate decree in favour of that nation, introducing it with a hiſtory of the perſecutions which they had ſuffered for eighteen centuries in various parts of the globe, but admitting that they were living at Avignon, in perfect tranquillity, without the leaſt moleſtation from the inquiſition. The character of this meaſure cannot be more ſtrongly marked, than by the topics with which the mover of the queſtion began and ended, as moſt likely to prevail with his audience.

To the natural advantages enumerated by M. Bouche, the inhabitants of Avignon and the comtat Venaiſſin, added others which reſulted from a peculiar combination of fortunate circumſtances. The city of Avignon was always immediately governed by its own magiſtrates, the two chief of whom were known by their ancient appellation of conſuls. The Comtat Venaiſſin was governed by ſtates-general, compoſed of three orders, but in which the commons infinitely preponderated. The nobility had there no political privileges; the clergy alone had ſome trifling exemptions in ſome of the rates, which were levied for the internal adminiſtration of the country. The greater part even of that burthen was borne from the ſmall domains which belonged to the Pope, their ſovereign, and there was no direct tax of any kind whatſoever. In the famine of this very year, the magazines had been filled with corn at the expence of the Pope, for the ſubſiſtence of the people, to whom it was ſold at a reduced price.

Senſible of their happineſs, as ſoon as the motion of M. Bouche was printed and diſperſed, the ſtates of the Comtat ſtrongly proteſted againſt it; the magiſtrates of the ſeveral commonalties ratified the proteſt, and a ſeparate declaration was made to the ſame effect by the city of Avignon. The rights of the Pope were alſo defended, with ability and ſucceſs, in different publications. In conſequence, the direct attack againſt theſe inſulated poſſeſſions of the church was for the preſent ſuſpended.

But the effects of the French revolution had early begun to be felt. In the preceding Auguſt, the ſame alarm had been propagated there as throughout France, and the citizens were in conſequence armed and regimented: the friends of French liberty put themſelves at the head of this new militia. Four of the officers were ſoon after detected in attempting to make an inſurrection. Proſecutions were inſtituted againſt them, two of them were

were arreſted, and the other two fled to France. There they had ſufficient influence to procure powerful interceſſions, and ultimately to obtain pardon for themſelves, and their two accomplices who had been detained in priſon. They had ſcarcely reappeared at Avignon, when the city was again in a ſtate of agitation and diſturbance, the vice-legate was perpetually inſulted, a riotous demand was made, that the proceedings againſt the four officers ſhould be publicly burned; and a cry was raiſed for the French conſtitution. The vice-legate was ultimately forced into a compliance, ſo far as to ſummon a kind of primary aſſemblies in the different diſtricts; but while his authority was uſed for the meetings, no regard whatſoever was paid to the qualifications which he had fixed for the voters. In this manner a new mayor and municipality were choſen, and the vice-legate heſitating to confirm the election, was compelled by another riot to give his ratification, as well as his aſſent to the baniſhment of an officer who had done his duty, in defending himſelf when he was attacked on guard by the rioters.

The French conſtitution was thus eſtabliſhed, though with a reſervation of allegiance to the Pope. But the revolutioniſts ſoon ſhewed, that they did not intend to ſtop there. They were now maſters. They proſcribed all the old magiſtrates, they menaced ſome with baniſhment, and ſome with the lamp-poſt; upon a falſe accuſation they ſearched the houſe and private papers of the advocate-general, M. Paſſeri, and though they found nothing againſt him, forced him into exile. The inquiſition, which long had been only a name, was aboliſhed, and the inſtruments of torture, which had been many years in diſuſe, were deſtroyed with much public parade; but a committee of enquiry on the French model, much more terrible than the inquiſition ever had been, was eſtabliſhed.

The Pope, informed of theſe diſorders, annulled all the acts of violence by his brief, and announced his intention of ſending a commiſſary, who with every indignity was refuſed admiſſion, and ordered if he came to be proſecuted as a diſturber of the public peace. He went to Carpentras, the capital of the comtat Venaiſſin, where, as his powers were in fact only intended decently to ſanction compromiſe and acquieſcence, a national aſſembly of repreſentatives was choſen under his authority, and the French conſtitution adopted as far as it was conſiſtent with their local circumſtances, and their allegiance to their ſovereign. Meanwhile, at Avignon the moſt violent counſels were entertained and adopted, tumults were perpetually excited, acts of outrage committed, and but for the interpoſition of the militia, a reſpectable merchant, of an advanced age, would have been aſſaſſinated.

In this ſtate of things, on the 10th of June, a complaint was made to the commanding officer on guard, of one Jourdan, whom no body knew at Avignon, except that he was announced in hand-bills as a very dextrous headſman from Paris, but who had there entered into the city militia. Jourdan was ordered to pull off the uniform, but he was ſupported by ſome comrades of his own ſtamp, and preſently an open inſurrection was made in his favour by the

the populace and the neighbouring peasants; the militia companies endeavoured to quell it, two of the insurgents were killed, and on the other side an old man of eighty was wounded by a musquet ball in his own house, dragged away, and thrown into a dungeon. In conclusion, after a scattering fire on both sides, the militia agreed to lay down their arms, under a formal capitulation, and peace was supposed to be restored.

During the night, however, the insurgents, being favoured by some conspirators of lead in the city, seized the marquis de Rochegude, a man of active character, full of public spirit, beneficent, and before the French revolution eminently popular. He was ill of the gout, and had concealed himself, but was discovered, tried summarily on the spot, condemned, and delivered over to the hangman, who had orders to hang him so, as that he might not soon be released from his pain. In truth, he addressed himself to his murderers for several minutes, and did not expire for nearly an hour, during which time the multitude danced round him, pricked him with their bayonets, and insulted and ridiculed his sufferings. The abbé Offray was next murdered in the same manner. He had been accidentally in a cutler's shop, where hearing a man say, as he flourished a sabre, "that it would lop the "heads of fifty aristocrats," he had been guilty of answering "yes, or of fifty democrats:" this was his original crime. He was afterwards accused, without the least foundation, of being concerned in making a stuffed figure, supposed to be a burlesque upon some of the municipal officers. He was obliged to conceal himself, attempted to fly in disguise, was stopped, thrown into prison, and now without any trial put to death. M. Daubert, a silk merchant, who was suspected, with as little truth, of the same offence, met with the same fate. The next who suffered was M. Daulan, a man of exemplary goodness, humane, charitable, taking no public part, but lamenting the misfortunes of his country in retirement and privacy. Without any thing whatsoever being imputed to him, he had been suddenly hurried away from his own house to the gaol. A dispute there arose, whether he or another man, of the name of Philibert, should be first dispatched, when M. Daulan presenting himself to the assassins, said, "if you must have a victim, I am "ready, but let me be the last:" they put the cord round his neck, dragged him away, and hanged him. His will being soon after opened, was found to contain large legacies to the hospitals, and the poor of every parish in Avignon.

They now seized a young man named Buffardin, who with the halter already fastened, had mounted some steps of the ladder, when a party of national guards arrived from the neighbouring district of Orange, cut the rope, and saved his life. Two other persons were shot in the course of that morning, and numbers crowded into the prisons under arbitrary arrests, probably for the purpose of being drawn out one by one and murdered. Jourdan presided at these atrocious acts, and some accounts say, when the executioner seemed unwilling to proceed, in the instance of M. Daulan, threatened him with his drawn sabre. The mayor of Orange, afflicted and disgusted, would not

remain to be a witneſs of thoſe ſcenes of ſedition and blood, which he had no authority to repreſs. At the requeſt, however, of all the reſpectable citizens, he returned, on condition that the ſurviving priſoners ſhould be delivered over to his cuſtody. The municipal officers of Avignon did not ſympathize with his feelings. They afterwards claimed, in their public account of diſburſements, to be allowed a ſum of 66,421 livres, or about 2,768 pounds ſterling, "for the affair of "the 10th of June *;" and this ſum had been actually procured by the ſale of the corn, which had been provided for that year, at the expence of the Pope.

The very next day, under the influence of that terror, which was the object of all theſe ſhocking ſcenes, meetings were called to diſcuſs the queſtion of an union with France. Of courſe the queſtion was carried. Very many perſons, it was admitted, did not attend, and very few ſigned the regiſter of the proceedings. Books therefore were ſoon after opened for ſignatures, and of all deſcriptions, chiefly the loweſt, and including even children, nine hundred and ſixty only were obtained. On the other hand it was ſubſequently aſſerted in a public proteſt, that between ten and twelve thouſand citizens of the higher claſſes, had been forced by inſults, outrages, and menaces to fly. Under the influence of the ſame terror, three or four commonalties of the comtat Venaiſſin, where it bordered upon Avignon, met on the 12th, 13th, and 14th days of June, and joined that city in the vote of union.

The connexion of the revoluioniſts in the national aſſembly with theſe horrors was not concealed. On the 10th of June, when the inſurrection was ready to be carried into effect, a letter was publiſhed at Avignon, which had been written many months before, by M. Camus, on occaſion of the firſt diſturbances, and in which he expreſſed his ſatisfaction at the intelligence, the pleaſure which it would give the national aſſembly to be made acquainted in detail with the operations of the new municipality, and his own readineſs to be their organ in Paris. After the laſt events, four of the municipal officers, who had been the ſecret inſtigators of them, ſent an extraordinary meſſenger with letters to M. M. Bouche and Camus, demanding the ſervices which they had promiſed, and referring to their former correſpondence †. The way being thus prepared for them, deputies were ſent from Avignon to the bar of the national aſſembly, to offer the union of their city; but nothing of importance was then done upon that ſubject.

The revoluioniſts of Avignon now demanded admiſſion to the repreſentative aſſembly of the Comtat, ſitting at Carpentras. This was of courſe refuſed, and the refuſal tended much to increaſe the ancient animoſity between the two

* A printed copy of this account was produced to the national aſſembly by the abbé Maury. See his ſpeech on the 24th May 1791, page 43.

† This letter was publiſhed on the 17th of June, by M. Baudouin, printer to the national aſſembly. The firſt paragraph to which the text alludes, was ſuppreſſed in a ſecond edition. M. Bouche then denied that he had received any ſuch letter; M. Camus did not.

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rival cities. The faction of the revolutioniſts, in ſome of the towns, took part againſt the repreſentative aſſembly. Three hundred of them, in the town of Cavaillon, finding themſelves much outnumbered, fled to Avignon, where they were received with open arms, and a body of troops, the chief ſtrength of which conſiſted in about a hundred and fifty French deſerters, marched to reinſtate them. Having effected this ſervice, the Avignon army puſhed forward, carrying with them a waggon loaded with eſcutcheons of the arms of France, which they erected in every town through which they paſſed. On their arrival at Carpentras, they diſperſed the repreſentative aſſembly, revived the ſpirits of their own adherents, and under the terror of their preſence obtained an irregular vote for the union with France, and the appointment of an electoral aſſembly, which was to reſide at Avignon, and govern both ſtates till the pleaſure of the aſſembly ſhould be known. But no ſooner had they evacuated Carpentras, than the violence of their late conduct united the majority of the inhabitants more firmly than ever againſt the pretenſions of Avignon. They refuſed to ſend electors, and collected the ſcattered members of the old repreſentative aſſembly, which now met under the title of the aſſembly of St. Cecilia. On the other ſide, the pretended electoral aſſembly, calling itſelf the aſſembly of the department of Vaucluſe, ſat at Avignon, and aſſerted a power over the whole Comtat, under colour of the late extorted vote.

The democratical faction in the neighbouring cities and diſtricts of France, openly intermeddled and fomented the quarrel. The jacobin club at Aix, wrote a menacing letter * to the repreſentative aſſembly at Carpentras, informing them that the French had ſolemnly ſworn protection, *without diſtinction of ſect or country*, to every man oppreſſed by his fellow-man, and advertiſing them, that if they did not, on the faith of Frenchmen, ſwear ſafety and ſupport to the mayor of Vaiſon, M. La Vilaſſe, and his countryman M. Anſelme, (the two great partiſans of Avignon in the Comtat) they ſhould vaniſh from the earth which they polluted. A ſimilar part was taken by a club at Valence, and by another at Arles. The mayor of the latter place, M. Antonel, a man of violence bordering on frenzy, ſupplied the army of Avignon with ammunition and cartridges, and incited them to ſome enterprize worthy of their cauſe, while he was himſelf ſtimulated by the jacobin club at Paris.

Cavaillon, from its vicinity, and the machinations of the democratic faction which it contained, was the firſt to ſuffer. On the 26th of December, a meeting of 500 inhabitants out of nearly 6,500, deliberated on the ſituation of the Comtat, without coming to any definitive reſolution; but on the 10th of January following, the town was attacked by the army of Avignon, taken by aſſault, delivered up to pillage, in

* For this letter, dated the 1ſt of December 1790, and for a letter from the jacobin club of Paris to the mayor of Arles, dated 7th of February 1791, referring to former correſpondence, ſee M. Clermont-Tonnerre's pamphlet, entitled, L'Interpellation de M. Bouche.

a great measure destroyed, and a great number of the inhabitants massacred. Among other sanguinary and ferocious acts, it is credibly related that a French deserter, having cut off the head of M. Rostang, a captain of artillery in the French service, and knight of the order of St. Louis, brought it in triumph to his comrades, and mingled the dripping blood in the cups over which they were celebrating their victory. It was not however till nine days after, that 269 persons could be got together to vote an union with France. The neighbouring towns and commonalties, alarmed for their own safety, after this terrible example, hastened to prevent a similar calamity, by coming to different resolutions, throwing themselves in different ways on the protection of France. Nearly all the lower division of the Comtat, including Carpentras, endeavoured thus to avert the storm which they were not prepared to resist. Most of the acts of federation (few of them in truth purported any thing more) were dated within four or five days of the destruction of Cavaillon, and all in the remainder of the same month. The names signed to them, in every instance bore a very small proportion to the whole population *. The whole upper division of the Comtat, which was more out of the reach of those robbers and assassins, remained faithful to the Pope.

M. la Vilasse, the mayor of Vaison, not long after was murdered, and with him M. Anselme. This was said, on the one side, to have been done by a small band of peasants, in a sudden emotion of resentment, for a scheme which he had in agitation, to turn the course of a brook that watered their † lands. On the other side, it was pretended to have been a conspiracy formed by the chiefs of the opposite party; and to have occasioned an immediate declaration of war, from the city of Avignon against Carpentras; but that again is impossible, if we can at all credit the opposite account, which particularly mentions, that M. la Vilasse had given great disgust by marching in person to the siege of Carpentras, of which place he was himself a native. M. Bouche, in speaking of these murders to the national assembly, painted a highly coloured picture of the bishop of Vaison, with a crucifix in one hand, and a poignard in the other, running about among the assassins, and goading them on to every fanatical outrage against the dead bodies; but it was afterwards proved, by the admission of all parties, that the bishop was not near the place, for a considerable time before and after the event.

The loss of their two great partisans in the Comtat, enraged instead of daunting the revolutionists of Avignon, who without any consideration how the expence was to be defrayed, instantly voted a higher pay, than any state ever gave, to all who would enrol themselves for an expedition against Carpentras. Thus warned, the inhabitants of the latter town, though ill-provid-

* M. Clermont-Tonnerre gives a very particular analysis of these acts, in his speech of the 2d of May.

† See on the one side, the speech of M. Clermont-Tonnerre, on the other, the report of M. Scene-Desmaisons.

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ed, prepared as well as they could for their defence. They even reſolved, with ſome haſty levies of half-armed peaſants, and without any artillery, to meet their enemies in the field. An engagement enſued near the town of Sarrian, but the cannon of the Avignon army gave them an advantage not to be reſiſted. They followed up their ſucceſs, by plundering and burning Sarrian, and exerciſing every cruelty upon the inhabitants. Girls were not only violated, but horridly mangled and mutilated; infants were butchered at the mother's breaſt; and the prieſt, a venerable man, was martyred at the high altar, in attempting to preſerve the holy ſacrament from profanation. Laying every thing waſte as they marched along, they advanced to the walls of Carpentras, where they found the gates ſhut againſt them. They ſat down therefore to as regular a blockade as their forces would admit. They burnt eighty houſes in the adjacent country; they ſeized whatever they could find; they raiſed contributions wherever they pleaſed, and carried away the young and able-bodied peaſants to recruit their army, ſo that what has been frequently mentioned as the peculiar miſery of civil wars, was a common incident here, that brother fought againſt brother, and children againſt their own parents. All who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the beſiegers, were treated by them with the utmoſt cruelty. They murdered their own general (an Iriſh adventurer, known by his chriſtian name of Patrick, or Patris) becauſe he wiſhed to ſpare the life of a priſoner. On his death, Jourdan was raiſed to the command, as a fit inſtrument for the * real leaders at Avignon, behind whom they might ſcreen themſelves in caſe of danger, and who, in the eye of the law, would be alone reſponſible for all which they ſecretly directed.

While he and his troops ſtill remained before Carpentras, he wrote the moſt inſolent and threatning letters to the military committee of Avignon, telling them that there were traitors in the city; that the exiſtence of the military committee was contrary to the decrees of the national aſſembly; that the department of Vaucluſe had given him the command of the army, to ſubdue all rebels, and he would not ſuffer them to triumph at Avignon; he ſhould not name the traitors till a proper time, that they might not eſcape † him. He is ſaid to have kept openly on his table, a liſt of proſcription, in which were included many of the municipal officers, and the mayor at their head. He even publicly ſolicited names from his followers, by a paper ‡, at the top of which was written; "They who wiſh the "under-named to be hanged, have "only to ſign."

During this diſpute, the inhabitants of Carpentras made a vigorous ſally on the 6th of May, and

* M. Scene-Deſmaiſons' Report, p. 12.

† Correſpondence de l'Armée Avignonaiſe, &c. &c. &c.

‡ It was printed in one of the principal news-papers in the ſouth of France, and an authenticated copy was produced to the national aſſembly, by abbé Maury, May 24th, 1791.

killed a great number of the enemy. Thirty died of their wounds the next day at Mazan. Many more perished for want of assistance. Several waggons loaded with the wounded, all protestants *, from the Cevennes, and the neighbourhood of Nîmes, were brought, and the men distributed in the hospitals of that city and the adjacent towns. Emboldened by this event, the inhabitants of the Comtat formed three little armies in three different quarters, which falling upon Jourdan's detachments, cut off many, drove the rest before them, and shut him up in his principal station at Monteux. At the same time, the municipality of Avignon shewed, that they desired nothing more than to get rid of their general and his army. They drove out the pretended electoral assembly of Vaucluse, his immediate employers, who were compelled to take refuge in the town of Sorgues. They prosecuted his chief friends and supporters; they gave him no succours; he was more and more pushed by the armed citizens of the Comtat, he was in want of many things, and his ruin seemed to be inevitable.

In the mean time the national assembly of France, had repeatedly discussed the great question of union. Before the committee which was appointed could make a report on the subject, M. Petion brought it forward, in November 1790, arguing, on the principles of Rousseau, that the sovereignty resided in the people, and labouring to shew, that although the vote of the 10th of June was "not clear "from some very painful doubts," yet not having been subsequently rescinded, it must be supposed to be confirmed by the will of the people. He was opposed by M. Malouet, who observed, that it was very well known the inhabitants were reduced to one half, and were under the edge of the sword. M. Tronchet spoke very ably on the same side, Robespierre and others supported Petion, but the assembly came to no definitive conclusion. After the votes passed by the towns of the Comtat in January 1791, the committee was ordered to make a report, and those debates ensued, in which it has been before seen, that M. Clermont-Tonnerre having distinguished himself, narrowly escaped being assassinated as he was going home, and his house was nearly destroyed. On this occasion, accident brought to light a new discovery of the means by which the revolutions of France and Avignon were effected. M. Tissot, one of the agents of Avignon in Paris, after the first debates, wrote confidentially on the subject, to some of the cabal among the municipality of Avignon. His packet was sent by a courier of the national assembly of France, and being accidentally delivered in public, was immediately opened, when the people insisted on hearing its contents. In one of the letters, addressed to Lescuyer, then at Monteux with the army, the writer opened the secret history of all his intrigues in Paris. Having mentioned, that the first question went against them, he related the steps

* M. Rabaut St. Etienne, having denied the fact that any of the French protestants were concerned, abbé Maury, whom he interrupted, produced an authentic list of the wounded from the hospitals.

which

which had been taken to repair that misfortune, as soon as the presidency of M. Tronchet, their enemy, should have expired, and a new report could be made by the committees. "*The people of Paris, who,*" he * said, "*had so well taught penitence to the greater number, would take into consideration those who had voted the wrong way;*" and professedly, as an explanation of this, he told the story of the attempt made on the life of M. Clermont-Tonnerre, which he called "a *little hint for the next debate.*" At the same time he renewed the instances which he asserted himself to have made, twenty times before, to the municipality, the electoral body, and the whole country, that they would send him fresh, and more satisfactory documents; for those which he had, especially those in the name of the Comtat, he was sensible were altogether informal and inconclusive, though he did not doubt to be able to succeed, and of getting the assembly to overlook, in favour of circumstances, what he could not but allow to be essential defects. This letter was printed, a copy of it transmitted to M. Clermont-Tonnerre, and by him denounced to the indignation of the public, and the justice of the assembly. M. Tissot's fresh documents were nevertheless received by the assembly. They were nine in number, and though upon the face of them, they were still more exceptionable than the former, containing nothing from the Comtat, except one petition from the pretended electoral assembly of Vaucluse, were referred to the committee.

A second report in consequence was made, which besides stating these papers, dwelt on the anarchy that desolated the country; the fields without even the appearance of a rising crop; the towns, for the most part, pillaged and burnt; the soldiers subsisting at the point of the sword, and the whole of that beautiful spot verging so rapidly to utter ruin, that if France did not take it into her possession, it would soon present nothing to the view, but cinders and carcases. To these considerations, were added those of the infinite number of petitions to the same effect unceasingly transmitted, and the danger continually incurred, by the adjoining departments, and districts, of Orange, Valence, Aix, Nions, Château-Renard, Nimes, Marseilles, Arles, Courthesson, Tarascon, and many others, all which were described, as themselves on the brink of a civil war, from the open and active part which the inhabitants took, on the one side or the other, in the troubles of Avignon, and the comtat Venaissin. The assembly, however, was not so wholly lost

* Je ne doute pas du succès; tous ceux qui ne sont pas évidemment noirs et qui avoient été noirs, ne peuvent plus décemment dire *non*: il se sont trop bien expliqués sur cela; ce qui nous donne la très grande majorité. *D'ailleurs* LE PEUPLE DE PARIS, QUI A SI BIEN AMENE LE REPENTIR DU PLUS GRANDE NOMBRE, LES METTRA EN CONSIDERATION. *Pour l'explication de ceci, vous saurez que le sieur Clermont-Tonnerre, pour avoir trop fait tapage contre nous, faillit être pendu au sortir de la séance*, et qu'il fallut tous les efforts de la garde nationale et du sieur Bailly, pour sauver son hôtel. C'EST LA UN PETIT AVERTISSEMENT POUR LUNDI. See Pièce très-importante dans l'Affair d'Avignon, par M. Clermont-Tonnere, le 19 Mai 1791, pp. 6 and 7.

to decency, as to adopt the propoſed decree. Mediators inſtead were ordered to be ſent, under a commiſſion from the king, to reſtore peace, to recal all Frenchmen, and prohibit all recruiting in France on either ſide. The reader is already acquainted with the names of the three perſons appointed, and from their own ſubſequent reports, which have been noticed in their proper place, muſt have obſerved their political party, and their avowed connexion with Jourdan.

When the commiſſioners arrived at Orange, they took into their confidence, two men notorious for their attachment to the revolution, and one of them a commander in the firſt expedition againſt Cavaillon. It is true, that a proclamation was iſſued, ordering both parties to lay down their arms; well-intentioned men obeyed it, but it was not enforced againſt Jourdan and his army. The latter alſo were permitted, as well as the pretended electoral aſſembly, to ſend deputies, for the purpoſe of conferring with deputies from the municipalities of Avignon and Carpentras, for the eſtabliſhment of concord and conciliation. An agreement was accordingly drawn up, by which, the entire deciſion on the political ſtate of the country, would have been given into the hands of the pretended electoral aſſembly, and French garriſons put into Avignon and Carpentras. The two cities rejected the articles with great indignation, and remonſtrated upon them, but they were told that they were known to be in ſecret connivance with the Pope, and if they would not ſign the articles willingly, force muſt be * employed. All this while the principal members of the electoral aſſembly, and the chiefs of Jourdan's army, had free acceſs, and were graciouſly received. On the 19th of June, the mediators made a pompous entry into Avignon; the caps of the Huſſars who eſcorted them, the triumphal arches, which were erected in honour of them, the lamps uſed to illuminate the city at night, and the head-dreſſes of the women, had mottos and inſcriptions † expreſſive of an actual union with France. All who did not conform, were ill-treated by a company of ſixty zealous patriots, as they ſtyled themſelves, who went about for that purpoſe, armed with leathern thongs.

Jourdan and his troops had marched into Avignon the day before, with all the air of conquerors from ſome glorious atchievement. With a ſcandalous diſplay of their own reproach, the ſoldiers wore inſcriptions in their hats, announcing, in large letters, that they were the "brave banditti of the army "of the department of Vaucluſe." To theſe banditti and their general, the mediators did the honour of their firſt viſit; and M. Verninac St. Maure, in the name of the whole commiſſion, addreſſed a ſpeech to them, full of the moſt unqualified praiſes on their fidelity, their love of liberty, and their diſcharge of their duty as ſoldiers. They lived in the cloſeſt intimacy with Jourdan, and they were perpetually reproaching the municipal officers with

* See the letter of the mediators, dated Orange, June 16th, 1791. No. 1, Pièces Juſtificatives, annexed to the "Situation Politique," &c. &c.

† Vivre Libre, *François*, ou Mourir.

ingratitude

ingratitude to these their benefactors, without whom the revolution never would have been effected and consolidated. The municipal officers wished the French deserters under Jourdan, to be sent back to France, and the rest of the banditti to lay down their arms; but still this could not be obtained, and they alone were suffered to remain armed and embodied.

Among other measures, the mediators ordered some French troops of the line, and detachments of artillery, to take possession of all the principal towns, under a pretence of securing peace; and soon after they wrote a letter to the commanding officer, M. Ferriere, giving him specific instructions for the regulation of his conduct. They told him, he must give protection to such emigrants as should come back, but he must be careful that their return should have nothing of triumph in it; on the other hand, he must never forget, that they who came from Jourdan's army, were citizens who had sacrificed every thing for liberty, and who merited esteem and consideration. He was above all things to prevent party designations, always invidious, but inexcusable when they leaned hard upon those who had the courage * to shed their blood in support of liberty. The troops of the line however, by their good behaviour, in most places won the confidence of the inhabitants.

There was to be an assembly of active citizens at Avignon, on the 8th of July, to deliberate, among other things, on the union with France; application was made to the mediators, for a detachment of the troops of the line to mount guard that day; they promised it, but never gave any orders to that effect. Instead, an hundred of the banditti went armed to the church, which was the place of meeting, threatened to take the heads of any who should show the least desire of remaining under the dominion of the Pope, and added, with a savage levity, which is more revolting than cruelty itself, that they wanted some heads to play at bowls. M. Audifret, one of the first partisans of the union, ventured to remonstrate, was seized, dragged before the mediators as a criminal, and by them reprimanded. The officers of the regular troops then in the city, complained, that it was too humiliating for military men to be quiet spectators of such excesses as were committed with impunity under their eyes, and desired authority to repress them; on which they were answered, that they should keep the soldiers in their barracks, without regarding what passed in the city.

Two days after, the districts † of

* See their letter to M. Ferriere, dated 1st July. Pièces Justificatives, No. 2.

† It was asserted, in a public memorial from the emigrants of Avignon, that some of them, having asked the mediators at Ville Neuve, on the 9th of July, whether they might safely attend the meeting the next day? were answered "Yes, if "they meant to vote for the union; if for the Pope, their lives would be in "jeopardy." M. Verninac St. Maure, however, denied this in the national assembly. Most of the facts related in the text, respecting the partial conduct of the mediators, are quoted by M. Clermont-Tonnerre from that memorial. Some others of the same stamp are added from the Situation Politique.

Avignon

Avignon met on the same subject. In two of the churches used for that purpose, the banditti opened several graves, and publicly threatened to bury every person alive, who should vote against their opinions. One of the officers of the city, named M. Monnier, who desired that all such persons as did not belong to the district, would not disturb the meeting, was actually thrown into one of the graves, though he was fortunately rescued alive. When the mediators were informed of these transactions, they ordered the graves to be filled up, but they would not suffer the municipality to make an entry of the fact on the proceedings.

The representations of the mediators, had now obtained from the national assembly a new decree, giving them a power to call in the national guards of the neighbouring departments, as well as the troops of the line. They immediately dismissed most of the latter, and sent for some chosen bodies of the former, not indiscriminately from all the neighbouring departments and districts, but particularly from those which had always maintained a connection with Jourdan and his army. These were principally from Marseilles *, Aix, and Montpelier, from the protestant towns of the Cevennes, and the protestant companies of Nîmes. Four hundred of the latter were marched into Avignon, on the morning of the 15th, when the mediators having on the preceding day obtained a vote to their minds from a thin meeting of the districts, summoned, by sound of trumpet, all who had not attended, to come and sign the resolution. With the help of these national guards, who threatened to hang all traitors that should pronounce the name of the Pope, and the banditti, who beat two men to death for not having national cockades, a sufficient number of signatures was procured.

The pretended electoral assembly, towards the latter end of the month, opened its sittings, in the town of Bédarrides, under the protection of a detachment of national guards from Marseilles. The mediators wrote to them a very flattering letter, telling them, that for the honour of their principles, and the good of the state, they were bound to recognise in them, the depositaries of the sovereignty of the people, who had delegated them; and that the national assembly, in honouring with their approbation all the measures of the mediators, had rendered homage to the same principles: they were therefore the representatives of the two states, formerly known by the names of Avignon and the comtat Venaissin, but now consolidated into the department of Vaucluse.

While this assembly was exercising the powers so committed to it, the mediators were visiting different parts of the Comtat, to give protection, as they said, to those of Jourdan's recruits, who having returned to their homes, were in some places capitally punished for their crimes by a public execution, and in others put to death by private revenge. They went also, accompanied by guards, to various meet-

* The arrival of the national guards of Marseilles, to exterminate all traitors, was previously announced in a newspaper belonging to Tournal, one of Jourdan's officers.

ings

ings of districts, for the purpose of influencing their votes, and in the upper division of the Comtat, where they universally failed, they sometimes addressed themselves, though in vain, to the populace. In one of these expeditions, when M. Scene-Desmaison entered Carpentras, he struck the inhabitants with the greatest consternation and horror, by bringing in his train, Guerrin de Mazin, who, during the siege of that city, was reported to have cut the throats of some unarmed prisoners, and to have feasted, with his comrades, on their livers *. There was a club in that city, which was adverse to the views of the mediators: it was dispersed, the papers seized, and the president ordered to attend † them at Avignon, and give an account of the proceedings. On the other hand, M. Verninac himself attended a Jacobin club in the same city, which he called a society devoted to the priesthood of the French laws, and where he delivered a furious invective against the old government, the Pope, and queen Joan of Naples. He was also president of a Jacobin club at Avignon, and in that character, signed a circular letter to ‡ contradict the "calumnies which had been spread "by factious people against the "citizens and soldiery, who at Sar-"rian had vanquished the enemies "of the French constitution."

In the mean time, the situation of Avignon was becoming every day more critical. Jourdan and his banditti, not being able to obtain the pay which they demanded, lived at free-quarter: they seized what they chose, and the sufferers, who complained to M. Verninac, and his colleagues, were answered, that the men must eat: they pressed horses, and then offered to sell them again to the owners, some of whom, applying for redress, were told, pay "them, pay them, you are very well "off at that price." At last the question of the army-debt was brought forward. The common council rejected the demand; it was however strongly supported by the commissioners, and abbé Mulot, one of them, went so far as to threaten one of the principal officers with imprisonment. Three days after, the banditti returned in force to the charge. M. Verninac addressed the council in their behalf; he demanded, that as these citizens had made great sacrifices for the commonwealth, the sections should be summoned to consider of a proper gratification. The menaces and cries of the lamp-post, which were mingled with the applause of his speech, succeeded where his eloquence alone might have failed. The council agreed to allow them the pay recently settled for the French army, by the national assembly, (which however was not much above one third of their demand) and to call the sections together for the purpose of raising the money. Flushed with their victory, they spread dismay through the city, by their shouts and denunciations of vengeance against all the aristocrats. The troops of the line, scandalised at the disorders which they were not allowed to prevent, desired permission to evacuate their posts, and were accordingly relieved by the national guards of Nîmes. The

* La Situation Politique d'Avignon, &c. pp. 37 and 38.
† Pièces Justificatives, No. 8.
‡ Pièces Justificatives, No. 4.

municipality

municipality immediately opened a forced loan, to be filled in three days, for the purpoſe of ſatisfying Jourdan and his troops. Orders for the inſtant payment of different ſums, from ſix hundred up to four thouſand livres, were ſent to ſuch of the citizens as were ſelected for this arbitrary aſſeſſment. The mediators, if any complaints were made to them of theſe exactions, only anſwered, "pay immediately, "nothing can be more juſt." They even iſſued their warrants for the arreſt and impriſonment of ſome who refuſed.

Their next ſtep was to reinſtate M. Raphel, the early * correſpondent of M. M. Camus and Bouche, in the office of chief juſtice, which he had vacated to follow the army, and which had been filled by the diſtricts with a much more reſpectable man, of the name of Couſtaing. No ſooner was M. Raphel again placed in the judgment-ſeat, than he quaſhed all the proceedings againſt M. M. Mainville, Duprat, and Tournal, who had been chiefs under Jourdan. The two former therefore were reſtored to the exerciſe of their functions, as municipal officers, and the latter to his rank of Notable.

By theſe intrigues, the effective power of the city was put into the hands of thoſe who were in concert with Jourdan. The latter loſt no time in repeating the old demand of pay to the full extent, which M. Verninac had compromiſed in his name. Theſe pretenſions were urged with the ſame inſults and menaces as before. At length, on Sunday the 21ſt, Jourdan, at the head of two hundred men, made himſelf maſter of the palace, inſiſted on having, from the municipality, the keys of the arſenal, got poſſeſſion of a quantity of gunpowder and cannon, which he loaded and pointed at every approach to the palace. The alarm-bell was ſounded. The citizens, in diſmay, hurried away from the city at every outlet. All of diſtinction who remained, and ſuch of the municipal officers as were not of Jourdan's party, were ſeized and impriſoned in the palace to the number of ſixty, or as ſome accounts ſay, eighty. The houſes of two opulent citizens were pillaged. A perſon of the name of Foreſtier was murdered with circumſtances of great cruelty: his two arms were firſt hacked off, he was wounded with a piſtol, and afterwards diſpatched with muſquets, his head cut off, and carried in triumph on a bayonet. The priſoners in the palace were drawn out one by one, condemned by a mock trial, and aſſaſſinated. Fifteen are ſaid to have periſhed in this manner during the two or three firſt days. M. Aime, who had originally been a warm promoter of the revolution, though as a juſtice, he had afterwards taken the informations againſt the chiefs of the banditti, had eſcaped into France; but he had too laudably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in thoſe proſecutions, not to be marked for deſtruction. By a ſecret expedition, he was ſurpriſed in the night at Maillane, where he had taken refuge, and was brought into Avignon, ſtretched out in a cart nearly dead, bathed in his own blood, and covered with wounds, while one of

* See the proclamation of the mediators reſpecting M. Raphel, dated 10th Auguſt, in Pièces Juſtificatives, No. 7.

the

the assassins was sitting by his side with a drawn sabre in his hand, exulting over him to the populace, and reviling him in the most opprobrious language. His wife and children implored permission to take a last farewell, but were refused with insolence and brutality. His eldest son threw himself at the feet of abbé Mulot, who, whether fearing the licentiousness of the oppressors, or the desperate resentment of the oppressed, had fled to Courtheson in France, and with all the importunity of filial piety intreated him to interpose the authority of his mediation in favour of his father; but that authority was now unable to check the lawless violence which it had fostered. Masters of the city, the banditti published, by sound of trumpet, an edict of indefinite proscription against all who should not support the nation, the constitution, and liberty. At the same time, they discussed the project of a new tax, to the amount of a hundred thousand crowns, while the pretended electoral assembly on their side, suppressed the religious orders, and confiscated their property. Amidst these continual alarms and vexations, few of any decent description chose now to remain in Avignon; numbers fled daily, and the population of that city, which had consisted of thirty thousand inhabitants, was reduced under five thousand. The surviving prisoners in the dungeons of the palace, had from time to time new companions in misery, till the innocent and the guilty, those who had preserved their duty inviolate to their sovereign and their God, and those who had renounced both, were soon after confounded in one indiscriminate massacre, which came to be boasted, as one of the signal atchievements of the revolution.

Such was the lamentable condition to which this once flourishing and happy spot was reduced, when the national assembly, in the manner already related, took it into their own hands, under a pretence of putting a stop to those calamities which their intrigues had occasioned; and in that condition they left it to their successors. The example which was thus made, and the principles on which it was justified, could not but interest every sovereign in Europe, but more particularly applied to the king of Sardinia, who held territories which had been anciently dismembered in the same manner from Provence; and the whole train of the transactions was another direct attack upon the German empire. Provence was a part of the ancient kingdom of Arles; and at the time of both cessions, first of the comtat Venaissin, and afterwards of Avignon, the Emperor was the undoubted sovereign. During the interval, in the year 1259, Louis the IXth of France, and Raymond count of Toulouse, by a solemn instrument recognised his supremacy over all the territory on the left of the Rhone; the cession of Avignon, by queen Joan, was thought necessary to be ratified by him; so late as the Year 1366, the Emperor Charles the IVth was solemnly crowned king of Arles; and twelve years after, at Paris, he conferred on the dauphin Charles the title and authority of vicar of the empire for that kingdom. It was by virtue of this instrument (which, down to the time of the revolution, was preserved in the archives of Paris) that the kings of France exercised power over Provence, till they

they ſucceeded by blood to the ancient counts, when they dropped their vicarial authority. They were vaſſals too powerful to be compelled to do homage; but the Pope had always acknowledged his little domains to be fiefs of the empire, and if the kings of France choſe to remount to the rights of the counts of Provence, at the epoch that the reſpective ceſſions to the Roman ſee took place, they could only claim thoſe rights as they then ſtood, ſubject to the cognisance and controul of the then undiſputed ſovereign. In fact, when the kings of France had ſeized theſe territories of the Pope, the Emperors had been in the cuſtom of interpoſing the protection of their ſovereignty. This was eſpecially done in 1768, when poſſeſſion was taken by Louis XVth, and it was in conſequence of the proofs exhibited by the imperial miniſter, to the perfect ſatisfaction of the court of Verſailles, that the work of M. Moneiar was ſuppreſſed.

While the wrongs of the princes in Alſace and Lorraine were ſtill under conſideration of the diet at Ratisbon, this new queſtion was brought before them *, by the archbiſhop of Treves, who was arch-chancellor of the empire for the kingdom of Arles, and added not a little to the jealouſy and irritation, which the members of the Germanic body felt at the proceedings of the national aſſembly.

If direct attempts to diſturb the peace of other neighbouring countries were not openly ſanctioned by the national aſſembly, yet they were notoriouſly made by private agents of the French clubs, in undoubted connexion with the leaders of the revolution. Incendiary pamphlets and papers were early diſtributed among the peaſants of Fribourg, Soleure, and other ariſtocratical cantons of Switzerland, to acquaint them with their grievances, which they did not ſeem themſelves to feel. In the ſummer of 1790, M. de Perigny, a French agent, was taken up in the Païs de Vaud, for diſtributing writings calculated to raiſe an inſurrection among the peaſants. He was alſo accuſed of having endeavoured to kindle a civil war between the peaſants of the Upper and Lower Valais. Yet fearing to offend the government and national aſſembly of France, the Swiſs only baniſhed him for ever from the country. The 14th of July, however, was celebrated the next year, by a large party with great parade and oſtentation. Soon after, the ſenate of Berne took up ſeveral perſons on charges of treaſon, repeated information having been received, that a plot had been actually laid, in concert with ſome of the jacobin clubs of Dijon, and other places on the borders, to effect the union of the Païs de Vaud with France, in the ſame manner as that of Avignon and the Comtat Venaiſſin; and it was added, that the ramifications of this conſpiracy extended to Geneva, and part of Savoy. It was on this occaſion that the club of Dijon, wrote the offenſive and imperious letter to the

* In an official report full of learning, and altogether highly ſatisfactory on the ſubject. It was afterwards printed at Ratiſbon, in French, and is the ſource of the ſhort ſtatement which has been given above, of the Emperor's rights, and connexion with Avignon.

bailiff

bailiff of Lauſanne, which has been already ſtated, and Swiſs writers in the French journals, openly adviſed the French to ſeize the Païs de Vaud, as part of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy. It is curious to obſerve theſe enemies of every thing feudal, perpetually hunting for pretexts of ambition, among obſolete feudal rights, at beſt of a doubtful kind, and extinguiſhed by a poſſeſſion of centuries ſuperadded to formal recognitions of repeated treaties.

In the beginning of 1791, the magiſtrates of Geneva were inſulted with ſongs, borrowed from the French revolution, and altered to the circumſtances of that republic; threatening them, and all the burghers too, with the lamp-poſt. Theſe indications were ſoon followed by an open attack which the neighbouring peaſants made upon the town, but the firm countenance of the citizens preventing any party within the walls from ſhewing itſelf in favour of the inſurgents, the latter were repulſed. There was no doubt, that the Swiſs peaſants had been excited to this daring attempt by their French neighbours in the county of Gex; and the mayor of that town was ſuppoſed to have been the ſecret author and planner of the whole.

Theſe facts, and the ſuſpicions of the magiſtrates of Berne and Geneva, were no ſecrets to the national aſſembly: every thing was repreſented in the moſt exulting manner, on the ſide of the revolution by the French Journaliſts, inſomuch that the ſenate of Berne found it neceſſary at laſt to prohibit the importation of their papers: yet the aſſembly never made any one declaration, or took any one direct meaſure to quiet the juſt alarms of the cantons. They even received with favour at their bar, ſoon * after the affair of Nancy, a deputation from a Swiſs club at Paris, who were known to be adverſe to the exiſting governments of their native country, and who in their addreſs on that occaſion, mingled very intelligible cenſures on thoſe governments.

An emiſſary of the jacobin club, appeared alſo the ſame ſpring at Naples. He choſe his time when the king was gone to meet the Emperor. He took his ſtation in the great ſquare, dreſſed in the habit of a pilgrim, diſtributed ſeditious hand-bills, and kept affectedly kiſſing a ſtone, which, he informed the populace, was from the ruins of the Baſtile. The Lazzaroni, attached to their king, and underſtanding no more of his harangue, than that he wanted to excite an inſurrection, were for throwing him into the ſea. Their chief, however, thought it right to inform the miniſter. He did ſo, adding his advice, to which he repeatedly recurred, that the beſt way would be to throw the pilgrim into the ſea. At laſt, finding the miniſter reſolute to proceed a little more according to the ordinary forms of juſtice, he undertook with his fellows to conduct the offender to priſon, whence he was afterwards ſent into baniſhment in the iſland of Maritima, one of the Ægades on the weſt ſide † of Sicily. Some ſymptoms in Spain, during this ſame year, induced the court of Madrid to order a par-

* See Ann. Reg. Vol. 32, for 1790. Hiſt. Art. page 154.

† Count Stolberg's Travels.

ticular oath of allegiance to be taken by foreigners, and all intercourse between them and their own respective countries to be prohibited; a measure understood to be directed against the French, of whom there were no less than 60,000 in Spain. Several other states were also alarmed, and many disturbances, or attempts at disturbances, more or less directly attributed to French agency, are related in the foreign journals of this period. But different parts of Germany, or the German dependencies in the Netherlands, seem to have been the principal scenes of these machinations; and the diet of Ratisbon, not long after the senate of Berne, found it necessary for their own safety to recommend, that the Emperor should take general measures throughout the empire, to prevent the circulation of seditious writings and principles, tending to raise insurrections, and overturn the constitution. All these culpable acts and designs certainly cannot be immediately imputed to the national assembly, but they were just grounds for all the powers of Europe, especially those in the neighbourhood, to keep a stricter eye upon the declarations and conduct of the assembly itself; and of what nature they were, has been already seen.

The French revolution found count Hertzberg at the head of the Prussian counsels. His preference of a well-administered monarchy to every other form of government is well known. He believed that provincial states might be of great utility under a king, but he thought that states-general, with a legislative power, were attended with some danger, from the disposition of such bodies to extend the limits of their authority, and he without scruple pronounced the celebrated distinction of Montesquieu, that virtue was the principle of a republic, and honour of a monarchy, to be a * confusion of ideas, and a mere sophism. In regard to his practical politics, he justly thought, that the general balance of power, and with it the independence and happiness of Europe, depended principally on the internal balance of Germany, as settled by the treaty of Westphalia, which in his judgment was "deservedly esteemed the first sacred law to all the "nations of Europe;" and he further held, that it peculiarly belonged to Prussia, from local circumstances, to take a decided part in the conservation of that system, guiding herself, upon every occasion, by the rules and maxims of a grand, wise, just, and generous policy. Such were his last opinions †, under his old master, whom he had served near half a century, and they professed to look forward to the reign of the successor. To all this, he added a true estimate of the philosophical reformers in France, whose character he had learned to appreciate from Frederic the great. That able statesman and great monarch early conceived an alarm at the designs of his literary friends. He generally warned kings of their danger, in a critical examination, which he published, of the system

* See his Academical Dissertation, in 1784, on the best form of government; and his letter to the king of Prussia, dated January 26th, 1787, in consequence of having received the king's Essay on Government.

† See M. Hertzberg's Academical Dissertation, 1786.

of nature, one of the books which iſſued from the ſecret club at baron Holbach's, and which went under the name of Robinet, but was, in truth, principally, if not entirely, compoſed by Diderot. He particularly laid open the whole plan of the Encyclopediſts for overturning, under the pretence of improving, Europe. He pointed out their arrogant contempt of all antiquity; the noble aſſurance with which they aſſerted any paradox that croſſed their imagination; their ſcientific jargon; the unrelenting fury with which they avenged all rebellion againſt the majeſty of their philoſophy; their pretenſions to an elevated ſtyle of thinking, to a right of ſpeaking the truth in all caſes, and to a monopoly of all truth among themſelves; their boaſt of their own light, and of their labours for enlightening mankind, by attacking all ſorts of prejudices in an infinite variety of inſidious publications; their affectation of a holy horror for war; their invectives againſt military glory, and military men, whom they repreſented as mercenary robbers and cut-throats, ſent by a tyrant to commit all ſorts of crimes and atrocities upon the innocent people; their ſchemes of reforming all governments, and eſpecially of making France a republican ſtate, of which a geometer ſhould be the legiſlator, and geometers the governors, which was to profeſs univerſal peace, and to ſubſiſt without a ſtanding army; and finally, their diſpoſition to tear each other in pieces with inteſtine wars, if they were maſters of arms and troops. Treating them as he then did *, with ridicule and contempt, he concluded with propoſing to give theſe men the government of ſome province, which deſerved to be ſeverely chaſtiſed, that experience, when they had turned every thing upſide-down, might convince them of their own ignorance. In the latter part of his life, he ſeems to have viewed the matter more ſeriouſly. An anecdote is related of him, though not in print, which if it could be verified, would immediately apply to this point. It is ſaid, that having liſtened to an amicable debate between M. Hertzberg, and the marquis Lucheſini, in which the latter maintained, againſt the opinion of the former, that Europe was likely to become in a great degree republican, and that the monarchy of France was in effect very much republicanized, the king, after pauſing a little, ſaid, he did not think the marquis very far wrong. In his general principles he certainly ſhewed that he had ſomewhat changed his manner of thinking. Not a year before his death, when M. Condorcet had ſent him his treatiſe againſt capital puniſhments, he anſwered, that he had found from experience how neceſſary it was, not to hold negligent-

* The Dialogue of the Dead, between prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and prince Winceſlaus of Lichtenſteim, whence the above character of the Encyclopediſts is taken, was written about the year 1773; it ſpeaks of the late lord Cheſterfield, and the king of Sardinia, as being the laſt arrived below. This is a very early and diſtinct prophecy; or rather it is in truth not ſo much a prophecy, as unexceptionable evidence from one who was in the ſecret, but did not like that part of the conſpiracy which was levelled at his own dignity and fame.

ly any of the reins by which mankind is guided; and we are informed by his hiſtoriographer Denina, with reference to the licentiouſneſs which he had too much encouraged, that towards the end of his days, he frequently ſaid, "he would willingly part with one of his fingers, "if he could have left the morals "of the nation ſuch as he had found "them."

Frederic William, when he mounted the throne, though he had been admitted into the brotherhood of the Illuminated, manifeſted a marked reſpect for religion. He regularly attended thoſe preachers who were eſteemed the moſt orthodox, and iſſued an edict, which occaſioned a great ferment among thoſe literary men of Germany who were favourers of the new doctrines. There was alſo one particular of his conduct, which early ſeemed to ſhew, that the leſſon of the French revolution was not loſt upon him. He abandoned a deſign, which he had once entertained, of aſſembling deputies from all the different provinces of his dominions, for the ſolemn promulgation of a new code of laws, which had been begun, but was left unfiniſhed by his predeceſſor *. Occupied, however, as he and his miniſter were with the balance of the north, which more immediately touched Pruſſia, and following the ancient policy of the houſe of Brandenbourg, rather to watch opportunities with a formidable force ready to take advantage of circumſtances, than haſtily to commit the ſtate by deciſive meaſures, they contented themſelves with keeping the French national aſſembly in view, and while no imminent danger threatened from that quarter, appeared to reſt ſatisfied with the declaration, that France would attempt no conqueſts. After the convention of Riechenbach, indeed, the king, by the advice of his new counſellors, ſeemed to give ſome countenance to the princes of Alſace and Lorraine, whoſe cauſe was generally favoured in the diet of Ratiſbon. Still he was in a ſituation approaching to hoſtility with Ruſſia, under which circumſtance it would have been highly impolitic to have diſcovered too much anxiety about the affairs of the South: nor was it till the ſummer of 1791, that he was at leiſure to take any open and direct part relative to France.

The Emperor was much more nearly concerned, and much ſooner in a ſituation to have acted. But whether from the leaning, which he ſhowed in many inſtances, towards the new philoſophy; whether from his naturally pacific diſpoſition; whether from his fears for the ſafety of the Netherlands, or of his ſiſter, whom Mirabeau publicly called a hoſtage in the hands of his faction; or whether from a reliance on thoſe hopes, which Louis the XVIth and his queen too long entertained, of regaining by gentle means a reaſonable ſhare of authority in a limited monarchy; Leopold, whatever was the true cauſe, did not early diſcover any inclination to ſtir. When the firſt remonſtrance to the court of France, on the ſubject of Alſace and Lorraine, received an anſwer highly unfavourable both in matter and form, he with-

* See abbé Dénina's Eſſay on the Life of Frederic the Second, part 2. chap. 8. note at the end.

held

held it for six weeks from the diet: indeed it was afterwards admitted on the other side, that he had, in the early part of the year 1791, much allayed and * repressed the heat of the Germanic body against the national assembly. He refused, when confidential applications were made to him, to take any open † step in behalf of his brother-in-law and sister, till they should be in a place of safety, and at the head of some party in the kingdom; under which circumstances, the clear law of nations would have allowed him a right, and his situation would have made it a duty, to have interfered. No sooner had he fully recovered the Netherlands, than he marched back the greater part of his troops; and when M. Bouillé wanted an Austrian force to show itself on the frontiers, that he might have a pretext for drawing together a camp at Montmedi, in order to favour the king's flight, that officer was obliged to propagate a ‡ false report of a danger, which he knew not to exist. The Emperor's private offer of assistance from Mantua, on the 18th of § May, is the first measure tending to actual hostility against any party in France, which can be traced in his declarations or actions, and that plan was rejected.

At length, after the arrest of the king on his departure from Paris, and his subsequent detention in a state of captivity, the Emperor, on the 6th of July, sent to several European courts ‖, a circular letter from Padua, in which he invited them to join with him in the following declarations to France; that, viewing the cause of the French king as their own, they jointly insisted upon his perfect liberation, with that of the whole royal family; that, if the liberty, respect, and inviolability, due to princes, should be denied to him, they would unite to avenge such an insult; that they refused to regard, as constitutional regulations legally established, any but those, which should have the voluntary acquiescence of the king enjoying perfect freedom; and that, if their demands were not complied with, they would employ in concert all the means they possessed, of putting a stop to so scandalous an usurpation of power, which bore the appearance of open rebellion, and might affect, by its example, the tranquillity of other governments. Such was the first attempt to unite the great powers of Europe in a confederacy against France, after she had repeatedly, in the whole course of the revolution, given provocations which never could have been overlooked in any established government under the ancient system.

In the course of the same month, the preliminary articles of a defensive alliance, between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, was signed. All that we know of them is, that the contracting parties agreed to consult together for the establishment of such a concert.

This approximation of the two great rival powers of the German empire, was drawn still closer by

* See Mr. Koch's report to the legislative assembly, February 1st, 1792.
† Bouillé's Memoirs, page 151.
‡ Bouillé's Memoirs, page 334.
§ See above, page 154.
‖ State Papers, p. 222*.

the celebrated interview at Pilnitz, Many reasons have already been assigned in the History * of Poland. for disbelieving the existence of any such secret treaty, as was pretended to have been made on that occasion. Nothing more appears to have passed, than a joint-declaration † which the Count d'Artois, who had followed the Emperor thither from Vienna, obtained by his importunity from the two monarchs. In this instrument, considering the situation of Louis the XVIth as an object of common concern to all the sovereigns of Europe, they called upon the several powers, from whom assistance was requested, so to employ, in conjunction with themselves, the most efficacious means according to their forces, as to furnish the king of France with the ability of consolidating in the most perfect liberty, the basis of a monarchical government, equally suitable to the rights of sovereigns, and the welfare of the French nation. In the mean time they proposed to keep their own troops in a state of preparation for actual service, whenever necessary.

The Count d' Artois returned with this declaration to his brother the Count de Provence, who went out from Coblentz with a train of noblemen and gentlemen to receive him. The princes met on the further bank of the Rhine. Their meeting was tender and melancholy. They remained for some time locked in each other's embraces, silent and in tears. It was evident to those who attentively observed the countenance of the younger brother, that he did not believe himself to bring much consolation to the doubtful fortunes of his family, and it was soon known to those who were in their confidence, that they considered their cause as in effect abandoned. It was resolved, however, on consultation in their little privy council, to publish the declaration of Pilnitz, in the

* See those reasons above, page 53. While this chapter has been kept open at the press, so important a testimony, and from so high authority, has been given to the world, that it has been thought right to add it here. It is a passage in a dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, at Lisle, dated July 20th 1797, and was occasioned by an allusion of one of the French commissioners, to the supposed treaty of Pilnitz.

"Your lordship should take this opportunity to explain, in the most distinct "and unequivocal terms, that if any secret treaty was in fact concluded at the "interview at Pilnitz, between the late Emperor and the king of Prussia, (which "is, to say the least, very doubtful in point of fact) this at least is certain, that his "majesty was no party to such treaty; and not only was not then included in it, "but has never since adhered to it, nor even been apprised of its contents. The "public declaration which was made at that interview, shews, on the face of it, "that his majesty was no party to it; and it is, indeed, notorious, that it applied "to circumstances which were done away long before the war broke out between "Austria and France, and that the subsequent negociations for the maintenance "of peace between those powers, turned on points wholly distinct from those supposed to have been referred to in the pretended treaty of Pilnitz.

"This explanation, however little connected with the present negociation, "seems to be called for by the allusion made to you upon the subject; and indeed, on a point on which so much misrepresentation has prevailed, it is useful "not to omit the opportunity of stating the facts as they really are."

† State Papers, page 227*.

hope

hope of binding the two ſovereigns more firmly to the tenor of their engagements, and keeping up the ſpirits of their companions in adverſity, till the courſe of events, which then ſeemed rapidly haſtening to a criſis, ſhould finally decide their fate. Accordingly, it was printed, with a letter from the two princes to the king their brother. Both the letter and the declaration were openly advertiſed for ſale in Paris, before the diſſolution of the national aſſembly; they were even copied into ſome of the principal journals, and that concert between the Auſtrian and Pruſſian monarchs, which has ſince been the ſubject of ſo unceaſing a cry among the friends of the French revolution throughout Europe, was at the time ſtrongly * ridiculed by the democratic faction in France, as a mere illuſion to evade the troubleſome ſuit of the exiled princes, while the royaliſts in vain endeavoured to ſupport it, as a ſure promiſe of protection and ſuccour. The leaders of the national aſſembly in the laſt ſitting, clearly marked their ſenſe of it. They revoked a long liſt of promotions, which they had ordered only the day before, among all the upper ranks of the French ſervice; a meaſure which ſpoke plainly enough in itſelf, and which, in fact, was adopted in conſequence of aſſurances from M. Fretau, that no danger whatever was to be apprehended from any foreign powers, ſince the king had notified his ſolemn acceptance of the conſtitution.

* See for this important fact, on the one ſide the Moniteurs, and on the other the Ami du Roi, of the latter end of September, and the beginning of October.

CHAP. IX.

Internal ſituation of France. Diſſenſions in families. Jacobinical influence. Weakneſs of the Conſtitutionaliſts. Briſſot, his foreign and domeſtic politics. Abbé Fauchet elected into the new legiſlature. Debates on his election. The legiſlative aſſembly take the oath of fidelity to the conſtitution. Ceremonial adopted on the occaſion: Diſplays a diſpoſition to degrade royalty. M. Ducaſtel cenſured for uſing the words "Sire and Majeſty," in addreſſing the king. Decree to ſuppreſs the chair of ſtate, and to place the king in a chair ſimilar to that of the preſident, on the preſident's left hand. Public alarm in conſequence of the diſpoſition evinced by the aſſembly. Decree againſt the chair of ſtate adjourned. King's reſolution of adhering to the conſtitution. He repairs to the aſſembly. Aſſembly jealous of the royal interference. Decree to deprive Monſieur of his right to the regency, and againſt the emigrants in general. Louis refuſes his ſanction, by the advice of the miniſtry. Aſſembly refuſes to hear the miniſters in explanation of the royal motives. Decree againſt the prieſts. Speech of M. Iſnard. The ſanction likewiſe refuſed to this decree. Addreſſes to the aſſembly againſt the exerciſe of the royal veto. Inflammatory language in many of them applauded. A cenſure on them moved; but rejected. Aſſembly refuſes to hear a letter

from the keeper of the seals read. The commissioners for carrying decrees to the Thuilleries, complain of not being received in a proper apartment. King's letter on the subject. Disrespectful answer of the president. The ministers thwarted in their measures. M. Montmorin resigns, and is succeeded by M. de Lessart. He is accused by abbé Fauchet, and acquitted. Colonies. Violence of M. Brissot on that subject. Concordat confirmed. Affairs of Avignon. Lescuyer put to death by the populace. Massacre of the Ice House. Horror of the national assembly. Complaint of Jourdan's party against two of the mediators. Counter address of the city of Avignon. New commissioners sent by the assembly. Accusations against them. Committee appointed to examine into the crimes committed at Avignon. Partial report. Attempt of the Marsellois to liberate Jourdan prevented. Amnesty for Jourdan and his banditti moved in the assembly. Deputy extraordinary from Avignon, with an account of the judicial proceedings against the chiefs of the banditti. He is coolly received by the assembly, and insulted by M. Bazire. Speeches in favour of the amnesty. It is decreed. Jourdan returns in triumph to Avignon, threatens the inhabitants, and exercises the same cruelties as before. Regiment of Chateau Vieux. Commencement of a negociation with the Emperor. Complaints against several German princes for permitting hostile assemblies of the emigrants. No ground for complaints of this kind against the Emperor. M. Rews derides the support which the emigrants were likely to obtain in Germany. M. Averhoult. Minister for foreign affairs informs the assembly, that orders had been given for the suppression of every hostile preparation of the emigrants throughout Germany. M. Ruhl. Applauded speech of M. Isnard. Assembly addresses the king, complaining of a want of energy in the diplomatic line. Harangue of Anacharsis Cloots, and the president's answer. King goes down to the assembly. His speech. Reply of the assembly. Assembly impatient for war, issues a manifesto on the subject. Speech of Brissot on the occasion. Particulars of the manifesto. The elector of Treves disperses the bodies of emigrants in his dominions. The government at Brussels complains of favours bestowed on emigrants from the Netherlands in France. Several Dutch emigrants appear at the bar of the assembly, and are termed by the president, "Allies of the French people." Assembly enters into an alliance with an obscure society in London, calling themselves Constitutional Whigs. Refugees from Brabant and Liege permitted to form themselves into a deliberating body, and to pass resolutions against their respective sovereigns. New pretext for war. Offence taken at certain expressions in a dispatch of Prince Kaunitz. Divisions among the Jacobins on the subject. Dispute in consequence between Brissot and Robespierre. The opinion of the former prevails. Brissot's boast of having been the author of the war. Debate on Prince Kaunitz's dispatch. Decree against any Frenchman's taking part in a supposed congress for the modification of the French constitution. Brissot stimulates the assembly to an immediate war with the Emperor. The assembly again addresses the king. King's answer to the address. M. de Lessart's instructions to the French embassador at Vienna. Counter instructions of Prince Kaunitz, explanatory of the Emperor's conduct and motives. The Prussian envoy informs M. de Lessart,

that his Pruſſian majeſty would oppoſe any invaſion of the German territory. De Leſſart impeached and ſent to Orleans. Succeeded by M. Dumourier, who ſolicits a correſpondence with the jacobin club. Death of the Emperor. Further progreſs of the negociation. Communications from Dumourier. Conference between M. Noailles, the French embaſſador, and Count Cobentzel. The king of Pruſſia courted. The French cabinet reſolve on a declaration of war againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia. Secret agent from Vienna at Paris during the negociations. The king propoſes the war to the aſſembly, which receives the propoſal with tranſport.

THE internal ſituation of France, on the meeting of the new legiſlature, did not promiſe the ſpeedy accompliſhment of the pleaſing hopes, with which the former aſſembly had flattered the king and the people; that, as the important work of the conſtitution was now terminated, the revolutionary ferment would ſubſide, and a new æra of public order and tranquillity ſucceed. Every day teemed with accounts of freſh crimes, diſtinguiſhed by novel circumſtances of ferocity. Common thefts and robberies were hardly regarded; murders and maſſacres of the moſt daring kind were continually committed; while the newly conſtituted authorities ſeemed more aſſiduous in aſſerting and extending their powers for political purpoſes, than in ſeeking out and puniſhing the guilty. Perſons of bad characters and looſe principles, profligates overwhelmed with debts and crimes, deiſts and atheiſts, every where thruſt themſelves forward to public notice; and unhappily became truſted and admired in official ſituations, to which nothing but a pretended patriotiſm could poſſibly recommend them. On the other hand, the more reſpectable part of the community, with the real friends of their country, deprived of all public regard and public confidence, wept in ſilence and ſolitude over evils, for which they were incapable of providing a remedy, or fled from a kingdom that ſeemed devoted to diſtraction and anarchy. In private families, perpetual diſſenſions reigned; brethren divided in political opinion againſt brethren, children againſt their parents, and wives againſt their huſbands. While one warmly argued in favour of an abſolute monarchy, the other as warmly oppoſed it; the more moderate party preferred a monarchy on a limited plan; the philoſophical zealot inſiſted on the neceſſity of aboliſhing all royalty, and of eſtabliſhing a republic. The conſtitution itſelf, compoſed of diſcordant and jarring materials, only tended to ſet perſons of oppoſite political principles more at variance, while each ſtruggled to interpret it in the ſenſe moſt favourable to his own views.

At this unſettled juncture, the only public bodies in the kingdom, capable of directing the bias of popular opinion, were the clubs of the Jacobins. The decree lately paſſed, relative to ſuch ſocieties, could not, even if it had been much more efficacious in its own nature, have yet been put fully in force. Their influence ſtill continued in all its vigour; they were again firmly united under the great mother club; and they had ſucceeded in returning to the new legiſlature, a majority

jority of their own members and partisans.

The leading deputies of the dissolved assembly, excluded as they were against their wills by their own constitution, from being now re-elected, immediately began to experience the effects which they had apprehended. They found themselves at once sinking into insignificance. They had very little share of political influence, except in the directories of the departments, where generally, though by no means universally, they had secured a majority; while they had still more generally against them, the administrative bodies, the municipalities, the clubs, and the populace. In Paris, indeed, M. La Fayette was at the head of the national guards; but a plot had long been regularly pursued, for debauching them from his interests, and sooner or later they would necessarily take the tone of the popular societies, with which they daily mingled. Among the inhabitants at large, the Constitutionalists had been made sensible of their weakness; all their exertions had not been able to prevent their grand enemy Brissot from being chosen, by a triumphant majority, one of the representatives of Paris, and with him, his confidential friend, M. Garan de Coulon. The mayoralty of M. Bailly was now nearly at an end, and his party seemed to have very little chance of replacing him by another, on whom they could equally rely. Their chief hope lay in making their new club of the Feuillans, an engine of political importance, in contradiction to the spirit of their own recent law. But aiming to keep within the letter of that law, which the Jacobins despised, they kept up but a very feeble and unequal contest with their antagonists and rivals, for the direction of public opinion. They connected themselves, therefore, with the court and the ministers, many of whom were of their own recommendation; they entered into the very same intrigues, and gave the very same sort of advice, which they had before so unrelentingly persecuted, and often without foundation, as the most nefarious treason in the priests and nobles, and all who wished to preserve any relicks of the old constitution of their country.

The composition of the new assembly, was not such as to give any consoling prospect of moderate and steady counsels. It had nothing like a representation of the landed or monied interest in it. There were not above seven or eight and forty members at most, who were reckoned to possess a clear, independent, annual income of one hundred pounds sterling. Such men, unknown to each other, and taught in the societies, by whose influence they had been elected, to look up to the mother club of Paris, as to the center of all patriotism, must of course fall under the lead of Brissot, who was known to them all as a popular journalist, a speaker of bold and inflammatory eloquence, an active character in the common council of the city, and now the ostensible head of the Jacobins. He was, as we have repeatedly had occasion to observe, a decided republican. On his election, he thought it prudent to justify himself from the charge of being an enemy to the constitution. While it was unfinished, he confessed that he had fought

fought the amelioration of it; that is, he had endeavoured to carry the total abolition of the regal office; and was that, he asked, to be its enemy? he viewed royalty as something foreign and injurious to the constitution, which it would have been friendly to have removed. It is true, he added a voluntary oath of fidelity to the constitution, as it was, but such oaths were common with all the chiefs of the revolution, nor in any instance stood in the way of their ambition, more than their original oath of allegiance; and Brissot's avowed principles, as drawn from Rousseau, would at once absolve him from such an oath, if the sovereign people, who could not be bound, could be sufficiently inflamed against the king. His foreign politics were equally notorious. Besides the constant tenor of his journal, which breathed nothing but war, he had developed his views sufficiently on two solemn occasions. In the elaborate harangue which he made to the jacobin club on the 10th of July, after taking a view of all the courts and cabinets of Europe, "what," added he "is the result? "That all foreign powers have "reason to dread the effects of the "French revolution, that France "has nothing to dread from them. "It results from thence, that foreign "powers will content themselves "with endeavouring to intimidate "us by alarms, but will never "realise their menaces. And "should they realise them, it is not "for a Frenchman to fear them; "it would be worthy of us to "anticipate them. These fears "would long since have been ex"tinguished, if our ministry had "been composed of patriots, or if "the national assembly had as"sumed an imposing attitude, in "the face of all the powers of "Europe". To the same effect too, he addressed his electors, when he was telling them how he intended to execute the trust, which they had reposed in him. "A "war," he said, "menaces us, "or rather there is a wish to work "upon us by the terrors of a war, "which free France ought long "since to have anticipated by "assuming a bold attitude." Such were the avowed sentiments of the man, whom circumstances pointed out as the certain leader of that body, on which was to depend the fate of the French monarchy and the repose of Europe.

Before the legislature was completely formed, a circumstance occurred, which sufficiently indicated the characters and views of the principal persons who were to compose it. It has been related in the last chapter, that M. Fauchet, an active leader of the iron-mouth club, and a constitutional bishop, was accused of the most seditious practices in his diocese. A warrant to take him up, had subsequently been granted by the tribunal of the district of Bayeux. He was nevertheless elected into the legislature. But as the constitution had expressly excluded from the rights of an active citizen, every man under a state of accusation, it was proposed, on the verification of powers, that his election should be declared void. The proposal however was strongly opposed by M. Garan de Coulon, and M. Cerutti; and principally through their interest and sophistry rejected by a majority. M. Cerutti strenuously contended, that the constitution in such cases only meant

to

to exclude a criminal from *exerciſing* the rights of an active citizen, and not from *enjoying* them; that conſequently M. Fauchet could not indeed be an *elector*, but that he was capable of being *elected*. In the courſe likewiſe of this debate, M. Delacroix, though he ſupported the popular ſide, was vehemently called to order for ſuppoſing, that the acceptance of the king was neceſſary to the validity of a law. At the end of this ſitting, the members declared themſelves to be now a legiſlative national aſſembly, and took by acclamation an oath to live free or die.

The legiſlature being thus conſtituted, it was reſolved the next day, before any miſſion to the king took place, (who ſeemed to be conſidered as of little or no importance in the new order of things) that the oath of fidelity to the conſtitution ſhould be adminiſtered with all imaginable pomp and ſolemnity. The debate, however, on this important ſubject was interrupted by a propoſal, that the aſſembly ſhould again take the prior and ſuperior oath of liberty or death. It was accordingly repeated in the name of the nation. The other ceremony then proceeded. Twelve of the oldeſt members were deputed to fetch from the national archives, with due reverence, the written code of the conſtitution. On their return to the door of the hall, a meſſenger announced their approach; the whole aſſembly inſtantly roſe, when the proceſſion entered under the eſcort of the national guards, the keeper of the records marching in the midſt of the aged commiſſioners, with the auguſt volume in his hands. After the troops had been ordered to retire, becauſe the conſtitutional code in the boſom of the aſſembly needed no defenders, every individual member laying his hand on the hallowed parchment, ſwore "to maintain, to the utmoſt "of his power, the conſtitution of "the kingdom, decreed by the "conſtituent national aſſembly, "during the years 1789, 1790, and "1791; to propoſe and aſſent to "nothing in the courſe of that le-"giſlature, which might at all tend "to infringe it; and to be in every "reſpect faithful to the nation, the "law, and the king."

Notwithſtanding ſo ſingular a mode of diſplaying their affected veneration for the conſtitution, the conduct of the new legiſlators towards the king, who formed an eſſential part of it, and to whom, as well as to the nation and the law, they had now again individually ſworn fidelity, indicated a diſpoſition to degrade royalty apparent to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver. Hence therefore it was generally concluded, that this public idolatry of the conſtitutional code, was nothing better than a mere artifice; or that if it were at all ſincere, it could only be ſo towards the republican parts of the conſtitution, or the revolutionary principles which gave it birth. When it was deemed proper to inform his majeſty, that the aſſembly was ready to proceed to buſineſs, a deputation of ſixty members, with M. Ducaſtel at their head, went to the Thuilleries for that purpoſe. The keeper of the ſeals fixed on the next day for an audience. But, contrary to all ancient rules of eſtabliſhed ceremonial, M. Ducaſtel inſiſted on an immediate admiſſion; and was accordingly received. When introduced to the king, he addreſſed him in the following terms; "Sire,

"the

" the national legiſlative aſſembly " is definitively conſtituted. It has " deputed us to inform your ma- " jeſty of it." Diſreſpectful as this ſhort and dry ſpeech appears, objections were made in the aſſembly to the words *fire, and majeſty*, which it contained, and M. Ducaſtel cenſured for the uſe of them. A motion likewiſe was made, (becauſe the keeper of the ſeals had written to the preſident on the ſubject of the deputation) that they ſhould not in future tolerate any intermediate perſon between the king and the aſſembly.

On former occaſions, when his majeſty went to the aſſembly, a chair of ſtate was placed for him above that in which the preſident ſate; but this diſtinction appeared offenſive in the eyes of the preſent legiſlators, who reſolved to aboliſh it. The principal ſpeakers on this ſubject, were M. Couthon, M. Gaudet, and M. Goupilleau. The former particularly dwelt, in ſtrong terms, on the gilding and ſuperior ſplendor of the royal chair, which he thought unjuſtly eclipſed the other. M. Gaudet however conceived, that the ſimplicity of the preſident's chair was more venerable in the eyes of the people, than the gaudineſs of the king's. M. Goupilleau, for his part, was diſguſted with the number of bows to the king, with which the preſident uſed quite to fatigue himſelf. After a tumultuous debate, it was decreed, that when his majeſty ſhould come into the hall of the aſſembly, or go out of it, the members ſhould ſtand uncovered; but that while he continued among them, they ſhould all be ſeated and covered; that he ſhould be placed in a chair exactly like the preſident's, on a level with it, and on the preſident's left hand; and that he ſhould only be addreſſed by the title of " king of the French." In addition to theſe reſolutions, M. Duchoz propoſed, that no deputation hereafter ſhould exceed the number of twenty-four members; but even that number appearing perhaps too reſpectful, it was at laſt reduced to twelve.

The republican tendency, thus early and eagerly evinced by the new legiſlators, failed not to alarm the public. It was obſerved, that by gradations of this kind, intereſting to attentive minds, the nation would be inſenſibly drawn to the developement of the original deſign, ſuppoſed by many to have been uniformly purſued by the chiefs of the revolution, to make Paris the center of a great republic. In conſequence of theſe meaſures, the ſtocks experienced a ſudden depreſſion. So great and general was the alarm, that the more reſpectable part of the aſſembly reſolved to rally, and prevent, if poſſible, the further proſecution of the late decree. It was therefore ſtated, on the following day, that as this decree was not ſimply a regulation of the interior of the aſſembly, which it purported to be, but a law of conſiderable importance, affecting the executive power, it ought to undergo a diſcuſſion of three days, according to the principles of the conſtitution; and be then ſubmitted to the royal ſanction. After a warm debate, the moderate party ſucceeded in getting it adjourned; but the original ſupporters of the meaſure, who aſſented to the adjournment, ſeemed to conſider it rather

rather in the light of a temporary expedient, than as any direct conceſſion of principle.

Notwithſtanding the inſult thus offered to the king, his reſolution of ſcrupuloufly adhering to the new conſtitution appears to have been firm and ſincere. M. Bertrand de Moleville, who came into office as miniſter of the marine, ſoon after this period *, has recorded a converſation which he held with his majeſty on this very ſubject. "I am far," obſerved the unfortunate monarch, in the moſt candid manner, "from regarding this "conſtitution as a model of per-"fection. I believe there are "great faults in it, and that if I "had been allowed to ſtate my "obſervations upon it, ſome advan-"tageous alterations might have "been adopted. But of this, there "is no queſtion at preſent. I have "ſworn to maintain it, ſuch as it "is, and I am determined, as I "ought, to be ſtrictly faithful to "my oath." The queen alſo gave ſimilar aſſurances in a manner equally ſatisfactory to the new miniſter.

The attempt which was made at the firſt opening of the ſeſſion to degrade the royal dignity, did not prevent the king from repairing to the aſſembly, which he entered with his uſual affability, without appearing to feel in the ſlighteſt degree the inſult he had received. He there delivered a ſpeech adapted to the occaſion, earneſtly recommending to the aſſembly, by the wiſdom of its deliberations, to ſtrengthen public credit, to confirm peace and liberty, and to attach the people to the new conſtitution. The preſident in reply traced out the royal duties, remarking, that the conſtitution had made the French king the greateſt monarch in the world, and had given him for friends thoſe, who had formerly been his ſubjects. In this addreſs, the preſident ventured to uſe the expreſſion. "Sire," but ſeemed cautiouſly to avoid the offenſive term "Majeſty." As the conſtitution had preſcribed no particular mode of promulgating and ordering the execution of laws, which were not ſubject to the royal ſanction, the miniſter propoſed to the committee of Legiſlation, that on every ſuch occaſion, the following form ſhould be adopted, "the "king will execute it." So jealous, however, was the aſſembly of royal interference, that on the ſuggeſtion of its committee, it refuſed to enter into any diſcuſſion on the ſubject.

October 7th.

Not ſatisfied with ſeizing every opportunity of diſplaying its reſolution to humble the king, and circumſcribe his authority, the legiſlative body early evinced a diſpoſition to wound his perſonal feelings in the ſevereſt manner. After paſſing a decree to deprive his brother of his right to the regency, unleſs the prince returned to Paris within the ſpace of two months from the date of the proclamation; a more violent meaſure was adopted againſt all his abſent relations, and the emigrants in general. It was propoſed, that not only all Frenchmen, who aſſembled in arms beyond the frontiers, ſhould be declared guilty of high treaſon, and

* Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. 1. p. 215.

puniſhed

punished with death; but that the French princes absent from the kingdom, together with all persons in civil and military employments, under a similar situation, unless they returned by the first of the ensuing January, should be adjudged guilty of the like crime, and be subject to the same penalty. The king did indeed use all his personal influence with his two brothers, and with every officer * in the service, who was in any way known to him, to recal them to their country; but the decree itself, contrary to the public faith solemnly pledged by the late assembly in the act of general amnesty, and contrary, as it was there said, to the principles of the constitution, appeared in so very exceptionable a light to the ministers, that they were unanimous in advising the king to refuse his sanction to it. Having accordingly obtained his authority, they proceeded in a body to the assembly, and interposed the royal veto; but when the keeper of the seals was preparing to read a message from the king, explanatory of his sentiments on the subject, he was interrupted in the first sentence by clamours for the order of the day. In vain he again and again attempted to speak; every attempt only excited new tumults. It was at length observed, that as the paper in the minister's hand, purporting to be a message from the king, was not signed by his majesty, the assembly was not under an obligation of hearing it read. "If the minister," remarked M. Reboul, "wishes to "explain the royal motives for the "refusal of the sanction in his own "proper name, this is an object "not appertaining to his official "situation, and ought therefore to "preclude him a hearing; if he "wishes to speak in the name of "the king, let him exhibit the "king's signature." After a short debate, the assembly passed to the order of the day, and thus totally prevented the necessary explanation, which was intended to accompany the first exercise of the royal negative.

Another decree was soon after submitted for the king's sanction. It was levelled against the nonjuring priests, and went to deprive them of their pensions, and in case of their disobedience to the constituted authorities, to punish them with two years imprisonment. In the debate on this subject, M. Isnard pointed out the necessity of nipping insurrections in the bud. "In great "situations," he remarked, "when "there is a great part to act, all "circumspection is weakness. Re- "volts must be crushed the mo- "ment they appear. Despotism "always used these means; and it "is thus that a single individual "can keep a whole nation in chains. "If Louis the XVIth had employ- "ed these great means, when the "revolution was yet only in idea, "we should not have been here, "and the nation would have been "bankrupt, and under the yoke. "The exercise of this rigour is a "high offence, when a despot "wishes to perpetuate his tyranny. "But when these means are em- "ployed by the entire body of a "nation, they are not culpable; Nov. 18th.

* This fact is attested in the strongest manner, by M. Bertrand, in his Memoirs.

"they

" they are a grand act of juſtice, " and the legiſlators, who do not " employ them, are themſelves cul- " pable. For in the caſe of poli- " tical liberty," added he, amidſt the applauſes of his audience, " to " pardon a crime, is almoſt to par- " take of it." The adminiſtration, however, the biſhops, and the directory of the department of Paris, thought differently from M. Iſnard; and in conformity with their advice, the ſanction was likewiſe refuſed to this decree.

Theſe exerciſes of the power veſted in Louis by the conſtitution, became the ſubjects of much ſevere animadverſion in a variety of addreſſes daily preſented to the aſſembly. In the courſe of the following month, addreſs upon addreſs poured in, all of them more or leſs cenſuring the king's conduct, and ſome of them couched in language of the moſt ſeditious tendency. The addreſſes were not only much applauded, particularly thoſe which contained the moſt democratic paſſages, but were ordered to be printed; and the proces-verbal of a ſitting, when a conſiderable number of them was preſented, was ſent to all the departments. Honourable mention of ſeveral was decreed, which contained direct inſtigations to commence another revolution. The orator at the head of a deputation from the Fauxbourgh St. Antoine, was applauded in uttering theſe daring expreſſions; " Legiſlators, depend on our cou- " rage; announce to tyrants and de- " ſpots a ſecond awakening of the " French nation. The nation re- " proaches your clemency. Speak, " and two millions of arms ſhall be " raiſed to exterminate rebellions. " The Catalines are not wholly on " the borders of the Rhine; they " are in the capital; they poſſeſs " ſeats in adminiſtration; but the " citizens of the Fauxbourg retain " the ſame courage, have ſtill the " ſame cannon and pikes which de- " ſtroyed the Baſtile." Nor was the language of the ſection of the French theatre much leſs remarkable. After the aſſertion, that the decree againſt the prieſts was the only expedient for ſaving the nation, it was added, " Perſevere, " faithful legiſlators; and if you " are prevented by obſtinacy from " ſaving the nation—well—the na- " tion will ſave itſelf, as it has al- " ready done. The power of the " royal veto has at length its limits; " and it was not a veto, that could " prevent the capture of the Baſ- " tile." But it was not only in jacobinical addreſſes, that the king's ſanction was attacked, and calumniated. A member of the aſſembly itſelf, had the boldneſs to aſſert, that decrees of urgency, ſuch as thoſe againſt the emigrants and prieſts, ought not to be ſubject to royal controul; and to add, that, if the aſſembly thought otherwiſe, it was its duty to conſult the people on the ſubject, and abide by the deciſion of its ſovereign. The order of the day, however, was called for, and voted with much tumult. It was, nevertheleſs, in vain that another member afterwards attempted to bring forward a vote of cenſure on this unconſtitutional propoſal: his efforts were fruſtrated by a ſecond call for the order of the day.

The plaudits of the legiſlature ſo emboldened the demagogues, who headed the deputations of their reſpective ſections, that one of them ſcrupled not to utter the following threat; " King, miniſters, generals, " be

" be warned. You are placed be-
" tween the altar and the ſcaffold.
" Make your choice." The reply of the preſident to ſuch an harangue expreſſed not the ſlighteſt diſapprobation; but on the other hand panegyrized, in direct terms, " the ſublime patriotiſm" of the ſpeaker, and exhorted him to perſevere in his ſentiments.

As theſe addreſſes were daily heard with renewed delight, the reporter of one diviſion of the legiſlative committee, in vain endeavoured to call down a cenſure on them. In one preſented by the ſection of invalids, he particularly noticed the following paſſage, " the
" ſanction of a people is far ſuperior
" to that of a king;" and ſeverely animadverted on it. A ſcene of diſgraceful riot enſued; which was at laſt terminated by a decree, referring the report to the other diviſion of the legiſlative committee, which had not taken any part in bringing it forward.

While a marked diſregard was ſhewn to the communications of the executive power, the moſt profound reſpect was required, whenever the legiſlative body condeſcended to become the communicating party. A letter being announced from the keeper of the ſeals, which ſtated that his majeſty, having heard with affliction of the aſſaſſination of a prieſt in the diſtrict of Aurillac, had ſent a circular meſſage to the different tribunals, exciting them to a more active diligence, the aſſembly not liking perhaps its contents, refuſed to hear it out, and paſſed to the order of the day. M. Ruhl immediately after gave a pointed acount of an inſult which had been offered, he ſaid, to the majeſty of the nation by the king and his miniſters. Four commiſſioners had carried ſome decrees the preceding evening to the Thuilleries for the royal ſanction. They found themſelves introduced into the hall of the ambaſſadors, where they were requeſted to wait, until the king came from council. When his majeſty was ready to receive them, underſtanding that they were not to be uſhered into the principal audience room, they abruptly left the palace, and returned to the aſſembly, highly indignant, as they ſaid, at the conduct of the executive power towards the people, the ſole ſovereign, in thus inſulting them its legal repreſentatives. While this apparently unimportant ſubject was under earneſt diſcuſſion on the ſubſequent day, the king wrote to the aſſembly to ſtate, that in the mode of receiving deputations, he had always ſcrupulouſly adhered to the ceremonial eſtabliſhed in the time of the conſtituent aſſembly, according to which he never gave an audience in the principal apartment of the Thuilleries to ſo ſmall a number as four commiſſioners; but that, as he annexed no importance to a thing of ſuch a nature, he was ready to fulfil the wiſhes of the aſſembly, if it thought proper to propoſe any regulations on the ſubject. By order of the aſſembly, M. Condorcet, the preſident, returned an anſwer to this letter in a ſtyle perfectly ſingular. The accuſtomed civilities at the commencement and concluſion of ſimilar addreſſes on former occaſions, were now for the firſt time purpoſely ſuppreſſed, and particular pains employed to render the compoſition as ſhort, cold, and diſreſpectful as poſſible. It was in the following words; " The national
" aſſembly,

"assembly, Sire, has charged me "to make known to you the de- "cision, which it has adopted in "the sitting of this day. It wishes "the execution of the law of the "17th of June 1791; and thinks "that no distinction should be made "between its deputations, which "are all clothed with the same "character, of whatsoever number "they may be composed. The "national assembly is persuaded, "that you intend to maintain the "union, which ought to reign be- "tween itself and you. The pre- "sident of the national assembly, "Condorcet." Unbounded applauses followed the reading of this dry epistle; and by way of shewing the greatest possible contempt, it was even proposed, that it should be sent to the Thuilleries by the * penny-post. This proposition excited loud bursts of laughter; probably the only effect which it was intended to produce.

The instances which have been given, are sufficient to shew the temper of the assembly towards the king. It will not be necessary to notice any more of these disgraceful insults, till the period when the spirit which was working at bottom, broke out into open attempts against his throne and life. In the mean time, while they were debasing and vilifying the royal authority, the leaders of the dominant party were busy in endeavouring, like the demagogues of the first assembly, to get the power of government as much as possible into their hands, by driving out the existing administration, to prepare the way for introducing creatures of their own. M. Thevenard, the minister of marine, soon went, M. Montmorin, the minister for foreign affairs, was eminently obnoxious, because he was supposed, in a superior degree, to possess the royal confidence; he was therefore particularly attacked, and at length, for his own ease and safety, compelled to resign. Nov. 30th. M. Duportail, the war minister, was under the influence of La Fayette: of course he could not be suffered to stay. The party of Brissot, however, did not yet succeed in replacing him with a minister of their own choice, and the war office was given to M. Narbonne. M. de Lessart was the intimate friend of Neckar, and he could not be trusted. But on the retreat of M. Montmorin, he was put at the head of the foreign department, of which he had no sooner taken possession, than M. Fauchet, in a vehement invective, impeached him for misdemeanours in his late post. The charges were three in number, all frivolous, and even ridiculous; one alone is worth mentioning, as it exhibits, in a striking point of view, the maturity of wisdom with which the concluding labours of the constituent assembly were perfected. M. de Lessart was accused of criminal neglect, in not having sent down to the departments, till the end of November, a law which had been passed in the middle of September, and he proved incontestibly in his defence, that he had sent it down the very day that it was printed, and that although fifteen presses were kept constantly at work, with all possible diligence, there remained to be printed, at the date of the

* La petite Poste.

decree

decree in queſtion, no leſs than two thouſand laws, many of them very long and voluminous. The miniſter was eaſily acquitted of ſuch charges, but he afterwards ſunk under an accuſation of Briſſot's. While he continued in office, a popular member did not heſitate to expreſs his regret, that there were not yet eſtabliſhed direct negociations between nation and nation, without the intervention of kings, cabinets, and miniſters.

Another power, perhaps more important than that of the king's government, was the mayoralty of Paris; and that was in the gift of the jacobin club. Notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Feuillans, to carry that election from their adverſaries, M. Petion, an intimate friend of Briſſot, and a principal member of the little republican cabal, that formerly met at Roland's lodgings, was choſen. He went the very next day, as in duty bound, to thank the ſociety from which he held his honours.

Briſſot, who afterwards left it on record for the inſtruction of mankind, that the art, by which the anarchiſts brought the men of property under their yoke, was that of keeping them in "the inceſſantly "renewed dread of death," and that the hiſtory of the three firſt aſſemblies in France, might be ſummed up in the ſingle * word "fear," was at this time avowedly † ſupported by the authors and agents of the ſyſtem of terror. Accordingly, we ſhall find his majority going beyond the example of the conſtituent aſſembly, in the unbluſhing protection which they gave to the gangs of ruffians and aſſaſſins, who, in league with the moſt abandoned men in the jacobin clubs, fixed indelible ſhame on their country, and almoſt made the ſound of liberty odious, by their multiplied atrocities.

Intelligence was now received of the diſaſters which had overwhelmed St. Domingo, from the inſurrection of the ſlaves. Briſſot and all his connexion, who were the leading members of the club called Friends of the Blacks, at firſt affected to doubt and diſbelieve the fact. But the afflicting certainty was too ſoon eſtabliſhed, by a ſpecial deputation from the iſland, the orator of which, at the bar of the aſſembly, drew a frightful picture of the condition in which they had left that late flouriſhing and opulent colony, the main ſupport of the commerce and marine of France. He was immediately attacked, with great violence, by M. Bazire, for having affronted philoſophy and liberty in his ſpeech. The aſſembly, however, notwithſtanding an oppoſition from the ſame member, voted for printing the memorial, and referring it to the colonial committee. The next day, Briſſot came forward to denounce the authors of all the troubles in St. Domingo, though the chairman of the committee declared that the report, which was a long, difficult, and delicate taſk, could not be ready in leſs than ten days. It was not the negroes only, but the white coloniſts too, M. Briſſot ſaid, who ought to be puniſhed: and this point he undertook to prove in a long and violent harangue, in the courſe of which, going through the whole hiſtory of the revolution in the colonies, according to his Nov. 30th.

* Briſſot to his Conſtituents, May 22d, 1792. Engliſh tranſlation, p. 23.

† See above, page 81.

notions and views, he denominated Ogé, the martyr of liberty and the law; he declared that the mulattoes could not but feel the moſt lively abhorrence, and their fury ought to have been foreſeen; and alluding to the ſhock which the recital of the deputies had given to the aſſembly, he obſerved, that "Phalaris never talked of his "burning bull, but of the poignards which his own barbarity "had raiſed againſt him." White men, he aſſerted, had firſt practiſed upon negroes, thoſe atrocities which they now ſuffered. "Millions of "Indians" he cried, "have periſhed "on that land of blood; at every "ſtep you craſh under your feet "the bones of thoſe inhabitants "whom nature gave to thoſe "countries, and yet you ſhudder "while you hear the deeds of their "avengers. In this hideous con-"tention of guilt, the crimes of "the white men are the moſt hor-"rible." As a remedy for all evils, he propoſed to diſſolve the colonial aſſembly at the Cape, and put all the members in arreſt; to examine the newly arrived deputies on interrogatories; to recal the governor, M. Blanchelande, all the officers againſt whom any charges had been brought, and the two principal battalions of regulars upon the iſland; to replace theſe by three thouſand picked men of the national guards; and to ſend out new commiſſioners, not under the king's authority, but that of the aſſembly itſelf, to all the iſlands, three of whom were deſtined for St. Domingo, where they were to ſummon another colonial aſſembly, choſen by parochial meetings, "*without* "*diſtinction of colour.*" All former laws anywiſe contrary to this decree were to be repealed; thanks were to be given to thoſe white inhabitants and men of colour, who by their zeal and vigilance had prevented the ruin of the colony; the American States alſo were to be ſolemnly thanked for the ſupplies which they had ſent, but there was a ſtudied ſilence in the decree, as to the aſſiſtance which Lord Effingham had afforded from Jamaica, and in the ſpeech itſelf, M. Briſſot laboured to make the benevolence of this country, every way invidious and ſuſpicious. Two ſhort articles more, of no importance, concluded his plan.

Many of his party ſupported him, but they had not yet obtained ſo total an aſcendancy in the aſſembly, as to prevail in carrying a meaſure of ſuch alarming extent. Briſſot therefore changed his ground, he now took up the concordat, or agreement made between the white coloniſts and the mulattoes, to carry into effect the decree of the 15th of May. Here, however, the decree of the 24th of September, preſented what might have ſeemed an inſuperable obſtacle, having been enacted as a part of the conſtitution. But M. Garran de Coulon eaſily got rid of this difficulty, in a manner which too plainly ſhewed, how little ſecurity would be found againſt his party in the oath of fidelity. "Can decrees," he aſked, "which ſo "ſtrangely contradict the decla-"ration of rights, be laws for you? "Are they conſtitutional laws?" This point produced a warm debate, during which the keeper of the ſeals, having deſired to be heard on the ſubject, as affecting his reſponſibility, and having ſtated the difficulty which would ariſe from a reſolution, requeſting the king

king to give orders in derogation of an exiſting law, whether it were conſtitutional or not, he was interrupted with great heat, attacked with a furious invective, ſilenced by clamour, when he attempted an explanation, and after long debates only allowed by a very ſmall majority to proceed. He ſtrictly confined himſelf to explain, that he had kept within the limits preſcribed by the conſtitution to the miniſters; yet he hinted that he could give information, if the aſſembly choſe to hear him. Permiſſion was accordingly granted, but from what had taken place, he found it moſt prudent not to uſe ſo dangerous a privilege. Various motions of order were then made againſt him, till, to put an end to the whole, the aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day. M. Briſſot's propoſition, with ſome trifling alteration in form, was then adopted, indirectly confirming the concordat in the moſt miſchievous way, by prohibiting the troops from interfering in any diſputes between the mulattoes and the white coloniſts, or in any manner favouring any attempts which might be made, derogatory to the condition of the free mulattoes, as ſettled in the preceding September, at St. Domingo.

The aſſembly ſeemed at firſt diſpoſed to ſhow leſs partiality with regard to the bloody ſcenes which had taken place at Avignon, during the firſt month of the ſeſſion. Jourdan with his banditti, tyrannizing without controul over that unhappy city, had, by the middle of October, filled the dungeons of the Palace. The number of the priſoners has been carried, by ſome credible * accounts, ſo high as ſix hundred; it was certainly very great, as we know that it was continually increaſing to the laſt day. In this ſtate of things, Leſcuyer, who, with Tournal, was the principal accomplice of Jourdan, was ſeized by the populace while his banditti were rifling the Mont-de-Pieté †, was dragged into a church, which he had himſelf profaned and rifled, and there murdered in the preſence of a civil officer, who had been ſent by the adminiſtrators with a proclamation inviting the people to obey the law. In revenge, Jourdan and his colleagues, reſolved to ſacrifice all the citizens whom they held in cuſtody, and who could not have had the ſlighteſt concern in the death of Leſcuyer. Accordingly, on the night between the 16th and 17th of October, they were taken out of priſon one by one, and after being levelled to the ground by two ruffians, who ſtood at the priſon gate with bars of iron for the purpoſe, were diſpatched and hewn in pieces with ſabres. M. Nolhac, a venerable clergyman of the place, in the eightieth year of his age, who had been brought in only the evening before, and had juſt given his ſolemn benediction to his fellow ſufferers, was the laſt that was butchered. When the ſlaughter was over, to deprive their friends and families even of the melancholy conſolation of weeping over their mangled remains, the whole number of bodies was heaped together without diſtinction, thrown

* Abbé Barruel's Hiſt. of the Clergy.

† A public bank for lending ſmall ſums of money to the poor, at a very low intereſt, on pledges.

into an ice houſe, and covered with loads of ſand. The intelligence of this nefarious barbarity, which excited a ſtrong ſenſation of horror in the aſſembly, was quickly followed by a complaint, coming in truth from the ſupporters of Jourdan, and levelled at two of the mediators, M. M. Scene Deſmaiſon and Mulot. Since the triumph of the banditti at Avignon, the pretended electoral aſſembly at Bédarrides, had aſſumed a more lofty tone, and openly reſiſted the influence of the mediators. The latter, in conſequence, began to ſhow greater favour to the oppoſite party, and to place more confidence in the troops of the line. Several facts of harſh and violent interference, were charged on abbé Mulot, who was more obnoxious than either of his colleagues, while M. Verninac was mentioned with great tenderneſs and praiſe. Theſe complaints, however, were ſoon met by a counter addreſs, ſigned by three thouſand inhabitants of the city of Avignon, who teſtified their obligations to abbé Mulot and the troops of the line, for protecting the peace of the city; denying, at the ſame time, that M. Rovere, the agent who had preſented the former addreſs, had any authority whatſoever from them. Abbé Mulot likewiſe defended his own conduct in perſon at the bar.

The reſult of all was, that new commiſſioners were directed to be ſent, with a new detachment of troops. Their firſt act was to reſtore the mayor and municipality, who had been diſpoſſeſſed the preceding June. The people, under their authority, proceeded to ſearch for the bodies of the murdered. The ſmell of the carnage conducted them to the ice-houſe. There, while ſome were anxiouſly looking in vain among the diſfigured heap, for a parent, a child, a brother, or a kinſman; while others, with little leſs intereſt, were endeavouring to trace the features of ſome dear friend; the multitude flocked round the body of the aged prieſt, their beloved and revered paſtor. His clerical dreſs, and the crucifix on his breaſt, pointed him out to their eager eyes, and his relics being ſeparated from the reſt, and expoſed to view, were ſurveyed for days together, with a veneration almoſt bordering on idolatry. Soon after, a funeral ſervice adapted to the occaſion, was publicly performed in the principal church of the city, with the greateſt ſolemnity and devotion.

The firſt diſpatches of the commiſſioners were received by the aſſembly with ſcreams of horror; the letter dropped from the hands of the ſecretary as he was reading it, but the impreſſion did not laſt long. The new commiſſioners themſelves were very ſoon accuſed of partiality, by addreſſes from the faction of Jourdan, though he, with Tournal and other chiefs of the banditti, were actually impriſoned for the purpoſe of being tried before a new tribunal, ſpecially impowered to that end, by a decree of the aſſembly. In the mean time, the whole matter, with all the various criminations and recriminations, was referred to a committee. At length, a report came, which lightly paſſing over the crimes of Jourdan and his accomplices, but dwelling much more on the partiality imputed to abbé Mulot, and the new commiſſioners, ſelected for proſecution, out of all the maſs of guilt

guilt committed from the beginning in thoſe unhappy countries, only the murderers of La Vilaſſe, Anſelme, Leſcuyer, and Pochi, whom ſome troops of the line, detached by the authority of M. Mulot to preſerve the peace of Sorgues, ſhot on his houſe-top, as he was pelting them with bricks and tiles in that ſituation. The drift of the report was plainly underſtood. It was artfully to feel the way for an amneſty to Jourdan and the reſt of his banditti, whom three thouſand national guards from Marſeilles, ſoon marched to deliver, after diſarming the Swiſs regiment of Erneſt at Aix, burning the regiſter, and diſperſing the directory of the mouths of the Rhone. Having, however, loſt four days in the latter exploit, they were prevented, by the vigilance of the neighbouring departments, from effecting their object of ſetting Jourdan at liberty. The aſſembly, informed of theſe tranſactions, notwithſtanding that one of the members had the virtue to exclaim, that it was impoſſible for any apology to be heard, did liſten to an apology, and paſſed to the order of the day. Not long after this, the queſtion of the amneſty to Jourdan was openly brought forward. The firſt perſon who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his exertions, to ſave, as he expreſſed it, the unfortunate priſoners from the fury of their enemies, was M. Vaſſal, the conſtitutional prieſt of Verſailles. They who were called the banditti, he ſaid, had never combatted any but deſpots; were never found at the head of any conſpiracy. The real banditti, in his eſtimation, were they who had tried to ſtrangle liberty in her cradle, who had perpetuated anarchy, in order to diſguſt the people with liberty, and bring them again under the Papal yoke, and who, having perſecuted thoſe whom he called the patriots, by aſſaſſination, now perſecuted them under the forms of juſtice, and provoked new carnage. This ſpeaker was followed by M. Bazire, on the ſame grounds, with the addition of one truth, that the conſtituent aſſembly was guilty of all the calamities of Avignon, as well as of the colonies. The diſcuſſion ran to ſuch a length, that the queſtion was obliged to be adjourned.

When the debate was on the point of being reſumed, a deputy extraordinary from Avignon brought intelligence, that the proceedings againſt the accuſed were complete, and in the hands of the miniſter of juſtice; that there were no more than eight-and-twenty detained to be put on their trial; that the maſſacre was ſettled in cold blood at a council, twelve hours after the death of Leſcuyer, and ten hours after all commotion had ceaſed among the populace; that even from his dungeon, Jourdan had menaced the city, and his menaces never were in vain. M. Deleutre (that was the name of the deputy) could hardly obtain a hearing; his addreſs was very drily received by the preſident; and when admitted to the ſitting, he was reviled in the aſſembly itſelf by M. Bazire. M. Thuriot took up the main queſtion, cited the precedent of the conſtituent aſſembly, who had given an amneſty to crimes which he thought much more horrible than thoſe of Jourdan, to thoſe of the infamous Bouillé; and he concluded, amidſt the applauſes of his own faction, and the galleries, that there was no

reaſon againſt the amneſty claimed, and that it was indiſpenſable. He was ſupported in the ſame line of argument, though with more ſpecious ſophiſtry, by M. La Source, a Calviniſt miniſter, who ſaid, that the unhappy people of Avignon, might fairly reproach the French, if both revolutions were not equally attended by amneſties. He mentioned the maſſacres at Nîmes, Montauban, and Nancy, and conſidered the life of M. Bouillé, whoſe very name, he ſaid, froze up his blood with horror and affright, whoſe exiſtence he called an objection againſt eternal juſtice, as a reaſon for this amneſty not to be anſwered. M. Vaublanc took the other ſide. But the principal motive which ſeemed to weigh with him, was an apprehenſion that there might be too great a facility in granting amneſties, ſo as to extend them to the exiled princes and their followers. There were, however, ſome few, who, for the honour of human nature, had the virtue to reſiſt this criminal mercy; and many more who are ſaid to have ſhown ſilent grief and conſternation, when the preſident declared the queſtion to be carried. The nominal appeal was demanded, but without taking any notice of it, the preſident cloſed the ſitting.

Jourdan was now liberated. He returned in triumph to Avignon, dreſſed in his uniform, as commander in chief. The mayor went to meet him, and humbly aſking ſecurity for the lives and property of the citizens, received this horrible anſwer, "for this time, the ice-houſe "ſhall be full." New murders enſued, and the men of the ice-houſe of Avignon, became afterwards a title of infamous glory.

The manner in which the inſurrection of Nancy was mentioned in the debates upon Avignon, renders it ſuperfluous to relate in detail, what now paſſed in regard to that affair, for which M. Bouillé, at the time, had the thanks of the national aſſembly, confirmed even by the teſtimony of his enemies, upon a ſecond inquiry into his conduct. The Swiſs ſoldiers in the regiment of Chateau Vieux, who had been ſent to the gallies, were releaſed; their chains were hung up as trophies in the jacobin club of Breſt; they were invited to the capital by the mother-club of Jacobins there, and were publicly feaſted by them with the moſt indecent oſtentation. Thus almoſt the only example which the firſt aſſembly gave of ſpirit, vigour, and juſtice, was converted into a new encouragement to ſedition and revolt.

Having traced the leading meaſures which mark the principles of the new legiſlature, we muſt now go back a little to take a view of their foreign policy, which led to the declaration of war againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The aſſembly, ſoon after its firſt formation, had taken umbrage at the conduct of ſome German princes, who were ſaid to have permitted aſſemblages of the emigrants, for hoſtile purpoſes againſt France, within their reſpective territories. It appeared, however, in the month of October, by a report of the miniſter for foreign affairs, that no complaint of this kind exiſted againſt the Emperor, as he had iſſued the moſt peremptory orders for preventing ſuch aſſemblages in the Auſtrian Low Countries. The elector of Treves, with one or two other princes, was nevertheleſs accuſed of ſtill openly countenancing theſe hoſtile preparations.

Preſuming

Presuming on this latter circumstance, the diplomatic committee, which was charged to make a report on the subject, proposed, that the executive power should enforce the dispersion of the emigrants in the German territory, by the adoption of prompt and efficacious measures, upon the principle, that the protection already granted them, was contrary to the rights of nations, and the laws of the Germanic body. These men, who have all along contended, that to take notice of any thing done in France, was to violate her just independance, did not scruple on this occasion to examine the actual capitulation, or inaugural compact of the reigning emperor with the coestates, and to decide, that he would violate it, if he should suffer the emigrants to recruit in the empire. They did not, however, yet venture directly to impeach his conduct.

Nov. 22d.

When the debate came on, M. Rews spoke with the greatest contempt of the preparations of the emigrants, and their expected supporters, as he was persuaded, that almost all the great secular princes of the empire disapproved their projects. "My lord archbishop of "Mentz," said he, with ironical contempt, "will assist them with an "army of four thousand men; my "lord elector of Treves with one "of two thousand; and my lord "Louis-René-Edouard cardinal de "Rohan, in his quality of German "prince, with one of fifty men." He then remarked, that it would be unworthy the majesty of a great nation, to suffer such an *opera-house-fire* to incommode it; that although an individual might despise these affronts of a ballet, a great nation ought to punish those, who are rash enough to invade and insult its laws. No dependance, he believed, could be placed on the slumbers of the surrounding despots; and he assured them, that Leopold, who was described as so pacific, would never forgive them for having established the incontestible truth, that the people are not the property of kings. I will not talk to you of the other sovereigns, he subjoined, but you owe it to the glory of France, to assume that imposing countenance, which shall let them know, that we are still in the first rank among the nations of Europe. M. Averhault endeavoured to shew, that the cause of the emigrants would not be supported by any of the principal European powers. England, he alledged, would not interrupt her harmony with France, for commercial reasons; and the Emperor would be unwilling to engage in a war, which might leave Poland at the mercy of Russia. Besides, Leopold had the Low Countries to defend. In a war with France, he would have every thing to fear and nothing to gain. M. Averhault therefore recommended, that the emigrants should not have time given them to augment their party; that the petty princes of Germany should be required to disperse those already embodied in their territories; that an immediate compliance with this demand should be insisted upon; and that the French envoys should be instructed, like Popilius, to surround the German princes with a circle, from which they should not be permitted to escape, until they had given a decisive answer.

Nov. 27th.

Two

Two days after, when the debate was to be resumed, the minister for foreign affairs informed the assembly, that orders had been given to suppress, throughout Germany, every preparation, that could possibly be deemed hostile. M. Ruhl, however, indulged himself in severely censuring "the apathy and "torpor of the executive power;" and concluded a short speech with sarcastically asserting, that, when Frederick the Great had any transactions with the petty princes of Germany, he dispatched to them a recruiting officer, with a letter, containing the object of his demand, on which he did not suffer them to deliberate; well, then, added he, those negotiations always succeeded, and never cost more than an hundred Louis d'ors. But the harangue of M. Isnard was most applauded; and was ordered to be printed and sent to the departments. Replete with an enthusiasm, which he conceived to be the genuine enthusiasm of liberty, he looked forward with rapture to the prospect of a war, which he was convinced, "would change the face of "the world, and subvert the sur-"rounding thrones." Apprehensive that the decrees of the legislature would not correspond with the courage of the people, he exclaimed amidst repeated acclamations; "Let us elevate ourselves to the "height of our mission; let us "speak to ministers, to the king, "and to Europe, with that firm-"ness which becomes us; let us "say to ministers, that they must "take their choice between public "gratitude, and the vengeance of "the laws, and that by the word "responsibility, we mean death. "Let us say to the king, that it "is his interest to defend the con-"stitution; that he only reigns by "the people and for the people; "that the nation is his sovereign, "and that he is subject to the law. "To Europe let us say, that the "French people, if they draw the "sword, will throw away the scab-"bard; that they will only seek "to crown it with the laurels of "victory; and that, if, in spite of "their power and courage, they "should fail in defending their li-"berty, their enemies shall only "reign over dead bodies. Let us "likewise say to Europe, that if "the cabinets engage kings in a "war against the people, we will "engage the people in a war "against kings. Let us say to her, "that from the moment, when the "armies of our enemies contend "with our own, the light of phi-"losophy will strike their eyes, the "people will embrace each other "in the face of dethroned tyrants; "earth will be consoled, and hea-"ven appeased." A motion, which M. Averhault proposed, founded on the report of the committee, at length passed unanimously, amidst the plaudits of the members, and the acclamations of the galleries.

This motion contained an address* to the king, complaining of a want of energy in the diplomatic line, and urging him to make the most spirited declarations, on the subject of the emigrants, to the circles of the upper and lower Rhine, to the electors of Treves, and Mentz, and to the bishop of Spires. He was requested to insist, in the most pe- Nov. 29th.

* State Papers, vol. xxxiii. p. 148*.

remptory

remptory terms, on their immediate diſperſion, and to preſcribe an early period, beyond which no dilatory anſwer would be received; to ſupport his demands by a movement of the troops, and to aſſure the German princes, that although the French people would religiouſly obſerve their oath to make no conqueſts; yet, if military preparations againſt them were ſtill favoured, they would carry into the German territory not fire and the ſword, but liberty—it was for princes to calculate, what might be the conſequence of the alarm of nations.

While this addreſs continued under the royal conſideration, the celebrated Cloots (who had now dropped his chriſtian name of John Baptiſt, under which * he had long before declared himſelf to be very uneaſy, and aſſumed the heathen name of Anacharſis) was once more brought upon the ſtage, was admitted to the bar in his character of orator to the ambaſſadors of mankind, and harangued the aſſembly in a ſtyle well calculated to invigorate the warlike ſpirit, which it had already diſplayed. He propoſed, among other violent meaſures, to fix on the 20th of January, for the march of three large armies towards Bruſſels, Liege, and Coblentz, and promiſed that by the 20th of February, the three coloured cockade and ça-ira ſhould, in that caſe, prove the delight of more than twenty liberated nations. This deciſive blow, he aſſerted, would ſave France and the human race; but if they amuſed themſelves with puniſhing petty princes, and great dignitaries of the church, they would loſe their time and money. "Let us ſtrike," ſaid he, while the applauſes were redoubled around him, "let us ſtrike every where or no "where." He expatiated at ſome length on the probable effects of his plan, in diſturbing the neighbouring thrones, and deſtroying the nobility and clergy. He ſpoke with great contempt of the Anglo-Pruſſian cabal that reigned in Holland, and with great bitterneſs againſt the maritime ambition of England, which he repreſented as aiming directly at univerſal empire through univerſal commerce, and wiſhing to make all the princes of Europe more miſerable than the nabobs of Bengal. The moſt cruel enemy, he ſaid, with which the French had to contend, was inaction; and he concluded with promiſing them victory, or, in caſe of defeat, with conſoling them by the reflection, that they would make a glorious bankruptcy of mankind. This farce, like the former exhibition of M. Cloots, was ſeriouſly received, and in moſt parts highly applauded. The anſwer of the preſident was remarkable. He did not diſapprove any one paſſage of the addreſs. On the contrary, he aſſured the orator, "that the "aſſembly received, with due ac- "knowledgments, the homage of "his opinions, convinced, what- "ever determination circumſtances "might induce it to take, that "France held the political key of "all Europe." The harangue and anſwer were both ordered to be printed.

Dec. 13th.

When the king, for ſome time perhaps embarraſſed at the precipitation, with which meaſures of the utmoſt importance was adopted, at length went down to the aſſembly,

* See a note on his printed letter to Mr. Burke, before quoted.

and

Dec. 14th. and adverted to the ſubject of the addreſs, he ſeemed to conſider it as principally * intended to perſuade him, that one general ſenſation was felt by the nation, and that the cry of all the French was for war, in preference to a ruinous and degrading patience. Although it was his own opinion, that no means ought to be neglected which could preſerve France, ſo lately expoſed to the agitations and ſtorms of a revolution, from the incalculable evils of war, yet, if ſatisfactory redreſs could not be obtained, he ſhould feel little reluctance in yielding to the popular impreſſion, and in adopting thoſe ſeverer meaſures, which the ſafety and honour of the empire demanded. Already, he remarked, had he cauſed a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if he did not put a final ſtop to the preparations of the emigrants in his dominions before the 15th of January, he ſhould be treated as the enemy of France. Similar declarations, the king added, ſhould be made without delay to the other princes of the empire, whoſe conduct had been complained of. From the good offices of the Emperor, to whom he had written on the ſubject, he expected to derive much advantage in the negociation, as his Imperial majeſty had ſet ſo good an example by his arrangements in the Netherlands. To demonſtrate, however, the ſpirit of the nation, he had taken care that ſuch military orders ſhould be iſſued, as might ſerve to make his declaration reſpectable.

The aſſembly heard, with unuſual pleaſure, every vigorous expreſſion in the royal ſpeech, and † propoſing to fix its attention on the deciſive meaſures announced, promiſed, ſhould the order of events make thoſe meaſures neceſſary, to enſure his majeſty the attainment of more true glory than was ever acquired by any of his anceſtors. From the Rhine to the Pyrenees, from the Alps to the ocean, all, it was ſaid, ſhould be protected by the ſuperintendance of a good king, and by the rampart of a free and faithful people. A ſingle glance of the eye, on the moſt incorrect map of Europe, will immediately diſcover, that the vaſt tract of land from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, from the Alps to the ocean, includes other territories beſides thoſe of France. The Rhine no where runs oppoſite to the Pyrenees, but in that part of its courſe, where, turning to pour itſelf into the ſea, it encircles the Netherlands then belonging to the Emperor, with whom there exiſted, at that time, not even a pretended cauſe of quarrel. In fact, the limits deſcribed by the national aſſembly, at this very early period, were preciſely thoſe which have ſince been called the natural boundaries of the country, and for which the ſucceeding demagogues of the day, in almoſt all the fluctuations of party, have uniformly contended.

So impatient appeared the leaders of the aſſembly for the commencement of hoſtilities, that, already enjoying it in imagination, they voted a manifeſto on the ſubject, which was ordered to be ſent to all the courts in Europe. Briſſot preceded Condorcet, who propoſed the meaſure, in a long and inflammatory harangue, in which he principally

* State Papers, p. 149 *.

† Ibid, p. 157 *.

attempted

attempted to prove, that foreign powers were not in a situation to contend with France. In all States, the governments, he observed, detested the principles of the French revolution; but in all, the people adored them, and only waited for an opportunity to realize them. Under such circumstances a concert of powers was a mere chimera. He nevertheless thought, that France ought to assume a fierce countenance, and employ her powerful resources to terminate the comedy, which all crowned heads were playing, and to annihilate the terrors that surrounded her. There must, subjoined he, be war. It is necessary for France, for her honour, for her safety, for the re-establishment of her finances and her public credit. A distinction was preserved throughout * this manifesto, between the princes and the people of Germany; the culpable princes only were considered as the enemies of France, while high professions of friendship and fraternity were made to the people, the inhabitants of the soil under their respective governments. Compelled to take up arms, in order to resent the insult which had been offered to the French nation, the representatives of that nation promised to lay them down again with joy, the moment they could be assured that liberty was secure, without infringing the independence of other nations, without seeking either indemnification or revenge, and recognizing only brothers in their vanquished adversaries.

But whatever might have been the secret wishes and expectations of the jacobinical party at this juncture, the conduct of the elector of Treves, of whom, principally, apprehensions were said to be entertained, was such as to remove every pretext for complaint †. By a dispatch from the French minister plenipotentiary at Treves, communicated to the assembly on the 16th of January, it appeared, that in consequence of preceding remonstrances, the dispersion of the emigrants in that electorate had been as complete as the nation desired, and the king directed, and that the elector had been so precipitate in complying with the demand of the king, as to send them out of his territories immediately, without regard to the badness of the roads or the inclemency of the season, the ground being at the time covered with snow.

While France thus complained of the favours, which had been shewn to French emigrants in Germany, the government at Brussels ‡ complained of similar favours, which were bestowed on the emigrants from the Netherlands in France. Although the king and the assembly, had given orders to prevent those emigrants from assembling and arming themselves on the French frontiers, it was remarked that certain societies, in defiance of such orders, openly promised them protection, and emboldened them to persevere in their conspiracies against their country. It was therefore insisted, that the French government should endeavour to fulfil its promises, and make its orders respected. Complete satisfaction, however, on this point seems never to have been obtained, but it was

* State Papers, p. 207*.
† Ibid. p. 211*.
‡ Ibid. p. 212*.

not

not only among the Jacobins, that emigrants from other countries were received and careſſed. On the 19th of January, ſeveral perſons of this deſcription from Holland, were admitted to the bar of the national aſſembly; and after having harangued againſt the deſpotiſm of the Stadtholder, and propoſed meaſures tending to the ſubverſion of the Dutch conſtitution, were aſſured by the preſident that they ſhould be conſtantly conſidered as allies of the French people. Their addreſs was even inſerted in the proces-verbal of the ſitting with honourable mention.

Nor did the aſſembly appear leſs ſcrupulous in entering into an alliance with a party of obſcure Engliſhmen, who, under the appellation of the London conſtitutional Whigs, addreſſed it on the ſubject of the new conſtitution, and pledged themſelves as children of liberty, if any deſpotic power ſhould attempt to enſlave the French people, to riſk their own lives and fortunes in their defence. The addreſs of this diſtinguiſhed ſociety, which held its meetings at an alehouſe in Frith-ſtreet, was inſerted in the proces-verbal of the day, and communicated to the king by the commiſſioners, who carried the decrees for the royal ſanction. Nor were ſuch honours ſufficient. The preſident was ordered to return a written anſwer, in which he remarked, with the approbation of the aſſembly, that "the inviolable treaty which virtue "alone had negociated, was ſimple "as truth, eternal as reaſon," and informed theſe new allies, that the national aſſembly accepted their good wiſhes, "that it accepted the "great example, which they had "given of their love for the laws."

On this occaſion the conſtitutional whigs of Frith-ſtreet, ſeem to have been miſtaken for whigs of a more ancient and reſpectable deſcription; otherwiſe, it is to be preſumed, they would never have been ſtyled, as they were in the aſſembly, "the "ſoundeſt part of the Engliſh na-"tion, the oppoſition of England, "and even England itſelf."

About the ſame period likewiſe a number of refugees from Brabant and Liege, were permitted publicly to form themſelves into a deliberating body, under the appellation of the general committee of the united people of Belgium and Liege ſitting at Paris, and to paſs reſolutions againſt the exiſting governments of their reſpective countries. In a declaration which appeared in the month of January, they ſolemnly bound themſelves to adopt the moſt convenient meaſures for ſhaking off the intolerable yoke, under which their native countries were ſuppoſed to groan, and for expelling the tyrants that oppreſſed them. They afterwards proceeded the length of formally denouncing their ſovereigns, on which occaſion the Liegois, affecting to caſhier their biſhop, declared him a perjurer, a traitor to his country, and an aſſaſſin, and ſwore to proſecute him, till juſtice ſhould overtake him for his crimes.

The diſbanding of the emigrants in the electorate of Treves, ſeemed to deprive that party which diſcovered an eagerneſs for war, of the only pretence for a rupture. A diſpatch, however, from Vienna, about the ſame time, furniſhed it with a new ſubject for diſpute. But before we conſider the particulars of this diſpatch, it will be neceſſary to explain ſeveral previous circumſtances

circumſtances reſpecting the conduct of the Emperor.

Both the circular letter from Padua, and the joint declaration of Pilnitz, on the face of them, had an immediate reference to the captivity and detention of Louis the XVIth. When, therefore, that prince notified his acceptance of the conſtitution, both the one and the other was at an end; and indeed the concert which they were intended to eſtabliſh, was formally declared to be ſuſpended, not only by an official diſpatch * from prince Kaunitz, the aulic and ſtate chancellor, but alſo by a note of the Emperor addreſſed to the different courts of Europe on that event. The French king was now conſidered as free, his acceptance of the conſtitution as voluntary, and the ſeveral acts which followed it, as conſequently valid. All interference, therefore, of the coaleſced powers, was declared to be rendered unneceſſary during the continuance of the regular government, recently eſtabliſhed; but, as apprehenſions were ſtill entertained with reſpect to the return of popular anarchy, it was propoſed that the powers concerned ſhould hold themſelves in a ſtate of obſervation, and cauſe it to be made known by their ambaſſadors at Paris, that the coalition was not diſſolved, but would be ready, on any future emergency, to ſupport the rights of the king, and the French monarchy.

In conſequence of this change in affairs, the Emperor made conſiderable reductions in his army. He did every thing in his power to embarraſs and prevent the expedition againſt France, projected by the ardent and active heroiſm of Guſtavus the IIId †, who, after believing him reſolutely bent on war in the beginning of September, loſt all confidence in him before the end of December. The French ambaſſador, who had been forbidden to appear at the court of Vienna, was again received there. Though the complaints of the German diet, reſpecting the princes of Alſace and Lorraine, had been ratified by him, Leopold reſolved once more to write an amicable letter on the ſubject to the French government; and in all his actions at this period, he ſeemed to ſhew a ſincere deſire of peace, wiſhing at the ſame time to preſerve ſuch a countenance as might keep the jacobin faction in check, and give whatever aſſiſtance he could to the views of the Feuillans. Indeed, his conduct on the whole, had the teſtimony of the legiſlative aſſembly itſelf, when it made application to him for the exertion of his influence over the elector of Treves, in the affair of the emigrants. It was againſt ‡ ſome expreſſions contained in an official diſpatch of prince Kaunitz, by way of anſwer to this application, that exception was firſt taken. Dec. 21ſt.

The prince remarked, that the elector of Treves had ſtated to the court of Vienna, his compliance with the requeſt of France in the diſperſion of the emigrant corps, but fearing, nevertheleſs, that the

* State Papers, 227*.
† See the correſpondence of that prince, in M. Bouillé's Memoirs.
‡ State Papers, p. 209*.

frontiers

frontiers of the electorate were likely to be troubled by incurſions and violences, he had ſolicited aſſiſtance from the Emperor, in caſe the event ſhould realize his fears. It was therefore declared, that, although the Emperor was convinced of the juſt intentions of the French king, and aware of its being the intereſt of the French, not to provoke all foreign ſovereigns by acts of violence againſt one of them, yet, as daily experience gave not ſufficient aſſurance of ſtability, the preponderance of moderate meaſures in France, and a regular ſubordination of powers, his Imperial majeſty, as head of the German empire, felt himſelf under the neceſſity of ordering marſhal Bender to march ſpeedy and efficacious ſuccours to the ſtates of his electoral highneſs, in caſe of his being attacked, or even imminently menaced; that, notwithſtanding, ſincerely attached as he was to the king of the French, his Imperial majeſty profeſſed to feel too much regard for him, too much concern for the well-being of France, and the general repoſe of Europe, not to deſire ardently the prevention of ſuch an extremity, and of the infallible conſequences, as well to himſelf, and the princes of Germany, as to the other ſovereigns "who had united in concert for "the maintenance of the public "tranquillity, and the ſafety and "honour of crowns."

The idea conveyed in the laſt paragraph was principally noticed; and was now taken up for the firſt time, as ſomething of a new and dangerous tendency. As the Emperor perhaps might have flattered himſelf, that the concert of powers had been already productive of good effects, in overawing the republican, and encouraging the conſtitutional, party in the conſtituent aſſembly, ſo might he have hoped, on the preſent occaſion, that a hint on his part, of the poſſibility of its revival, would have tended to ſupport that order of things, which it had been in ſome degree the means of eſtabliſhing. But the political ſtate of France was now much altered. The Jacobins had gained a complete aſcendency in the new aſſembly; and at this period were divided into two parties, by Briſſot and Roberſpierre, both united in the endeavour of effecting the ſame object, the overthrow of the monarchy, but differing in their opinion as to the beſt mode of accompliſhing it. Briſſot, at the head of the party known under the denomination of the Girondiſts, and ſometimes the Briſſotins, was decidedly for war, as neceſſary for creating occaſions of clamour, by exciting the populace againſt the ſuppoſed treacheries of the court. Roberſpierre, at the head of the other, contended for the preſervation of peace, on the ground that war would eventually ſtrengthen and fix the power of Fayette and the Feuillans, and that they ought ſolidly to eſtabliſh their republic, before they ſhould venture to diſturb Europe *. The opinion of Briſſot finally prevailed; and in this diſpute, relative to the beſt means of deſtroying the king, principally

* See Roberſpierre's report from the committee of public welfare, 17th November 1793. Madame Roland tells us, this was the cauſe of Roberſpierre's deadly hate to Briſſot.

originated

originated that diſſenſion between theſe two champions of republicaniſm, which terminated in the deſtruction of the former. At the period of Briſſot's ſubſequent expulſion from the jacobin club, ſo far was he from diſguiſing the fact of his having been the author of the war, that he publicly boaſted of it as a point of poſitive merit, in a pamphlet * addreſſed to the republicans of France. "It was," ſaid he, "the abolition of royalty, which "I had in view, *in cauſing war to "be declared.*"

When theſe circumſtances are conſidered, the reaſon will be obvious, why the ſubject of the concert of powers was now proſecuted with ſo much ardor.

Jan. 14th, 1792. On bringing up a report from the diplomatic committee, reſpecting the official diſpatch of prince Kaunitz, M. Genſonnè, the reporter, after endeavouring to prove, that the Emperor had violated his exiſting treaty with France, particularly by the propoſed concert of powers, pointed out, what appeared to be his Imperial majeſty's inducement to ſuch a concert. He thought it probable, that the project of the Emperor was not to attack them with arms, but to lead them inſenſibly to the adoption of a congreſs, which might modify their conſtitution, overturn the principle of the equality of rights, and give to the throne an almoſt abſolute authority. Struck with this idea, M. Guadet, the vice-preſident, inſtantly propoſed, that all Frenchmen, who might directly or indirectly take any part in ſuch a congreſs, ſhould be declared infamous traitors to their country, and guilty of high treaſon. His propoſal was adopted with enthuſiaſm, and immediately formed into a decree. The miniſter for foreign affairs then read to the aſſembly, the copy of a note from the Emperor to the elector of Treves, which had been communicated to the French miniſter at Bruſſels. In this note, the Emperor informed the elector, that his promiſe of protection againſt any invaſion by the French, would only be fulfilled on the condition, that his electoral highneſs ſhould appear to have diſperſed the aſſemblages of emigrants within his dominions, and conformed in all reſpects to the laws of good neighbourhood. Before the debate on the committee's report, which occupied many days, was concluded, M. de Leſſart likewiſe read diſpatches from the French miniſter at Treves, ſtating the total diſbanding of the emigrants in the electorate. The ſpeech of Briſſot on the ſubject of the report, directly pointed at the new turn, which it was intended the negociation ſhould now take. "The electors," he exclaimed, "are not worthy of your "anger. Fear has proſtrated them "at your feet. A free people diſ-"dains to cruſh an enemy on his "knees.—The Emperor is now your "enemy. Examine his ſituation "and your own; and take advice "from your principles and ſtrength. "Strength will avenge you; prin-"ciples will abſolve you. The "nature of your enemy's hate muſt "not be diſſembled, if you would "meaſure the extent of it. Your "conſtitution is an eternal ana-"thema againſt all abſolute thrones.

* Briſſot's collection of pamphlets re-printed in London, p. 171 and 172.

"All kings then muſt hate your "conſtitution. It brings them to "their trial: it pronounces their "ſentence. It ſeems to ſay to "each of them; to-morrow thou "ſhalt be no more, or thou ſhalt "be a king of the people's creation. "This truth hath ſunk deep into "Leopold's heart. He ſtrives to "ward off the fatal moment; and "ſuch is the ſecret of his hatred "for the French nation, of the "protection which he has granted "to the emigrants and to the elec-"tors; and of the league of kings, "whom he endeavours to excite "againſt us. No, it is not the "French nobility that he would "re-eſtabliſh. It is not the prero-"gative of a political phantom, "which he wiſhes to defend. "Leopold fears for his throne. It "is his throne that he endeavours "to maintain, by a vain league "againſt the torrent of the ſpirit of "liberty." After explaining what he conceived to be the ſecret views of the enemies of France, he added; "You muſt recollect, that they are "kings and you are a people. "They are deſpots, and you are "free. Now there can be no ſin-"cere compact between liberty and "tyranny. The foreign tyrants, "therefore, muſt either deſign to "cruſh you or deceive you. They "are not able to cruſh you; they "endeavour then to deceive you." He ſaw no neceſſity of entering into any explanation with the Emperor; and was for loſing no time in declaring war, as on one ſide there were an hundred thouſand Frenchmen, brave and well armed, who only waited for the ſignal to attack, while on the other nothing was to be perceived but extreme impotence. He inſiſted, that the empire was only a phantom; that Upper Auſtria preſented nothing formidable, that Brabant would probably become free, and the ally of France; that England could only ſtrike at a diſtance, that Holland, reſtored to liberty, could not be the enemy of a free people; that the diſtreſſes of Spain would render it inactive, and that *the people of England would offer up prayers for the ſucceſs of France, which they knew would one day be their own.*

After being further worked upon by Condorcet, and other leading members of the Girondiſts, the national aſſembly at length voted an *addreſs to the king, ſetting forth, that as the Emperor, by his circular letter of the 25th of November 1791, by his treaty with the king of Pruſſia on the 25th of July, by his anſwer on the notification made to him, of the king's acceptance of the conſtitution, and by the official note of his chancellor, dated December 21ſt, had infringed the treaty between France and the empire, and endeavoured to excite among different powers, a concert injurious to the ſovereignty and ſafety of the French nation, the king ſhould be invited to demand of his Imperial majeſty, whether he intended to live in peace and good underſtanding with the French nation, and whether he would renounce all treaties and conventions directed againſt the ſovereignty, independence, and ſafety of that nation. The king was further required to announce, that, if the Emperor ſhould fail to give full and entire ſatisfaction upon theſe points, his Jan. 25th.

* State Papers, p. 213*.

ſilence,

silence, as well as every evasive and dilatory answer, would be construed into an absolute declaration of war. In the mean time, the king was desired to continue to put the troops into such a state, as to render them capable of taking the field on the first orders which might be issued. It is remarkable, that in this decree (and the same observation will apply to all the other decrees and reports on the subject) there is not even a mention of the declaration signed at Pilnitz, which has since been so perpetually represented by the friends of the French revolution, as the cause and origin of the war; nor of the circular letter from Padua. Neither was this an oversight. For M. Vaublanc *, in the course of the debates, noticed the omission, and demanded that a separate and particular report should be made concerning both the one and the other. But this proposition dropped without discussion. It seems difficult to account for this conduct, from any other motive, than that having so long quietly passed over those instruments, while they were notorious to all Europe, the leaders of the assembly did not know how to reconcile their past silence with any present complaint.

The king informed the assembly † in his reply, that he had already demanded of the Emperor a positive explanation on the principal articles proposed, preserving towards him that respect, which states mutually owe to each other. He could not, however, help remarking, that the assembly had exceeded on this occasion the powers granted to it by the constitution, which ordained, that the legislative body should not deliberate on war, except in consequence of the formal proposition of the king; but he added, that the pressure of circumstances compelled him rather to preserve a harmony of sentiment, than to be perpetually discussing his rights. At the same time he reminded the members of the assembly, that humanity forbad them to mix any emotion of enthusiasm in their decision on so momentous a question, as that of war.

Instructions were sent by M. de Lessart, to M. Noailles, the ambassador at Vienna ‡. The explanation which M. de Lessart required, principally turned on the orders given to marshal Bender, and on the concert of powers. Although he was aware, that the assistance which was to be given to the elector of Treves, depended on the condition of the elector's discontinuing his protection of the emigrants, he nevertheless thought, that such an explanation should have been properly noticed in the dispatch of the 21st of December; but he at the same time observed, that the elector, by his conduct, had falsified his assertion, of having prevented the emigrants from assembling in a hostile manner within his dominions. The avowal of a concert of powers, united for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the safety and honour of crowns, was regarded, he said, as the indication of a Jan. 21st.

* See the Moniteur for January 26, 1792. p. 108, middle column. There is perhaps hardly so strong an example, of the caution with which bold assertions should be admitted into history, as the whole cry about the treaty of Pilnitz.

† State Papers, p. 213*.

‡ Ibid. p. 214*.

league formed againſt France, for the purpoſe of effecting a change in the conſtitution, and of forcing the king and nation to accept of ſuch laws, as the coaleſced ſovereigns might think proper to dictate. He admitted that there was much internal fermentation in the kingdom; which he principally attributed to the conduct of the emigrants, and the ſupport afforded them by foreign powers. At the ſame time he acknowledged, that there had exiſted, indeed, an epoch, the period previous to the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution, when the cauſe of the emigrants, as apparently connected with that of the king, might have reaſonably intereſted the ſovereigns of Europe, particularly the Emperor; that epoch, however, he remarked, was now paſt. M. Noailles was finally inſtructed to demand an explanation on the whole tenor of prince Kaunitz's diſpatch, eſpecially on the meaning of the words, "the ſo-"vereigns combined for the ſafety "and honour of crowns," which ſeemed to announce a ſecret combination among the powers of Europe, unknown to France.

Theſe inſtructions, which were only ſaid to have been an extract from M. de Leſſart's correſpondence, were communicated by M. Noailles to prince Kaunitz, who Feb. 17th. tranſmitted them to the Imperial ambaſſador at Paris *, with ſeveral obſervations in reply, by way of counter-inſtructions, which he ordered that ambaſſador to lay before M. de Leſſart. On the ſubject of the orders given to marſhal Bender, the prince inſiſted, that his diſpatch of the 21ſt of December, was in itſelf ſufficiently explanatory, as it plainly intimated, that the aſſiſtance promiſed to the elector of Treves was only conditional, on the ſuppoſition of his being attacked by France, notwithſtanding his compliance with the requeſt made to him. This point, however, he conceived, muſt have been completely cleared up, if any doubts remained with reſpect to the firſt diſpatch, not only by a ſecond diſpatch, dated January 5th, in which he poſitively limited the Emperor's promiſe of aſſiſtance to the caſe of an invaſion taking place, "in defiance of the pacific pre-"cautions of the German princes, "in obſerving a conduct ſimilar to "that purſued by the government "of the Low Countries," but alſo by a letter of the count de Mercy, dated on the 17th of January, and communicated to M. de Leſſart, in which an expreſs declaration was made, that no aſſiſtance whatever would be granted to the elector, unleſs he fully ſatisfied the demand of France with reſpect to the emigrants. As a proof, that the elector had fulfilled what was required on his part, reference was made to a report of the French miniſter at Treves, which had been read in the national aſſembly.

On the ſubject of the concert of powers, prince Kaunitz entered into a long and full explanation, premiſing, that the concert was warranted by the confeſſion of M. de Leſſart himſelf, who acknowledged, that the ſituation of the king, previous to his acceptance of the conſtitution, was ſuch as might have excited the intereſt of ſovereigns. At the period alluded to, he ſtated

* State Papers, page 219*.

it to have been formed, explaining the nature of the Emperor's invitation to other powers; of his defenſive alliance with the king of Pruſſia, and of the joint-declaration of the two monarchs; all which proceedings, he contended, were ſtrictly agreeable to the law of nations, and even to the new conſtitution of France, which had ſanctioned monarchy, as a fundamental principle of government. When the king accepted the conſtitution, the Emperor, he added, addreſſed himſelf again to the powers, who had been invited to the concert, and on account of that event, propoſed a ſuſpenſion of the union, which was only to revive, in caſe the dangers that had previouſly exiſted ſhould be reproduced.

The agitations in the interior of France, were imputed to a cauſe very different from that which had been alledged by M. de Leſſart. The impotent armaments of the emigrants, it was remarked, could not have required the collecting of forces, thirty or forty times more numerous; or if they could, they were now diſſolved, while thoſe of France remained; and while the Emperor, ſo far from approving of them, inſiſted, that the emigrants ſhould make no attempts to diſturb the public tranquillity. The real cauſe of theſe agitations, was conceived to be the influence and violence of the republican party, which, predominating in the national aſſembly, aimed at the ſubverſion of the monarchy, by fomenting internal diſcords, and exciting a foreign war. He then expoſed at ſome length, and in very ſtrong language, the ſecret deſigns of the Jacobins, who were ſaid to plot againſt their own government, and that of every ſurrounding nation, with a publicity of declarations and meaſures altogether without example. The Emperor, it was ſuppoſed, they hoped to drive to extremities, and force into ſerious meaſures, by promiſing aſſiſtance to a conſpiracy, which had been recently diſcovered in the Netherlands; and thus, in the event of a war, would they be enabled to keep up the alarm in France, and to take advantage of the unprepared ſtate of the Imperial forces in that quarter. Some ſevere remarks were added on the decree of January 25th, which was ſtated to have been brought about by the influence of the Jacobins, and which unconſtitutionally invited the king to demand, in the name of the French nation, arming for war, an explanation of the hoſtile deſigns of the Emperor, who had not armed at all, who had put a ſtop to the arming of other powers, but whom France now compelled to arm in his own defence.

A copy of this diſpatch was ſent by prince Kaunitz to M. Noailles, * accompanied by a note, in which the Jacobins were directly accuſed, that after having made the aſſemblages in the electorate of Treves a mere pretext for an armament, they had taken up the queſtion of the concert of powers, in order to furniſh themſelves with a further pretext for a declaration of war againſt the Emperor. In oppoſition to the calumnies imputed to the Emperor, of his having formed a league againſt the ſovereignty, the independence and ſafety of France, it was aſſerted, that his Imperial ma-

* State Papers, page 231*.

jesty had not passed one step beyond the line of conduct marked out to him by his character of ally, of friend, and of neighbour, and imposed upon him by the most legitimate solicitude for the maintenance of public tranquillity. Toward the conclusion of the note, the Jacobins were denounced as a pernicious sect, the enemies of the French king, and of the fundamental principles of the French constitution, as well as the disturbers of peace and general repose. When the minister read this important paper in the assembly, he was frequently interrupted by murmurs, bursts of laughter, and other similar marks of indignation and contempt. M. Taillifer exclaimed aloud, "This Emperor is a very pleasant "fellow." Several members called out at different periods of the reading, "He is a Feuillant.—What "insolence!—War—War."

A few days after the date of prince Kaunitz's dispatch, the Prussian envoy at Paris *, informed M. de Lessart, that an invasion of the German territory by the French troops, would be regarded as a declaration of war against the Empire, which his Prussian majesty, in conjunction with the Emperor, would oppose with all his forces.

The high and dignified tone of this dispatch, the truths which it declared, and the plots which it developed, so much enraged the Jacobins, that they immediately resolved on the ruin of M. de Lessart, who was conceived to have given an advantage to the Imperial minister, by his indiscreet confessions and abject reasoning. He was therefore impeached by M. Brissot in the national assembly, and principally accused, among other similar charges less heavy, of having in his letter to prince Kaunitz, entered into details of the internal situation of the country, calculated to convey improper ideas, and of having meanly sued for peace; and yet formerly, this very letter having been read by him to the assembly, had been loudly and repeatedly applauded. The unfortunate minister was immediately arrested, sent to Orleans, and imprisoned there until the following September, when he fell in the massacres, which disgraced that period. He was at the time preparing for his trial, and had just before written to his friend, M. Necker, that he should clearly prove the French to have forced on the war, while all the foreign powers truly wished for peace †.

The persecution of M. de Lessart, by Brissot, at this period, was one branch of an intrigue among the Jacobins, who thought themselves now able to obtrude ministers of their own upon the king. By their influence, several changes were made about this time; and M. Dumourier, through them, was appointed minister of foreign affairs, as a man from whom they might expect, what were called, more energetic measures. Shortly after his appointment, he waited on the jacobin club; and after paying due homage to it, solicited the honour of its advice in the arduous task of his ministry, by means of correspondence. "Tell me," said he, at the conclusion of his address, "tell "me the whole truth, the severest

* State Papers, page 232*.

† See Necker's Reflections, &c. page 13.

"truths;

" truths; but support me from ca-
" lumny. It is that which I de-
" mand from my brethren."

Previous, however, to the impeachment of de Leſſart, new inſtructions had been ſent to M. Noailles, by way of rejoinder to prince Kaunitz's laſt diſpatch. But before their arrival at Vienna, an unexpected event occurred, which, it was ſuppoſed, might materially affect the pending negociations. This event was the death of Leopold, who was hurried to an untimely grave after a ſhort illneſs, ſome ſymptoms of which gave riſe to a ſuſpicion, now generally diſbelieved, of his having been poiſoned. He had not moved long enough in his elevated ſphere, to attract and fix the opinion of mankind to his character. While he governed in Italy, he had nearly excited an inſurrection by ſome philoſophical innovations, which offended the pious prejudices of his ſubjects: but when he mounted his hereditary thrones, whether warned by his own experience, or that of his deceaſed brother, he purſued a more ſteady and politic conduct, and extricated himſelf from the embarraſſments, by which he was ſurrounded, with much prudence and ability. In Brabant, however, as ſoon as he ſeemed to breathe a little from his difficulties, he ſhewed ſigns of a return to ſomething of his former notions. He gave encouragement to the Vonkiſts, a democratical party with French principles; and againſt the members of the ſtates, to all of whom he had promiſed an indemnity, he, by a chicane unworthy of a great prince, inſtituted civil actions of damages for the money ſpent and ſtores conſumed in their ſtruggle to vindicate their undoubted conſtitution. What he would have proved in the arduous ſituation, which would have put all his talents and vigour of mind to the ſevereſt trial, if his days had been lengthened very few years more, it would be unfair to conjecture. He was ſucceeded, as king of Hungary and Bohemia, by his eldeſt ſon Francis the Iſt.

As ſoon as decency would permit, M. Noailles again * addreſſed himſelf to the Imperial miniſter, ſtating, as a general anſwer to the accuſations againſt the Jacobins, that the king thought it neither becoming the dignity or independence of the nation, to diſcuſs ſubjects which related ſolely to the internal concerns of the kingdom. Again alluding to the concert of powers, M. Noailles remarked, that as the king could not behold ſuch a confederacy without uneaſineſs, he demanded of his ally to renounce it, and renew his aſſurances of peace and union with France. It was likewiſe added, that as ſoon as the Emperor would engage to diſcontinue all hoſtile preparations on his part, the French troops on the frontiers would be immediately reduced to the ordinary ſtate of the garriſons. March. 1ſt.

Prince Kaunitz replied, in the name of the king of Hungary and Bohemia, " that his Apoſtolic majeſty, " fully adopted the ſentiments and " declarations of his father, the " late Emperor, as contained in the " former diſpatches; that he knew " of no armaments or meaſures in " the Auſtrian States, which could March 18th.

* State Papers, p. 233*.

"be denominated preparations for "war, of none but such as were re- "quisite for the security and tran- "quillity of his own territories, in "which he thought no one had a "right to prescribe to him; and "that with respect to the concert "of powers, he could not possibly "anticipate the opinions and de- "terminations of the sovereigns "concerned, believing, neverthe- "less, that they would not judge it "expedient to dissolve the union, "until France should have re- "moved the causes, which pro- "voked or obliged them to engage "in it; and flattering himself at "the same time, that in case the "criminal designs of the Jacobins "should be successful, the sound "and principal part of the French "nation would behold, as a pro- "spect of consolation and support, "the existence of a concert, con- "ducted on principles worthy of "their confidence."

Confessedly coming into office through the influence of Brissot's party, and in a great degree under its controul, the new minister for foreign affairs *, in his first correspondence with M. Noailles, blamed the ambassador for communicating to prince Kaunitz, the extract from M. de Lessart's instructions, thus furnishing him with the means of a violent declamation, injurious to the pacific negotiations, which formed a principle of the emperor Leopold's policy. M. Noailles was at the same time instructed to adopt another line of argument, as the basis of future negotiation; to reason on the impolicy of a war, to point out that it was the undoubted interest of the House of Austria not to quarrel with France, of which it was the natural ally, and against which success itself would be fatal; that there existed no real grounds of complaint, and that the concert of powers would only prove a temporary connexion, on which little or no dependence could be placed.

M. Noailles appears to have had a conference shortly after with count Cobentzel, the aulic and state vice-chancellor, to the result of which an allusion was made † in a subsequent letter of Dumourier. As count Cobentzel had stated, that the military preparations on the part of the king of Hungary, were solely intended to maintain tranquillity in the king's own territories, and that the continuance of the concert entirely depended on events, the French ambassador was peremptorily ordered to demand categorical answers to the following questions; whether his Apostolic majesty would withdraw his troops from the frontiers, and whether, without hesitation, he would break off those treaties, which he had formed unknown to France, and with hostile intentions against her. Unless satisfactory answers were immediately given to these questions, it was added, that the king of the French, on the return of the courier, would consider himself as decidedly in a state of war.

March 27th.

In conformity to his instructions, M. Noailles waited on count Cobentzel ‡, and made the above requisitions. The Imperial minister entered into a justification of his court, from the hostile views imputed to it, declaring, that it was

* State Papers p. 235*.

† Ibid. p. 239*.

‡ Ibid. 242*.

far

far from wiſhing to intermeddle in the interior concerns of France, and that it by no means intended to ſupport the intereſts of the emigrants. "The reply of count Co-" bentzel," ſaid M. Noailles in his diſpatch, "confirmed me in the opi-" nion which I had always held, " that his court did not wiſh to at-" tack us, but would make requiſi-" tions, on which it would be dif-" cult to come to an underſtanding, " without having tried our mutual " ſtrength in arms." Count Cobentzel then remarked, that the concert ſo frequently alluded to, was not perſonal to the king of Hungary and Bohemia; other ſovereigns being likewiſe concerned in it; and ſpecified three points, an attention to which, he conceived, would annul it. Theſe were; that ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the princes, who had poſſeſſions in Lorraine and Alſace; that the Pope ſhould be indemnified for the Comtat and Avignon; and that the French government, regulating its own interior concerns, ſhould acquire ſufficient ability to repreſs every thing, which might give uneaſineſs to the neighbouring ſtates. M. Noailles wiſhed to know, if the laſt diſpatch of prince Kaunitz, was to be conſidered as containing the ſentiments of the cabinet of Vienna, on the general ſubject of their conference. After conſulting the king, count Cobentzel replied, that it was to be ſo conſidered, adding, that his Apoſtolic majeſty would be leſs inclined to alter any thing in that diſpatch, as it was perfectly conformable to the opinion of the king of Pruſſia on the affairs of France. It is worthy of remark, as a circumſtance which throws additional light on the real motives of the negociation, that, during its whole continuance, the conduct of the French towards the Houſe of Auſtria, formed a perfect contraſt to that which they ſtudiouſly obſerved towards the king of Pruſſia. Although Frederick William, with much leſs immediate intereſt, was known to have taken a more active part in the concert of princes, which was now dextrouſly converted into a popular pretext for war, and had pointedly affronted M. Segur, the new ambaſſador, yet ſo far were Briſſot and his friends from quarrelling with him on that account, that they never ceaſed to flatter him, hoping probably by theſe means to ſeduce him from his alliance with the court of Vienna.

On the arrival of a letter from M. Noailles, intimating that the cabinet of Vienna was unwilling to retract any part of prince Kaunitz's official diſpatch, dated March 18th, the French miniſtry reſolved upon an immediate declaration of war *. At the particular requeſt of the miniſter for foreign affairs, Louis had written a letter on the ſubject of the negociations, to his nephew the king of Hungary and Bohemia, with his own hand, which it was intended to ſend off by an ambaſſador extraordinary; but the language of the cabinet of Vienna, through count Cobentzel, was contemplated in ſo unfavourable a point of view, that this letter was never ſent.

† During the greateſt part of the negociation, a ſecret agent from Vienna was reſident at Paris, who conſtantly laboured at an accommo-

* Vie de Dumouriez, book iv. chap. i. † Ibid.

dation,

dation, in a manner, which was repreſented as little accordant to the high tone of the public diſpatches from his court. The particulars of the conciliating overtures, made through this perſon, have never tranſpired. They ſeem, however, either to have been rejected or wholly diſregarded by the French miniſtry, too much involved in the jacobinical intereſt, and too much terrified by the impeachment of M. de Leſſart, to venture on what might have been termed humiliating meaſures. Indeed, by way of defence againſt the imputation of being the author of the war, Dumourier has ſince * confeſſed, that, finding himſelf in adminiſtration at the moment of an exploſion, prepared by intriguers, he was compelled to deliver in a report, which produced a declaration of hoſtilities.

The ſpeech of the king, propoſing to the aſſembly an immediate declaration of war, was heard with tranſport. The debate, which enſued, was not long or particularly intereſting, as the event had been for ſome time anticipated. When M. Mailhe remarked, "That they were "poſſibly about to decree the li-"berty of the whole world; that "a war undertaken for ſuch a "cauſe, and under ſuch circum-"ſtances, ought not to be conſider-"ed as a ſcourge, but as the tri-"umph of humanity;" the hall reſounded with acclamations. War was decreed in the evening-ſitting of the ſame day againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia, and plans immediately laid, that comprehended in the line of operations parts of the German empire, againſt which war had not been, and could not with any pretence of juſtice be, decreed. On the other hand, no hoſtility was declared or propoſed againſt the king of Pruſſia, though M. Noailles, concluded the principal letter of his laſt diſpatches † with explicit aſſurances, that according to all his notions, the court of Vienna had adopted a plan purely defenſive, and that the court of Berlin had preſſed the adoption of contrary meaſures.

April 20th.

* Vie de Dumouriez, book iv. chap. i.

† State Papers, p. 242*.

CHAP. X.

War in India.—Tippoo Sultan attacks the lines of Travancore. Is repulſed. The Eaſt India company interfere. The Sultan attacks the lines a ſecond time, and is ſucceſsful. Preparations for war in the Britiſh ſettlements. Plan of the campaign. The Sultan retires from Travancore, and ineffectually endeavours to negociate with General Medows. The general takes poſſeſſion of Caroor, Daraporum, and Coimbetore. Capture of Erroad, Dindigul, and Sattimungulum. Chain of poſts from the Coromandel coaſt eſtabliſhed. The enemy ſuddenly deſcends the Gauts, and attacks Colonel Floyd, who retreats. Particulars of the retreat. General Medows, with the main army, joins the colonel at Velladi. Marches after the Sultan. Rapid movements of the enemy. General Medows returns to Coimbetore. Wiſhes to effect a junction with the Carnatic army. Proceeds to the north-eaſt with that view. Is preceded by the Sultan, who after having ſhewn himſelf

himself in order of battle before the Carnatic army returns, and falling in with the general, hurries in confusion towards the Gauts. Junction of the grand and the Carnatic armies. The Sultan now bends his course to the Carnatic. Is overtaken by the English at the pass of Tapoor. Gets the start again, and reaches Trichinopoly. Passes through the Carnatic to Tiagar and Trinomaly. Captures the fort of Permacoil near Pondicherry. General Medows pursues him no farther than Trinomaly, but proceeds to Vellout. Transactions of the Carnatic army previous to its junction, and of the Bombay army. Reflections on the termination of the first campaign. Lord Cornwallis assumes the command. The Sultan retires to his own dominions. Lord Cornwallis enters Mysore by the Muglee pass. Marches immediately to Bangalore. Skirmish before Bangalore. The Pettah or town stormed and taken. The enemy in vain attempts to dislodge our troops from the Pettah. The fort captured. Correspondence between Lord Cornwallis and the Sultan respecting the body of the governor, who was killed in the assault. Lord Cornwallis returns to the North, is joined by the Nizam's cavalry, and receives considerable supplies. Returns to Bangalore. General Abercromby, with the Bombay army, ascends the Western Gauts, and is ordered to Periapatam. Lord Cornwallis proceeds to Seringapatam. Encamps at Arakeery. Attacks the enemy, and drives him into the island. Incapable of undertaking the siege of Seringapatam. Resolves upon a retreat. Falls in with the Mahratta armies. Unsuccessful attempt of the Sultan to negociate. The combined armies separate. Lord Cornwallis reaches Bangalore. Plan of operations for the rainy season. Capture of Oussoor, Rayacottah, and other hill forts. The Sultan again in vain endeavours to negociate. Communication with the Nizam's country opened. Spirited speech of General Medows at Nundrydoog. The enemy retakes Coimbetore, and ravages the Barramaul. The Barramaul cleared by Colonel Maxwell. Lord Cornwallis takes Savendroog, Outradoog, Ram Gurry, and Sheria Gurry. Proceedings of the armies of the Nizam and that of the Mahrattas under Perseram Bhow. Lord Cornwallis encamps before Seringapatam. Short description of the island. Lord Cornwallis attacks the enemy's fortified camp in the night. Particulars of the attack. A post of consequence established on the island. The Sultan is reduced to the sole defence of the fort. Releases the officers taken at Coimbetore, and sues for peace. Attempts the life of lord Cornwallis. Junction of General Abercromby. Operations of the siege. General Abercromby invests the south-west side of the fort. Conflict at an advanced post. Termination of Hostilities. Preliminary articles of peace. Delivery of two of the Sultan's sons as hostages. Definitive treaty. Division of the ceded territories. Reflections on the advantages and policy of the peace.

WHILE the flames of war were thus breaking out in different quarters of Europe, the distant possessions of Great Britain in the East were returning to the enjoyment of a safe and glorious peace, after a career of brilliant and profitable victories. This event was the more important, as those leaders * of the republican faction,

* See note in p. 85, Hist. Art. Vol. XXXIII. and Brissot's Travels, &c.

who

who now in reality poſſeſſed the entire government of France, even exceeded all their predeceſſors in their attachment to the plan, which had been long ſyſtematically kept in view by the cabinet * of Verſailles, for humbling, if not annihilating the Britiſh power in Hindoſtan. Indeed it is but too apparent from many incidental paſſages of this hiſtory, that they early looked forward to the period, when, if their intrigues with our malcontents, ſhould fail to plunge us into anarchy and ruin, the victorious force of France, after having overcome all continental oppoſition, might ultimately be employed in the deſtruction of our rank and influence in the ſcale of nations. But to have provoked, in the outſet, the combined hoſtility of the ſurrounding ſtates, eſpecially of the maritime powers, with whom they thought themſelves leaſt able to cope, would have hazarded the ſucceſs of the ambitious ſchemes which they had formed: of courſe it was their obvious policy, by inſulating and attacking ſuch as they choſe in detail, to render the ſubjugation of all ſafer and more practicable. Their firſt great object was the extenſion of their boundaries to the Rhine, and the frontiers of Holland, that they might remove from their neighbourhood the houſe of Auſtria, the old and moſt formidable antagoniſt of France upon the continent, and be at hand by artifices, menaces, or open violence, more eaſily to bring the United Provinces under their controul, or at leaſt to break off the natural connexion of that country with Great Britain. In the mean time they truſted to Tippoo Sultan, as their great inſtrument for keeping our miniſtry in check, and intimidating them into neutrality, if France ſhould feel herſelf preſſed by the combined forces of Auſtria and Pruſſia; or for giving the readieſt and ſevereſt blow to our intereſts, if in the progreſs of hoſtilities, ſhe ſhould add Great Britain to the number of her enemies; for they imagined, according to a popular error of their countrymen, that our proſperity is leſs to be attributed to our population, our induſtry, and general commerce, than to our oriental poſſeſſions. They could not even conceal their ſentiments at the time when they moſt deſired to preſerve meaſures with this country. The journals devoted to their politics, and edited under their management or influence, repeated, with undiſguiſed ſatisfaction, every rumour of our ill-ſucceſs in the Eaſt. The peace, therefore, which was made by lord Cornwallis, at the very juncture when France was reſolved on kindling war in Europe, was highly ſeaſonable for this country, and left our government more free and diſembarraſſed to take ſuch part as expediency or neceſſity might direct, in the great ſcene, which was now opening nearer home.

In our former volume we endeavoured to trace, with accuracy and impartiality, the origin of the rupture with the ſultan of Myſore, and at the ſame time to give, what we conceived to have been the general outline of Indian politics for a conſiderable period previous to the war. Our preſent taſk will be to purſue the detail of events in order as they happened, from the firſt ag-

* See a particular account in M. Bouille's Memoirs, p. 41, 42.

greſſion

greſſion of the ſultan to the peace of Seringapatam.

With the profeſſed intention of wreſting from the rajah of Travancore the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah, which that prince had lately purchaſed of the Dutch, Tippoo Sultan, towards the end of the year 1789, marched a powerful army to the lines of Travancore.

The kingdom of Travancore is ſo favoured by nature as to be acceſſible only to an enemy on its north-weſt frontier; and even that but for an inconſiderable ſpace. To render this expoſed quarter as ſecure as poſſible, the lines were formed about thirty years ſince, which conſiſt of a ditch ſixteen feet broad, and twenty deep, with a thick bamboo hedge inſerted in it, a ſlight parapet, and a good rampart and baſtions almoſt flanking each other. Their extent from the coaſt, where they commence, to a broad river called Chinamungulum, is four or five miles; and from the oppoſite ſide of the river to the Elephant Mountains, where they terminate, twenty-four or twenty-five miles. They run in a direction nearly eaſtward.

The ſultan ſuddenly attacked the eaſtern extremity of theſe lines, and made himſelf maſter of the adjacent height. Thence doubling, and advancing with rapidity towards the centre, he ſeemed to carry all before him. His triumph however was but of ſhort duration. The rajah's troops being recovered from their firſt panic, and animated by the example of a ſmall body, conſiſting of about 800 men, which forming in a narrow paſs withſtood the whole force of the aſſailants, returned to the conflict with new ſpirit, and ſucceeded at length in completely routing the Myſorean army. The ſultan, who was perſonally engaged in the battle, narrowly eſcaped with his life. His horſe was ſhot under him; and in repaſſing the lines, ſo great was his hurry and trepidation, that he is ſaid to have leaped with violence againſt the bamboo hedge, which was in the ditch, and conſiderably to have bruiſed himſelf in forcing his way.

1789. Dec. 29th.

Our governors in India, being informed by the rajah of this attack, remonſtrated with Tippoo againſt the impropriety of his proceedings. They obſerved, that as the rajah was an ally of Great Britain, they ſhould think themſelves bound to reſent an invaſion of that prince's dominions; but that, if the ſultan would conſent to an amicable adjuſtment of the point in diſpute between himſelf and the rajah, they would ſend commiſſioners to meet any which he might appoint, on the borders of their reſpective territories, whoſe joint deciſion ſhould be final to both parties. The ſultan anſwered, that if they would ſend confidential perſons to him, with whom he might hold a perſonal conference upon the ſubject, he doubted not but that he could explain himſelf to their ſatisfaction.

No effectual ſtep towards an accommodation being taken, the ſultan procured as ſoon as poſſible, from Myſore, an additional ſupply of troops and battering guns. With theſe he again attacked the lines: and after ſome weeks, having made a conſiderable breach in the walls, advanced to the ſtorm, and bore down all oppoſition. Nothing but conſternation and diſmay pervaded the troops of the rajah, who fled in every

every direction from the Myſorean bayonets. At length complete maſter of the lines, he immediately turned his attention to the fort of Cranganore, which was beſieged with vigour, and ſoon carried. After the capture of Cranganore, Jacottah, Paroor, Curiapilly, and ſeveral other ſmaller forts, ſurrendered without oppoſition, until all the northern diſtrict of Travancore was ſubjected to the conqueror, who laid the lines in ruins, and devaſtated the whole face of the country with fire and ſword.

1790, May 7th.

In the mean time active preparations for war were making in the Britiſh ſettlements, where the prevailing opinion ſeemed to be, that the preſent moment was particularly favourable for humbling the pride of a prince, who had extended his dominions to an alarming magnitude, and for reducing his empire within ſafe and reaſonable limits. The Mahrattahs and the Nizam eagerly embraced our alliance, and promiſed a zealous co-operation. General Medows aſſumed the command of the grand Carnatic army, conſiſting of near 15,000 effective men, and general Abercromby that of Bombay. The following was ſaid to be the plan of the campaign: General Medows was firſt to poſſeſs himſelf of the Coimbetore country, which would not only cut off one of Tippoo's principal reſources, but afford ſufficient ſupplies for the remainder of the campaign, and from that quarter if poſſible to penetrate into Myſore through the Gujelhatty paſs; while general Abercromby was to attempt the reduction of the ſultan's territories weſt of the Gauts, and if circumſtances required or permitted it, to form a junction with general Medows. The ſafety of the Carnatic was entruſted to a ſmall army under the command of colonel Kelly, ſtationed in the country between Madras and the paſſes leading to Myſore.

Alarmed at the actual appearance of our army near the frontiers of his moſt valuable poſſeſſions, the ſultan retired from Travancore in haſte. With a ſmall body of troops he hurried back to his capital, leaving the remainder of his forces either to re-aſcend the Gauts, or to act in the low country, as circumſtances might direct. To avert the impending ſtorm, he immediately wrote to general Medows, congratulating him upon his appointment to the government of Madras, and propoſing to ſend him certain confidential perſons to explain, as he obſerved, ſeveral important circumſtances, "that the duſt, which had "obſcured the general's upright "mind, might be removed." The anſwer of general Medows was to the following effect: "I received "yours, and underſtand its contents. "You are a great prince, and, but "for your cruelty to your priſoners, "I ſhould add an enlightened one. "The Engliſh, equally incapable of "offering an inſult as of ſubmitting "to one, have always looked upon "war as declared from the moment "that you attacked their ally the "king of Travancore. God does "not always give the battle to "the ſtrong, nor the race to the "ſwift; but generally ſucceſs to "thoſe, whoſe cauſe is juſt. On "that we depend."

May 24th.

General Medows now marched from the plains of Trichinopoly, where his army

June 15th.

army was first embodied, and entering the enemy's country took possession of the fort of Caroor. After a halt of eighteen days, for the purpose of collecting grain, and forming a magazine at Caroor, he proceeded to Daraporum, and captured it without opposition. At this place he resolved to form a depot. Having therefore left four companies of Europeans, with a detachment of 200 seapoys, as a garrison, and disencumbering himself of all superfluous baggage, he pushed on to Coimbetore, which he found evacuated. Coimbetore had formerly been the capital of a powerful and independent rajah, but had submitted, with all its rich appendages, to the Myforean arms. Some traces however of what it once had been still remained.

The only opposition, which our troops had hitherto encountered, arose from different bodies of Looties or irregular horse, that from time to time harassed their march. But on the day after the capture of Coimbetore intelligence was received, that Sahid Saheb (one of the sultan's ablest generals) was approaching towards Demiacotta, about forty miles from Coimbetore, with at least 3,000 regular cavalry. A detachment was instantly dispatched to Demiacotta, with the hope of surprizing them; but the detachment returned, after having only succeeded in taking about fifty of the enemy prisoners.

Previous to the projected invasion of Mysore, it appeared necessary to establish a chain of posts from the Coromandel coast to the foot of the Gujelhatty pass. The line of country, which seemed best adapted to this purpose, extended through Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Caroor, Erroad, and Sattimungulum. It was therefore immediately resolved to reduce such forts in this line as were not already in our possession. Paligautcherry and Dindigul likewise, although situated in a different direction, presented themselves as stations of some importance; particularly the former, which opening towards the low country of Calicut commanded the communication between the eastern and western Gauts.

In conformity to this plan, colonel Oldham was sent against Erroad, which he captured after a trifling opposition. About the same time colonel Stuart headed a detachment, which proceeded against Dindigul. Captain Aram, who was then on his way from Madura to the camp, was ordered to join colonel Stuart, or even to attempt alone the capture of Dindigul on his advance, either by surprize, stratagem, or negociation, whichever might be most practicable. Pursuant to his directions he reconnoitered the fort, but found it much stronger than had been conceived. However he summoned the governor to surrender, pledging himself that private property should be respected, but declaring it to be the determination of the commander in chief to put the whole garrison to the sword, should they obstinately persist in an idle defence. The undaunted Mahomedan returned the summons by the person, who brought it, sending only this verbal reply: "Inform "your commander, that it is not pos- "sible for me properly to account to "my sovereign for the surrender of "such a fort as Dindigul. If there- "fore a second messenger comes with "a similar errand, I will blow him "back again to his comrades, from "my

" my cannon's mouth." The whole detachment under colonel Stuart ſoon arrived, and having erected batteries, cannonaded the fort very heavily for two days. At the cloſe of the ſecond day a ſtorm was projected, and attempted the ſame night. But notwithſtanding that the aſſailants puſhed forward with the utmoſt gallantry, the garriſon repelled every effort to carry the works. Attack ſucceeded attack; but ſo ſtrongly was the place fortified by nature and art, and ſo ably was it defended, that after a long and fruitleſs conteſt the Britiſh troops retired to their camp, and left the Mahomedans ſtill maſters of the ramparts. However, when daylight appeared, a white flag was diſplayed on the breach, in token of a diſpoſition to ſurrender. After the ſpirited defence of the preceding night, the governor had the mortification to find himſelf in the morning deſerted by almoſt all the garriſon, by the very men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo nobly. He then propoſed and obtained an honourable capitulation. From Dindigul colonel Stuart marched to Paligautcherry, which he captured after a ſhort and feeble reſiſtance. At the ſame period colonel Floyd was ſent againſt Sattimungulum, which he ſurprized and took without bloodſhed. This poſt was of conſiderable importance, from its ſituation near the Gujelhatty paſs, through which a paſſage was to be effected into the heart of the enemy's kingdom.

The moment ſeemed now approaching for the invaſion of Myſore, the whole chain of poſts being completed, and conſiderable magazines already formed in ſome of them. At this critical period the ſultan's army ſuddenly appeared in the neighbourhood of colonel Floyd's encampment. Such conſummate generalſhip was diſplayed by Tippoo on this occaſion, that his near approach was not in the leaſt ſuſpected, until he had actually deſcended the Gauts at Gujelhatty, forded the river Bovany, and was within a few miles of the Britiſh camp. This ſecret march was the more remarkable, as his army conſiſted of 40,000 fighting men, and at leaſt twice that number of followers, provided with an immenſe artillery, and a very conſiderable ſtock of proviſions. About 300 cavalry, going out on a reconnoitering party, to their great ſurprize fell in with 6 or 7,000 Myſorean horſe, with which, notwithſtanding the diſparity of numbers, they maintained a long and ſharp conflict, until the arrival of reinforcements enabled them to put the enemy completely to flight. In a few hours after the little camp itſelf was cannonaded by the whole of the ſultan's force. A vigorous action ſucceeded, and continued through the remainder of the day; but in ſpite of the ſultan's great ſuperiority both in men and artillery he was not able to break the Britiſh ranks. At the cloſe of the action, when the enemy retreated for the night, a council of war was held, when it was determined immediately to abandon our new acquiſitions in that quarter, and to return with all poſſible expedition to Coimbetore, where the grand army ſtill remained.

At four o'clock on the ſubſequent morning Sept. 14th. the troops were ſet in motion, leaving behind them a part of their artillery, which they were unable from the want

want of bullocks to convey. Scarcely had they proceeded twelve miles on their retreat, before they again perceived the Myſorean army in their rear. Another part of their artillery, and ſeveral tumbrils, were now forſaken, that they might march with greater expedition; but the ſultan ſtill gained ground upon them. A diſtant cannonade commenced, which was attended with little effect. It was four o'clock in the evening, before any ſerious action took place, when the engagement became general, and laſted until ſeven, at which hour the ſultan a ſecond time retired, all but beaten, from the field. On the following day they reached Velladi unpurſued by the enemy. Colonel Floyd obtained great credit for this maſterly retreat; nor can too much praiſe be given to the good ſenſe and ſpirit of the troops, who endured unuſual hardſhips with the moſt inflexible conſtancy of mind, having faſted for three ſucceſſive days, fought two ſevere engagements, performed a long and difficult march in the face of a formidable foe, and lain on their arms during the whole of the intervening nights, without a ſingle murmur!

General Medows receiving intelligence that Tippoo had appeared and attacked colonel Floyd in the neighbourhood of Sattimungulum, immediately haſtened to the relief of the detachment, for the ſafety of which he was extremely apprehenſive. But by miſtake he paſſed colonel Floyd, while at Velladi, and puſhed forwards to within a few miles of Demiacotta, ignorant that the colonel had abandoned his advanced poſt at Sattimungulum. When the ſultan found that general Medows with the main army was proceeding northwards, he inſtantly fell back, and re-croſſed the Bovany, on the banks of which river he took a judicious and ſtrong poſition.

Hearing at length where colonel Floyd was poſted, general Medows, without enterprizing any thing againſt the ſultan, marched back to Velladi, and having formed a junction with the colonel returned to Coimbetore.

After a reſt of only a few days he again turned his face northwards, with the hope of overtaking the wary foe, and giving him battle. The ſultan's movements were in general ſo ſecret and rapid, that little was known of him in the Britiſh camp. From the great ſupply of his elephants, and from the ſuperiority as well as number of his bullocks, he was enabled to elude the moſt diligent ſearch, and to remove from one poſition to another with a ſilence and celerity, which aſtoniſhed his adverſaries. At the preſent moment he was bending his courſe towards Caroor, in order to intercept a convoy of proviſions under the command of major Young; but, contrary to what uſually happened, general Medows became apprized of his intentions, and by an early junction with major Young, which was not accompliſhed without much exertion, defeated them. But ſcarcely was this fortunate junction effected, before intelligence arrived, that the enemy had inveſted Daraporam, the garriſon of which, being totally unfurniſhed with cannon, very ſhortly capitulated. Upon the receipt of this unpleaſant news, alarmed for the ſafety of Coimbetore, general Medows once more haſtened back to that important poſt; but had the pleaſure on his Sept. 29th.

arrival to find that colonel Hartley of the Bombay eſtabliſhment (who had previouſly arrived at Paligautcherry) had thrown into it a ſeaſonable reinforcement at a very critical period, and thus probably preſerved it.

The enemy now quitted his poſition at Daraporam, and returned to the north, encamping not far from the Bovany, between Sattimungulum and the Cavery. At this period it was thought moſt prudent to form a junction with the central army, which had been left for the defence of the Carnatic, under colonel Kelly, but in conſequence of the death of that officer was now commanded by colonel Maxwell.

It ſeems not certain whether the ſultan had any knowledge of the intended junction at the time that he took this admirable poſition; but it is allowed, that he could not have occupied a better, either for the interception of colonel Maxwell, then advancing ſouthwards, or for ſecuring his own retreat, if neceſſary, to Myſore.

He was not however long ſtationOct. 20th. ary. The Britiſh army approached, which occaſioned him again to quit the poſt he had taken, and to adopt a route, which would in all probability enable him to fall in with the Carnatic army. His ſteps were followed by his adverſaries, more probably from accident than from any previous knowledge of the line of his march, for as both parties had the ſame object in view, *viz.* to meet colonel Maxwell on his way from the Barramaul valley, it ſeemed not at all remarkable that they ſhould both purſue a ſimilar route. After a long and occaſionally difficult march, the Britiſh army at laſt conceived that they were on the point of forming the wiſhed-for junction, as they plainly diſcovered tents and flags before them. Upon this ſuppoſition three guns were fired in the line as a ſignal, but to their great ſurprize the flags were immediately lowered, the tents diſappeared, and the whole army in front hurried with precipitation towards the Gauts. This was in fact the ſultan himſelf, who had previouſly appeared for three ſucceſſive days in line of battle before colonel Maxwell; but who, fearing to attack that commander, well prepared and ſecurely poſted, was now returning unſucceſsful from his expedition. Without any further oppoſition from the enemy, both the BriNov. 17th. tiſh armies ſhortly after joined at Poolamputty.

Perceiving himſelf leſs able to cope with thoſe forces when united, which he dared not attack ſingly, the ſultan now wiſely changed the plan of his operations; and hoped to draw off our attention from making conqueſts in his dominions by alarming us for the ſafety of our own. Inſtead therefore of returning to Myſore, he directed his courſe ſouthwards, conſtantly taking the lead of the Britiſh general. In ſpite, however, of the aſtoniſhing expedition with which he uſually marched, he was overtaken by the van of the Britiſh at the paſs of Tapoor, and unexpectedly attacked with vigour; but his horſe covered the flight of his infantry with ſo much courage and ſkill, that no conſiderable advantage over him was obtained.

At this period at leaſt all idea of our being able to invade Myſore ſeemed to be abandoned. Nothing therefore

therefore appeared left but to watch the steps of the sultan, and prevent him from ravaging our territories. At present his course was directed towards Trichinopoly, where the swoln state of the river fortunately prevented him from effecting any thing, before he learnt that general Medows was advancing to its relief. Dec. 8th.

Disappointed in this quarter, he suddenly changed the line of his march, and passing through part of the Carnatic, besieged Tiagar; but, notwithstanding that he lay before it for seventeen days, and expedited his operations to the utmost of his power, he was not able to make any impression upon the garrison, which baffled all his attempts to capture it. General Medows did not arrive at Tiagar till nine days after the enemy had left it.

From Tiagar the sultan proceeded to Trinomaly, where he made some bramins of eminence prisoners, seized their property, burnt their dwellings, and defiled their altars. From hence he turned aside towards Chitteput and Wandiwash, and made himself master of Permacoil, a small fort in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, which had been taken, dismantled, and blown up in the last war.

General Medows followed the steps of the enemy no further than Trinomaly, from which place he moved forwards to Arnee, where he left general Musgrave with the left wing of the army, the sick, heavy guns, &c. and marched himself with the right wing to Vellout, about eighteen miles distant from Madras.

We have little to detail of the proceedings of the Carnatic army, previously to its junction with the other. Its principal object was to preserve the Carnatic from the inroads of the enemy. Early, however, in the campaign it had marched into the Barramaul valley, and captured several small forts; from whence it was ordered to join general Medows. General Abercromby, with the Bombay army, did not take the field until towards the close of the year; nevertheless a detachment of this army under colonel Hartley, at an early period rendered considerable assistance to the rajah of Travancore. Dec. 5th. But scarcely was general Abercromby arrived at Tellicherry before he undertook the siege of Cannanore, which after a weak resistance of three days capitulated. At the same time that general Abercromby was thus successfully employed, colonel Hartley commenced offensive operations, and made himself master of Turuckabad. The forts of Barragurry and Cootapore next surrendered, and in the short space of a few weeks the whole of the Malabar coast, extending from Billiapatam to Travancore, was completely subdued.

The arrival of the armies at Vellout, terminated the first plan of operations under general Medows, much to the disappointment of some sanguine politicians, who had calculated upon the annihilation of the Mysorean consequence in India. Little appeared, in their opinion, to have been effected, which could materially contribute to what was supposed to be the principal object of the war. At the close of an active campaign we were in possession but of one or two trifling posts, which were only thought to be important, as they might favour an invasion of Mysore on its southern

ſide; an idea, that now ſeemed totally abandoned by the return of our troops to the neighbourhood of Madras. It was at the ſame time remarked, that the ſultan had found means to advance with a formidable army into the heart of the Carnatic, ſpreading alarm and terror around him, as much ſuperior to us, in the apparent magnitude of his reſources and the wily ſtratagems of war, as inferior in the diſcipline of his troops.

On the other hand, it was urged by ſome, who profeſſed to look deeper than into the mere ſurface of things, that ſufficient had been atchieved to demonſtrate not only the probability, but almoſt the certainty of our ultimately ſucceeding to the utmoſt of our wiſhes. In every action during the campaign the Britiſh arms had been uniformly victorious, ſometimes againſt very ſuperior numbers. This, while it inſpired our own troops with confidence, proportionably depreſſed the ſpirits of the enemy. Under ſuch circumſtances, the ruin of the ſultan was pronounced to be inevitable. However fair and flattering his reſources for ſo formidable a conteſt might externally appear, it was conceived that they would prove ſo in appearance only. Nor was any thing to be apprehended from the ſuppoſed ſuperiority of his generalſhip, which was ſaid to be admirable only, when compared with what was uſually diſplayed by Indian commanders; contemptible, if put in competition with European ſkill; it was thought to partake more of cunning than wiſdom, of low fineſſe than of fair and manly manœuvre.

1791, Jan. 29th. Prepared to aſſume the command in perſon, and if poſſible to puſh at once into the heart of the enemy's country, lord Cornwallis, the governor general of Bengal, joined the army at Vellout, with the appearance of which he expreſſed himſelf highly pleaſed. After receiving a ſupply of artillery, and other neceſſary articles, he almoſt immediately marched to Velore, leaving general Muſgrave with a ſufficient force to protect the Carnatic. The direction of his lordſhip's march ſeemed to indicate an intention of entering Myſore by the Barramaul valley. The ſultan being apprized of this circumſtance, and probably deſpairing of effecting any thing of conſequence in the Carnatic, where a body of troops was ſtationed to keep him in check, quitted the Britiſh territory, and haſtened back to his own dominions.

Arrived at Velore, lord Cornwallis ſuddenly changed the line of his march, and turning aſide to the north, effected an entry into Myſore by Muglee, without encountering the leaſt oppoſition from the enemy, whoſe attention was fixed on a different quarter. The difficulties which occurred in this paſs, were far from being inconſiderable; mountain riſing above mountain, with deep and dangerous valleys intervening, and this for the ſpace of ſix miles in continuance, preſented obſtacles to an advancing army, which would not eaſily have been ſurmounted in the preſence of an intrepid but cautious enemy, well inſtructed in the nature of the ground, and taking a wiſe advantage of it. Having gained the ſummit of the laſt aſcent, his lordſhip for the firſt time now publicly declared an intention of marching to Bangalore, the ſecond town in point of conſequence within the ſultan's dominions.

On

On the third day of the march from the head of the Muglee paſs, the enemy's horſe appeared, and were extremely active in deſtroying the forage of the ſurrounding country; but our troops were within ten miles of Bangalore, before the whole of the ſultan's force appeared, which then commenced a diſtant and ineffectual cannonade.

March 5th. Encamped before Bangalore, lord Cornwallis loſt no time in preparing for the intended enterprize. On the day after his arrival, however, a circumſtance occurred, which might have been attended with unpleaſant conſequences. A reconnoitering party, who were out with all the cavalry of the army on a ſurvey towards the eaſt of the fort, obſerved the rear of the enemy conſiderably detached from their main army, and imprudently attacked it. The reſiſtance was but feeble. The Myſoreans at firſt fled; but being ſtrongly reinforced, rallied, and compelled the victors in their turn to make a precipitate retreat. Fortunately however a brigade of the ſame party, which had not been before in the action, came up, and turned the ſcale in our favour a ſecond time. At this moment the commander in chief marched out to the ſupport of his troops, and prevented any further attempt of the enemy to recover the honour of the day.

The pettah or town of Bangalore was aſſaulted on the ſubſequent morning, and after an ineffectual reſiſtance of ſome hours captured, with the loſs of 100 men. This acquiſition was of conſiderable importance, as it contained large magazines of grain, forage, and fuel, and as it afforded admirable cover to the troops in the ſucceeding ſiege of the fort. It is a well-built town, of 2,000 yards in length, and 750 in breadth, ſurrounded on every ſide by a rampart and ditch, except where it joins to the fort. Through this paſſage a ſelect body of the enemy ſallied on the ſame evening, and endeavoured to regain poſſeſſion of the pettah; while a violent cannonading commenced in another direction, with the view of drawing off the attention of the Britiſh from the quarter where the real attack was meditated. The enemy however was repulſed with loſs.

Batteries were immediately erected, and opening againſt the fort, played upon it inceſſantly for ſeveral days. The ſultan was not idle on his part. Twice he attempted to diſlodge the beſiegers from the pettah; but his uſual ill fortune ſtill attended him.

A practicable breach being at length effected, lord Cornwallis without delay proceeded to the ſtorm. He kept however his intentions a profound ſecret, until the moment of their execution. This ſecrecy was at the preſent moment highly requiſite, as the enemy ſtill poſſeſſed the ability of reinforcing the garriſon of the fort, which meaſure would have rendered the undertaking proportionably more difficult. It is probably to the multiplicity of anxieties, which at this period preſſed on the ſultan's mind, as well as to the vain hope of his being able to re-take the pettah, that his apparent negligence in ſo important a particular muſt be attributed.

On the very night after the laſt attack of the enemy the aſſault commenced. Having mounted the breach, the March 21.

troops pushed forward in three divisions, and at first took different directions; but all met at the opposite gate of the fort, which was completely choked up by the flying garrison. A most terrible carnage ensued, the small band of assailants being conscious, perhaps, that their own security consisted in the death of their opponents, who were still sufficiently numerous to have rallied and regained the fort, had they not hastened their destruction by the very means which they took to prevent it. The enemy lost about 1,000 men, and 300 were taken prisoners. The killahdar or governor, an old and faithful soldier, was killed in the contest. The loss on our part consisted not of more than 50 killed and wounded. Immense quantities of military stores, and 124 pieces of ordnance, were found in the fort.

A circumstance occurred after this signal success, which deserves to be mentioned, as remarkably illustrative of the sultan's character. Lord Cornwallis sent to that prince, informing him, that the body of the brave killahdar, who was slain in the defence of the fort, should be transmitted to him, if he desired it. The sultan's answer was wise and magnanimous. "I consider," replied he, "that spot of ground, which "the body of a soldier covers when "he falls in the execution of his duty, "as the most honourable which can "be chosen for his grave!"—The British commander then buried him with all military honours.

When the important fortress of Bangalore was completely subdued, it was conjectured that lord Cornwallis would immediately march to Seringapatam; but this favourite measure was prudently deferred for a time. His lordship wished first to form a junction with the Nizam's cavalry, which he understood to be on the way to join him; and likewise to obtain a considerable supply of provisions, which had been promised him by some northern Poligars, who had recently revolted from their allegiance to the sultan. At the same time he was also in expectation of receiving further supplies, which he had ordered from Caroor. With such objects in view he left Bangalore, and marching to the north, had the good fortune to succeed in every particular. The Nizam's cavalry joined him to the amount of about 15,000, more remarkable for their numbers than their discipline. The Poligars furnished him with all that he stood in need of; but were afterwards severely punished by the sultan for their treachery. At the edge of the Gauts he met with the party from Caroor, who, besides an additional supply of provisions, brought him a reinforcement of 700 European, and 4,500 native troops. Having thus succeeded to his wishes, his lordship returned to Bangalore.

While the main army was honourably distinguishing itself at Bangalore, general Abercromby was marching towards Mysore, with the hope of sharing in the honours of the war. By the first of March he had reached the Poodicherrum pass, opposite to Cannanore, where he was directed to remain until further orders. He was now desired to quit that situation, and proceed immediately to Periapatam, about three marches distant from Seringapatam.

When he had arranged every thing to his mind, May 3d. lord Cornwallis set forward on his expedition

expedition againſt the capital of the enemy. The roads through which he paſſed were found in ſeveral places deep and rugged; and had been rendered conſiderably worſe than uſual by the fall of an immoderate quantity of rain, which at this ſeaſon was quite unexpected. At length, after a fatiguing march of ten days, he arrived at Arakeery, about nine miles diſtant from Seringapatam.

From this ſituation the ſultan, who had already been four days at his capital, was ſeen to march out of the iſland, on which that town is built, and to take poſſeſſion of a ſtrong poſt in the front of it. The direct approach to the poſition, which was thus occupied, on the ſide of Arakeery, was through a very narrow valley, full of ſwamps and ravines. Deterred by ſuch a circumſtance from making an attack in this direction, lord Cornwallis reſolved to conduct his troops by a circuitous route round the hills, with the hope of ſurprizing the ſultan in his camp, or at leaſt of contending with him on more equal ground.

At eleven o'clock in the night he proceeded on this hazardous expedition. The night proved dark and ſtormy, which, together with the bad ſtate of the roads, ſo greatly retarded him, that at day-break, to his extreme mortification he found himſelf advanced but a ſhort diſtance from the camp. Vexed but not diſpirited by this unfortunate circumſtance, he again puſhed forward in profound ſilence; and actually arrived within three miles of the enemy's camp, before the leaſt alarm was given. His near approach being at length perceived, a large body of the enemy was immediately put in motion, and diſpatched to occupy ſome high ground commanding a deep ravine, through which he was ſtill under the neceſſity of paſſing. This ſpot was unfortunately ſeized at the very moment when our troops were deſcending on the other ſide towards the ravine. Some guns were now brought to bear from the height, which damped for a time the Britiſh ardor. After a delay of full two hours, the troops at laſt formed on the other ſide of the ravine, during which period they were dreadfully expoſed to the enemy's fire; and had it not been for a rocky eminence, which luckily afforded them ſome ſhelter, their lines would have been completely enfiladed.

Before any diſpoſition could be made for action, it was neceſſary to diſlodge the enemy from the height. This taſk was aſſigned to colonel Maxwell, who with one column of the army puſhed forwards with ſo much ſpirit, that he ſoon became maſter of the ſummit of the hill. The whole army then followed, and the action became general. Colonel Maxwell preſſed the enemy on the left flank; colonel Floyd with the cavalry on the right; while the line under the command of general Medows attacked in front. The ſultan, notwithſtanding his perſonal exertions in the field, was at laſt obliged to give way, and was purſued, until he took refuge under the batteries of the iſland. After this fortunate action lord Cornwallis encamped on the very ſpot where the conteſt had terminated.

It was now expected, that meaſures would be concerted for the reduction of the iſland. But lord Cornwallis thought it prudent to defer this enterprize, until he could

form a junction with general Abercromby, who was then at Periapatam waiting for orders. His motive for this was, that he might have an army capable of keeping the ſultan in check on the ſouthern ſide of the iſland, while he forced his paſſage over the Cavery on the northern ſide. Without ſuch aſſiſtance, he conceived, that he might have been expoſed, in attempting the paſſage, to a croſs fire, from a ſtrong fort not very diſtant from the ford, over which the paſſage muſt have been forced, and from the main army of the enemy, which might have otherwiſe taken a favourable poſition for the purpoſe. With this view, after a halt of two days, he forſook his new poſt, and marched the army to Kanambaddy. The firſt day's march was only ſeven, the ſecond but twelve miles, in conſequence of the weak ſtate of the bullocks. Here a minute enquiry was made into the condition of theſe uſeful animals, when it was found that their numbers were alarmingly diminiſhed, and that moſt of thoſe which were ſtill living were rendered almoſt unfit for ſervice, owing to the extreme fatigue, which they had endured, and an epidemical diſorder, that had lately broken out among them. At the ſame time it appeared that the ſtock of proviſions in hand was inadequate to the probable conſumption of the army for a longer period, than would be ſufficient to take them back to Bangalore. Under the preſſure of ſuch galling circumſtances lord Cornwallis was reduced to the neceſſity of relinquiſhing the fair proſpect, which fortune had diſplayed to his view; to abandon the ſplendid prize, which he ſeemed to feel almoſt within his graſp. Orders were inſtantly diſpatched to general Abercromby to return to the Malabar coaſt. With the greateſt reluctance that general left Periapatam, where he had been only four days, and fell back towards the weſtern Gauts, after having deſtroyed a part of the battering train, which had been deſtined for the ſiege of Seringapatam.

Lord Cornwallis now commenced his mortifying retreat, but had ſcarcely proceeded ſix miles from Ranambaddy ford, when a party of ſtrange horſe unexpectedly rode in on the baggage flank. At firſt they were ſuppoſed to be enemies; but to the great joy and ſurprize of the army proved to be the advanced guard of a powerful Mahratta force, which was marching with all poſſible expedition to the ſupport of the Britiſh arms. This force conſiſted of two conſiderable armies; one under the command of Purſeram Bhow, a celebrated Mahratta warrior, amounting to 20,000 horſe and foot, with two battalions of ſepoys; the other under Hurry Punt, a Bramin of the higheſt rank, to the number of about 12,000 men. May 26th.

Previouſly to the actual junction of the confederates, the ſultan attempted to open a negociation with lord Cornwallis. With this intent he ſent a numerous retinue of ſervants, with preſents and letters to his lordſhip; who declined the acceptance of the preſents, and anſwered in general terms, to the propoſition for opening a negociation, that no ſtep of this kind could be taken without the concurrence of the allies.

United with the Mahratta forces the Britiſh troops were no longer alarmed at the idea of a probable ſcarcity of proviſions. It was however

ever too late to make any attempt upon Seringapatam, as the heavy guns had been deſtroyed, when the retreat was determined, as general Abercromby had already deſcended the Gauts, and as the periodical rains were now ſetting in. It was therefore reſolved to relinquiſh this enterprize for a time; and to eſtabliſh the head-quarters during the monſoon, in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, that ſupplies might be there collected for more effectual operations againſt Seringapatam, when the ſeaſon would permit, and that the confederate forces in the mean time, by carrying the war into the northern diſtricts of Myſore, might in ſome degree ſubſiſt at the expence of the enemy.

On the return to Bangalore, the fort of Maddoor was taken, and deſtroyed. Outradoog was likewiſe ſummoned, but the gallant governor returned for anſwer, "that he had "eaten Tippoo's ſalt (meaning that "he had received his pay) for "twenty years, and was reſolved not "to ſurrender the fort entruſted to "his care, until Seringapatam itſelf "was captured." Savendroog was next reconnoitered, but not inveſted.

At this period a ſeparation took place in the combined armies. While Purſeram Bhow marched to the north-weſt towards Sera, lord Cornwallis, with Hurry Punt and the Nizam's cavalry, proceeded to Bangalore. And thus ended what may be termed the ſecond campaign of the war.

When lord Cornwallis arrived at Bangalore, inſtead of ſitting down inactive during the rainy ſeaſon, he turned all his thoughts to haſten and ſecure the preparations neceſſary for commencing the next campaign with encreaſed vigour. His firſt object was to open a communication with the Carnatic. The Muglee paſs, through which he had penetrated into Myſore, was thought leſs adapted to this purpoſe than that of Policode. He determined therefore immediately to reduce the forts, which might oppoſe the paſſage of the convoys, advancing by this route from the Carnatic to Bangalore.

In proſecution of ſo wiſe a plan, it was not long before he moved towards Ouſſoor, through a country in high cultivation, which had been hitherto exempt from the calamities of war. At his approach the enemy evacuated the fort, but had not time to carry off all the ſtores. A journal was here found, written in Engliſh, which proved, that ſome Europeans had been under confinement in this place. On enquiry it appeared, that three priſoners had been kept in cloſe cuſtody at Ouſſoor, until the capture of Bangalore, when the ſultan's orders were received by the governor inſtantly to put them to death. Their graves were pointed out by the inhabitants, which upon being opened, evidently contained the bodies of three perſons, who had been beheaded, and whoſe hair and cloaths proved them to have been Europeans. The ſultan's conduct in this inſtance has been attributed to a low and little ſpirit of revenge, after his recent loſſes at Bangalore; but it is rather probable, that it originated more in motives of policy than revenge. He had repeatedly and ſolemnly declared, that no Europeans were detained againſt their wills in his dominions. When, therefore, July 15th.

therefore, the tide of his affairs was rapidly turning againſt him, he ſeems to have adopted this barbarous meaſure ſimply to prevent the diſcovery of his own falſehood and treachery.

From Ouſſoor lord Cornwallis proceeded to Rayacottah, which, after a ſlight reſiſtance to the detachment which was ſent againſt it, ſurrendered at the approach of the main army.

The reduction of Rayacottah was followed by that of all the hill forts in the neighbourhood of the Policode paſs, Anchittydurgam, Neelagheri, Rutnagheri, Oodeadurgam, and Chinraydurgam. Of theſe Anchittydurgam and Oodeadurgam were kept, and garriſoned; the other three were deſtroyed.

The army continued for ſome time in the neighbourhood of Ouſſoor, in order to cover a convoy, which was daily expected from the Carnatic. The convoy at length arrived in perfect ſafety, and brought a ſupply of 100 elephants, and 6,000 bullocks laden with rice. Aug. 10th.

Before the army moved from this ſtation, the ſultan made another unſucceſsful attempt at a negociation. Diſtreſſed on every ſide, and probably deſpairing of being able to create a jealouſy among the members of the confederacy, it was now underſtood, that he conſented to treat with the allies, as well as with the Britiſh government. His ambaſſador was by birth a Mahrattah, but ſo far from being acceptable to his countrymen, that during his ſhort ſtay in the neighbourhood of Ouſſoor, lord Cornwallis was obliged to give him a guard to protect him from their reſentment. Previous to a declaration of his maſter's ſentiments on the object of his miſſion, he propoſed certain conditions with reſpect to the forms of his reception, with which it was judged highly improper to comply; but not being inſtructed to diſpenſe with the obſervation of ſuch forms, he declined entering into any negociation whatever, and was in conſequence immediately diſmiſſed, much to the ſatisfaction of our allies.

The communication with the Carnatic being opened and made ſecure, lord Cornwallis next reſolved to eſtabliſh a communication with the country of the Nizam, from whence important ſupplies might alſo be procured. The principal forts, which were ſituated between this country and Bangalore, were Raymanghur, Ambagee-Durgum, Chittum-Cottha, Nundydoog, and Calarumconda.

A detachment under major Gowdie was diſpatched upon this ſervice. Raymunghur made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, but after a vigorous aſſault of a few hours ſurrendered at diſcretion. Ambagee-Durgum and Chittum-Cottha ſubmitted on the firſt ſummons. Sept. 14th.

The capture of Nundrydoog afforded a wider field for the diſplay of Britiſh valour. Nundrydoog is the capital of an extenſive diſtrict, and is ſeated on the ſummit of a lofty mountain, at leaſt 1,700 feet high, acceſſible only on one ſide, where two walls and an outwork had been erected for its protection. Againſt this formidable fort, ſtrengthened by new works, and garriſoned with ſome of the enemy's beſt troops, major Gowdie with an handful of men intrepidly advanced. His firſt attempt, in conſequence

of

of the diſtance of his batteries, was attended with little ſucceſs. Diſappointed but not diſcouraged at the little impreſſion which he had been able to make, he immediately determined to aſcend the rugged mountain itſelf, on the only ſide by which it was practicable, and erect his batteries upon it. After a fortnight's inceſſant toil and hazard, he at length completed his object, and breached the walls; but the commandant ſtill refuſed to ſurrender. At this moment lord Cornwallis ſent a reinforcement under general Medows to make an aſſault, if neceſſary, while the whole army moved to a poſt within four miles of the fort. An aſſault was reſolved upon. Immediately before the troops advanced on this difficult and dangerous enterprize, ſome perſon obſerved, that a mine was ſuppoſed to be near the breach. General Medows, with a ſpirit and preſence of mind, which few would have poſſeſſed in ſimilar circumſtances, inſtantly replied, "that, if a mine was "really there, it could only be a mine "of gold;" and ruſhed without delay to the breach. The aſſailants were terribly annoyed, not ſo much by the fire of the garriſon as by immenſe fragments of ſtone, which were rolled from the ſummit of the hill, and perpetually bounding from the ſolid rock came down with an impetuoſity hardly to be conceived. Nevertheleſs, in ſpite of every obſtacle, the works were at laſt carried. The fall of Nundrydoog occaſioned the ſurrender of the remaining fort Calarumconda without oppoſition.

While lord Cornwallis was adding conqueſt to conqueſt in the northern parts of Myſore, the unfortunate ſultan attempted to regain what he had formerly loſt in the ſouthern diſtricts of his dominions. A very inconſiderable force was ſtationed in Coimbetore under the command of lieutenant Chalmers. Hither therefore he directed his views, and flattered himſelf, that he might happily recover at leaſt one of the rich gems, which had been lately raviſhed from the Myſorean crown.

Almoſt immediately after the retreat of the Britiſh army from Seringapatam, he diſpatched a ſmall body of troops to Coimbetore, which, after attempting in vain to ſtorm the fort, were driven back with diſgrace to the very confines of Myſore.

He did not however abandon the enterprize. As ſoon as the care of his convoys gave him leiſure, which was not until the month of October, he ſent Cummer-ud-Deen Çawn, his ſecond in command, with a far ſuperior force; at the ſame time ordering that general, after his deſcent into the low country, immediately to diſpatch a detachment to Kiſtnaghery, in the Barramaul, the only place of any conſequence which he retained between Bangalore and the Carnatic. By this manœuvre he hoped to intercept our convoys, which would ſcarcely expect to find an enemy advancing againſt them by ſo circuitous a route.

The Cawn ſoon appeared before Coimbetore, and commenced a vigorous ſiege. Major Cuppage, who was ſtationed with a ſmall force at Paligautcherry, immediately advanced to the relief of the fort; but finding himſelf unable to cope with ſo ſuperior an adverſary, and dreading leſt his retreat ſhould be cut off,

if

if he ventured to attack the Cawn, fell back again to Paligautcherry. The ſiege was now preſſed with redoubled ardour, until lieutenant Chalmers, deprived of all hopes of relief, agreed to capitulate. The terms of the capitulation were, that the garriſon ſhould march out of the fort with the honours of war, and ſhould be immediately ſent to Paligautcherry, with permiſſion of going from thence to the Carnatic on their parole, where they were to remain during the war. But, after poſſeſſion of the fort was taken, the Cawn informed lieutenant Chalmers that the terms of the capitulation could not be valid until the ſultan had ratified them. This the ſultan refuſed to do, ordering the priſoners to be brought to Seringapatam.

The detachment principally conſiſting of light horſe, which the Cawn had diſpatched to the Barramaul, not finding the convoys that the ſultan hoped to intercept, plundered and ravaged the country. When lord Cornwallis heard of their depredations, he ſent colonel Maxwell to oppoſe them. The chief rendezvous of the enemy was a ſtrong mud fort called Ponagra, which the colonel aſſaulted, captured, and blew up. After having ſcoured the Barramaul to the ſouth, he proceeded againſt Kiſtnaghery, which contains two forts and a pettah. His object ſeemed to be to deſtroy the lower fort and pettah. With this view it was aſſaulted in the night. The garriſon inſtantly fled to the upper fort, where a party of the aſſailants raſhly ventured to follow them, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The lower fort and the pettah were now deſtroyed, and colonel Maxwell, having executed his orders in the Barramaul, returned to the main army.

Succeſsful in every quarter, lord Cornwallis began more immediately to turn his attention to the great object of the campaign. But in order to prevent the neceſſity of a ſecond retreat in the very moment of victory, from a poſſible deficiency of proper ſupplies, he firſt determined to attempt the reduction of the principal forts ſituated in the country between Bangalore and Seringapatam. Of theſe Savendroog and Outradoog were the moſt important.

Savendroog is ſo well fortified by nature and art, that it has been generally thought impregnable. It is built on an immenſe rock, riſing to the perpendicular height of a mile, from a baſe, which is ſaid to be nine or ten miles in circumference. On every ſide it is ſecured by many thick and well diſpoſed walls and barriers, which ſeem to defy all idea of an hoſtile approach; while the ſummit of the rock, which is ſeparated by a deep chaſm, is crowned with two diſtinct citadels, capable of affording ſhelter to the garriſon if driven from the lower works. The atmoſphere of the ſurrounding country likewiſe is conceived to be ſo extremely noxious, that the fort has received the name of Savendroog from this very circumſtance, which is ſaid to ſignify "The Rock of Death."

Lieutenant colonel Stuart commanded the detachment, which was ſent againſt this formidable fortreſs. He was Dec. 10. ſupported by the main army encamped in the neighbourhood.—With incredible toil and perſeverance the artillery was dragged through

through woods and up precipices of difficult approach, before batteries could be erected with any probable proſpect of ſucceſs. This labour being at laſt ended, the batteries ſoon began to open, and effected a breach in a few days. The aſſault then commenced, and notwithſtanding the difficulty of the enterprize was ſucceſsful almoſt beyond example. The lower works were carried without oppoſition; and ſo great was the panic of the garriſon, that they at the ſame time abandoned the fortification on the eaſtern ſummit of the mountain, all crouding to that on the weſtern ſummit. This circumſtance was the cauſe of their ruin. For the ſteepneſs and ruggedneſs of the rock in this part ſo retarded the fugitives, that a body of our troops found means to enter the gates of the weſtern hill with them, and thus became complete maſters of both ſummits. Not a ſingle man was loſt in this aſſault, although the enemy left on the rock between two and three hundred killed and wounded.

From Savendroog, colonel Stuart proceeded againſt Outradoog, which was ineffectually ſummoned in the late retreat. The governor refuſed a ſecond time to ſurrender, and, in order to prevent all kind of communication, even fired on the flag of truce as it advanced. But the garriſon ſeemed little inclined to ſupport his efforts, and deſerted in conſiderable numbers. The fort was ſtormed, and carried without any loſs, two privates only being ſlightly wounded. The governor himſelf was taken priſoner.

While colonel Stuart was thus employed before Outradoog, a ſmall detachment was diſpatched againſt Ram Gurry and Sheria Gurry, and captured them both, the former attempting but a very ſlight reſiſtance, the latter ſurrendering at diſcretion.

The proceedings of the armies of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, which ſeparated from lord Cornwallis, were not very important. The Nizam's was employed in the ſiege of Gurramcondah, from Auguſt to November, when it ſucceeded in ſtorming and carrying the lower fort. The main army however moving from that neighbourhood to join lord Cornwallis for the protection of the Carnatic convoys, a ſmall body of troops only were left at Gurramcondah, which were ſuddenly attacked and defeated by Hyder Saib, the ſultan's eldeſt ſon. On the return of the main army the lower fort was again captured, which terminated its operations until the final junction with lord Cornwallis.

The firſt attempt of the Mahratta army was upon Kincoopy, a hill fort about eighteen miles from Chittledroog, which proved ſucceſsful.

As the country weſt of Chittledroog and Chinroypatam, including the fertile provinces of Bidenore and Mangalore, was almoſt the only part of the ſultan's dominions, that had not ſmarted under the ſcourge of war, he had ſtationed a conſiderable force there, for the purpoſe of protecting the ſupplies which he might find neceſſary to draw from that quarter. Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, Purſeram Bhow determined to advance againſt Simoga, and the forts on the river Tum and Budra. Hooly Onore and Bankapoor were ſubdued without much

much difficulty; but on approaching Simoga, he found a Myſorean army encamped before it of greater ſtrength than had been ſuppoſed. He ventured however to attack it, and was completely victorious. The fort very ſhortly afterwards capitulated.

Fluſhed with his ſucceſs, the Bhow turned his face towards Bidenore; but here he found Cummer-ud-Deen Cawn already poſted, with an army capable of ſtopping his triumphant progreſs. Not chooſing to try his ſtrength with the Cawn, he abandoned his new project, and propoſed to return, in order to form a junction with general Abercromby, agreeable to a pre-concerted plan. But he was unfortunately too late. His expedition to Bidenore was not only fruitleſs in itſelf, but deprived the allied troops of his co-operation, where it had been promiſed, and where its advantages would have been tenfold.

Lord Cornwallis was encamped at Outradoog, when the Nizam's forces joined him. All the ſupplies and re-inforcements, which were upon a larger ſcale than any that had been ſent in former wars, were now arrived. After a little military parade, in exhibiting the Britiſh line to the Indian chiefs, who appeared highly gratified by ſo novel a ſight, the allied armies a ſecond time proceeded on their expedition to the capital, in the neighbourhood of which they arrived without oppoſition from the enemy, on the fifth day of their march.

1792, Feb. 1ſt.

Before any clear idea can be formed of the military operations, which now took place, it will be neceſſary for the reader to be made acquainted with ſome particulars in the ſituation of Seringapatam. Seringapatam is ſeated on an iſland about four miles long and a mile and a half broad, formed by a diviſion of the river Cavery, which flows around it in two diſtinct channels. The fort is built on the weſtern extremity of the iſland, where the Cavery commences its ſeparation; on the eaſtern extremity, where the Cavery reunites its divided waters, ſtands the Laul Baug, or the ſultan's great garden. Previous to the war the whole ſpace between the fort and the Laul Baug, except a ſmall garden ſituated on the northern branch of the Cavery, which is called the Dowlat Baug or rajah's garden, was occupied by a large and handſome town. The greateſt part of this town was deſtroyed before the approach of the confederate armies, in order to make room for batteries to defend the iſland, one portion of it only being ſuffered to remain, of about half a mile ſquare, for the accommodation of the merchants and the convenience of the troops. This is called the Pettah of Shahir Gangam: it is ſurrounded by a ſtrong mud-wall, not very diſtant from the ſultan's great garden. It is requiſite likewiſe to obſerve, that on both ſides of the two branches of the Cavery, out of the iſland, a conſiderable extent of ground is occupied by a bound-hedge, intended to mark the limits of the capital, and to afford a kind of aſylum to the people of the neighbouring country, in caſe of any hoſtile incurſion. The incloſure beyond the ſouthern branch of the Cavery was filled with inhabitants; but that beyond the northern entirely occupied by the ſultan's army.

Within

Within this latter incloſure, which is for ſome ſpace covered in front by a wide canal, and by the winding of the Lockany river, ſix large redoubts had been conſtructed on high ground, in the ſtrength of which the ſultan was ſuppoſed to have placed much confidence.

Feb. 6th. The very day after his arrival in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, lord Cornwallis determined upon an immediate attack on the ſultan's fortified camp. After the troops had been diſmiſſed from the evening parade at ſix o'clock, orders were inſtantly iſſued for a general aſſault the ſame night. By half after eight every thing was in readineſs, and the troops commenced their march in profound ſilence. They advanced in three diviſions. The right diviſion was commanded by general Medows; the centre by lord Cornwallis in perſon, aſſiſted by colonel Stuart; and the left by colonel Maxwell. The allies appeared under the greateſt aſtoniſhment and conſternation, when they obſerved lord Cornwallis not only order out his troops without cannon on ſo formidable an enterprize, but even expoſe his own perſon to all the dangers and uncertainties, with which a nocturnal expedition ſeemed pregnant.

The centre diviſion gave the firſt alarm to the enemy, by unexpectedly falling in with a body of Myſorean horſe, proceeding, with rockets, and other implements of Indian war, to diſturb the camp of the allies; but not until it had arrived within a ſhort diſtance of the bound-hedge. Rapidly preſſing on, it ſoon entered the enemy's lines, under a heavy but ill-directed fire. The Myſoreans fled on every ſide, ignorant of the numbers, and dreading the bayonets, of their opponents.

The front column of this diviſion, which had been ordered, if poſſible, to croſs the Cavery with the fugitives, fully executed its orders; but in conſequence of the confuſion and hurry, which often attend nocturnal attacks, it unintentionally ſeparated into three parties. The firſt party that reached the river, put itſelf under the direction of captain Monſon as ſenior officer, and croſſed a ford near the eaſt angle of the fort. Immediately upon gaining the iſland, captain Monſon puſhed for the fort; but the eaſtern gate was unfortunately ſhut, and the bridge drawn up. Diſappointed in his hope of ſurprizing the fort, he paſſed on through the middle of the iſland, until he arrived at the other ſide of it, taking poſt partly on a bridge over a canal, and partly at a redoubt, which protected the ſouthern ford.

Colonel Knox, at the head of the ſecond party of this divided column, croſſed the ford in a few minutes after the preceding party; but arriving at the iſland turned to the left, in a contrary direction to the route of captain Monſon, and reached without much impediment the pettah of Shahir Ganjam, which he found abandoned by the enemy. He was now near the great garden at the weſtern point of the iſland. Here he in vain waited to be joined by the other part of his column, which, as we have obſerved, was in a different quarter. At length, hearing a firing at the ford near the great garden, which he rightly ſuppoſed might be that of the enemy, diſputing the paſſage of the Cavery with colonel Maxwell's diviſion, he inſtantly diſpatched ſome troops to that quarter, who taking

taking the Myſoreans in flank, quickly diſperſed them, and thus ſecured an eaſy paſſage for colonel Maxwell.

Not long after colonel Knox had reached the iſland, captain Hunter, with a third party of the ſame column, came to the Cavery, but miſſing the regular ford, croſſed it immediately oppoſite to the rajah's garden or Dowlat Baug, of which he took poſſeſſion. Not conceiving that any had gained the iſland before him, he thought it beſt to wait in the ſituation which he then occupied, until the remainder of the column ſhould arrive, or until he could learn with certainty where his aſſiſtance would be moſt effectual. He was however ſoon diſcovered by the enemy, who finding out the ſmallneſs of the party, collected in great numbers, and even brought ſome cannon to bear upon the garden. Perceiving, therefore, that his poſition would not be long tenable, particularly towards day-light, he re-croſſed the Cavery under a heavy fire, and had the good fortune to join lord Cornwallis at a very critical period.

While the front column of the centre diviſion was thus in various parts ſucceſsful, the middle column, commanded by colonel Stuart, immediately after paſſing the bound-hedge, moved to the left, and routed the right wing of the enemy. Colonel Stuart then advanced to the ſultan's redoubt, which he found abandoned. Proceeding ſtill to the left, he croſſed the Cavery at the very ford which colonel Maxwell had juſt paſſed, and arriving on the iſland, joined both colonel Maxwell's and colonel Knox's parties, taking command of the whole as ſenior officer. A little before day-light captain Monſon likewiſe quitted his poſition on the ſouthern ſide of the iſland, and marched to the ſame poſt.

The rear column of the centre diviſion, under the immediate command of lord Cornwallis, took poſt at the ſultan's redoubt, after colonel Stuart had left it, waiting with extreme anxiety for a junction with general Medows; but waiting for hours in vain. A little before day-light captain Hunter joined his lordſhip, as has been already related; but ſcarcely had his troops time to replace their cartridges, which had been damaged in their re-croſſing the Cavery, before a conſiderable body of the enemy rallied, and began an attack with much impetuoſity. Although repeatedly driven back, they again advanced to the charge; and the day was nearly broken, before they were finally repulſed. Lord Cornwallis then quitted his poſt, and retreated towards the Pagoda Hill. In this attack his left hand was grazed by a muſket-ball.

The operations of the centre diviſion being thus detailed, it remains to give an account of the proceedings of the right and left diviſions. General Medows, with the right diviſion, paſſed the bound-hedge without oppoſition. The officer who was at the head of the front column, not finding any enemy to encounter before him, but perceiving on his right a ſtrong redoubt, called the Ead-Gah or Moſque redoubt, immediately wheeled his column towards it. The Myſoreans, having been apprized of their danger, by the firing which they had previouſly heard in other quarters, were prepared for their defence. The conflict was ſevere, and for ſome time doubtful; but the poſt was at length carried by the perſevering

vering ſpirit of the column, who, driving the enemy from the redoubt, forced them upon the bayonets of the main body of the diviſion, which was by this time formed under general Meadows to ſupport the aſſault. The general having ſecured this poſt, changed his route; and agreeably to a preconcerted plan marched rapidly to the eaſtward to join lord Cornwallis; but unluckily, in order to avoid ſome ſwampy ground, he made a greater circuit than he intended, and croſſing the track, by which the centre diviſion had advanced, without obſerving it, arrived at length, to his inexpreſſible ſurprize and vexation, at the Pagoda Hill. Here he was joined by lord Cornwallis at day-break.

The left diviſion, commanded by colonel Maxwell, which was ordered to attack the redoubt on the Pagoda Hill, arrived there before the alarm became general in the ſultan's camp. After a ſlight reſiſtance, this ſtrong and important poſt was taken with a very trifling loſs. The troops however, in deſcending the hill, in order to proceed againſt the right of the ſultan's line, were conſiderably galled by the fire of the enemy; but, having at laſt formed on the plain, they ſoon ſucceeded in turning the ſultan's flank, at the very moment that he was preſſed in front by the centre diviſion. The enemy giving way, colonel Maxwell proceeded to the ford, and gained the iſland, where, as before has been related, he joined the other parties, which had penetrated to the ſame quarter.

When day-light appeared, the ſultan was enabled to eſtimate his loſſes. Driven from his fortified camp, and only ſharing the iſland itſelf with his enemies, he found himſelf reduced to a moſt alarming ſituation. He did not however ſit down in deſpair, and waſte his time in fruitleſs exclamations, but immediately endeavoured to retrieve the misfortunes of the night.

Colonel Stuart, as has been obſerved, was in poſſeſſion of the Laul Baug, at the weſtern extremity of the iſland. Here the ſultan made his firſt attempt; but found the colonel too ſecurely poſted to be driven from his poſition. Abandoning therefore this enterprize, he next diſpatched a body of troops to retake the redoubt on the northern ſide of the Cavery, which was called the ſultan's redoubt, where only a party of about one hundred and fifty men had been left by the column under lord Cornwallis on its retreat in the night. The guns of the fort, which were within reach, opened upon it in the morning, and ſoon cleared the gorge of the redoubt, which was much expoſed towards the iſland. The Myſoreans then advanced to the aſſault; but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The day grew extremely hot; yet could not a drop of water be procured in the redoubt for thoſe who were ſinking under their wounds, and dying with thirſt; a ſecond attack was dreaded, as freſh troops ſeemed to be advancing, while but little hope was entertained of effectually oppoſing them, from a deficiency of cartridges, almoſt all of which had been expended in the preceding conteſt. At this critical moment two bullocks laden with ammunition were obſerved in the ditch, whither they had accidentally wandered during the night. Scarcely however were new means of reſiſtance thus fortunately procured, before another and bolder attack commenced, but to as little purpoſe as

the former. Resolved if possible to recover this important station, the enemy approached a third time, and were a third time driven back, leaving the English complete masters of the post.

The mortified sultan, perceiving every attempt to regain what he had lost ineffectual, withdrew all his troops from the northern side of the island, and prepared with unremitting fatigue for the defence of the fort, almost the only place of consequence he retained in his extensive empire. The ground, on which he had been lately encamped, was immediately after occupied by the allied armies.

In this perilous situation he felt the necessity of negociating, if possible, an immediate peace. While he yet retained a shadow of independence, something he thought might be expected from the policy as well as generosity of the English, who might only wish to reduce, not to annihilate, the Mysorean consequence. With this view he released the officers who had been made captives at Coimbetore, and, after having loaded them with presents, sent them to the British camp, entreating them to use their influence with lord Cornwallis to open a negociation for peace.

At the same time, however, that he embraced this pacificatory measure, his active mind, ever fruitful in stratagems, projected another more expeditious mode of extricating himself from his difficulties, which was no less than making at once a bold attempt on the life of lord Cornwallis. The very day on which he released the officers, his cavalry were observed to quit their encampment on the southern side of the Cavery; but as it was conjectured that they were going to protect some distant convoy, little notice was then taken of it. On the morning of the subsequent day they contrived to get between the Nizam's and the British camp undiscovered. A party of them, who were mistaken for the Nizam's troops, immediately advanced towards the British lines, and enquiring for the tent of the commander, were directed to colonel Duff's, whom, as being commanding officer of artillery, it was supposed they wanted. Instantly drawing their swords they pushed for the tent to which they had been directed, cutting down a few, who opposed them; but before they found time to execute their project, perceiving themselves likely to be overpowered, they turned back and galloped off with precipitation.

Nothing of importance afterwards occurred, until the arrival of general Abercromby with the Bombay army, who furnished a reinforcement of about 2000 European and 4000 native troops.

In consequence of the sultan's overtures, a negociation for peace was now opened. Lord Cornwallis was nevertheless incessantly busied in making preparations for an attack on the fort, which after some deliberation he thought would be most practicable on the northern side, across the Cavery. As the erection of batteries in the day-time within gun-shot of the fort appeared to be an undertaking of much hazard and difficulty, he resolved to erect them during the night, while he tried, by way of a diversion, to beat up the enemy's camp on the other side of the island. A detachment was accordingly sent on the latter enterprize, which by a considerable

conſiderable detour arrived at the place of its deſtination undiſcovered, when an immediate ſlaughter commenced. About 100 troopers with 200 horſes were killed before any effectual reſiſtance was attempted; but the alarm then becoming general, the detachment retreated, and gained its former ſtation without the loſs of a ſingle man. The conſternation, which this ſpirited attack occaſioned, engaged the ſultan's attention on the ſouthern ſide of the iſland, while batteries were conſtructing without moleſtation on the northern ſide, within 800 yards of the walls of the fort. At the break of day the whole proceeding became manifeſt. Every gun which could be brought to bear was opened upon the newly-erected works, while parties of infantry croſſed the river to haraſs the troops ſtationed in that quarter. Convinced at length of his inability to interrupt the progreſs of the ſiege, the ſultan next contrived to change the courſe of a canal which ſupplied the allies with water, and turn it into the Cavery, by which means he not only hoped to deprive his enemies of the advantages reſulting from a ſtream conſtantly running through their camp, but at the ſame time to increaſe the hazard of an aſſault, by ſwelling the river to a greater height than uſual. The diſtreſs of the allies however was but of ſhort duration; for a detachment was immediately diſpatched to inveſtigate the cauſe of the ſudden failure in the waters of the canal, which ſoon drove the Myſoreans from the ground they occupied on its banks, and reconveyed the ſtream to its accuſtomed channel.

Feb. 19th. The ſiege ſoon commenced in earneſt, and all the batteries opened on the fort, while general Abercromby croſſed the Cavery weſt of Seringapatam, and took poſt on ſome heights on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the fort, out of gun-ſhot. He was not however able to effect this alteration in his poſition without much reſiſtance from the enemy, who more than once attempted, but in vain, to prevent him from executing his intentions. When poſted to his wiſhes, he was ordered to poſſeſs himſelf of a redoubt and a grove beyond it, which were ſituated between him and the fort. A ſmall party were ſent towards night for this purpoſe; but being obſerved by the enemy, they were on the ſubſequent morning vigorouſly attacked. Compelled to retreat from a want of ammunition, they were purſued in a very diſorderly and tumultuous manner; when inſtantly advancing again, they briſkly charged and routed the Myſoreans. The enemy however, with a ſtrong reinforcement, appeared a ſecond time, and a ſecond time, labouring under the ſame deficiency as before, were our troops obliged to retreat; but fortunately meeting a battalion with a ſupply of cartridges, they returned, and after an obſtinate conflict remained complete maſters of the diſputed ground.

At the principal point of attack on the northern ſide of the iſland, a ſecond parallel had been completed, within 600 yards of the fort, and the ſpot was marked out for the breaching batteries within 500 yards, when orders were ſuddenly iſſued to deſiſt from the operations of the ſiege, announcing at the ſame time the termination of hoſtilities. Feb. 24th.

Lord Cornwallis, with the repre-

ſentatives of the Nizam and the Mahrattahs, had aſſented to the ſultan's propoſal for the appointment of commiſſioners to ſettle the terms of a peace. Meetings were in conſequence held on the 15th, 16th, 19th, and 21ſt of February; but nothing deciſive was adopted until the 24th, when the progreſs of the ſiege became more and more alarming, and the moment ſeemed rapidly approaching, in which the capital itſelf was likely to be completely ſubdued by the allied forces. Abandoned by his troops, crouds of whom were continually deſerting to his enemies, deprived of almoſt all ſupplies, cooped up in one corner of a ſmall iſland, in a poſt which he could not flatter himſelf would be long tenable, but which he had nevertheleſs determined to preſerve or periſh, and perceiving his enemies at the ſame time flushed with repeated conqueſts, and in daily expectation of receiving a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength by the junction of Purſeram Bhow, as well as by reinforcements from the ſouth, the humbled monarch at length ſubmitted to the terms propoſed to him. Theſe terms were—1ſt, that he ſhould cede one half of his dominions to the allied powers; 2dly, that he ſhould pay three crores and thirty lacks of rupees; 3dly, that he ſhould unequivocally reſtore all the priſoners, which had been taken by the Myſoreans from the time of Hyder Ally; and 4thly, that two of his three eldeſt ſons ſhould be delivered up as hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty. In conformity to ſuch hard but perhaps neceſſary terms, two of the ſultan's ſons were ſent with great pomp to the Engliſh camp. The princes are ſaid, by a gentleman who was preſent, "to have been dreſſed in long white muſlin gowns, and red turbans. They had ſeveral rows of large pearls round their necks, from which was ſuſpended an ornament, conſiſting of a ruby and an emerald of conſiderable ſize, ſurrounded by large brilliants; and in their turbans each had a ſprig of rich pearls. Bred up from their infancy with infinite care, and inſtructed in their manners to imitate the reſerve and politeneſs of age, it aſtoniſhed all preſent to ſee the correctneſs and propriety of their conduct."

Notwithſtanding the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace, and the delivery of the young princes into the hands of lord Cornwallis, the definitive treaty proceeded but ſlowly; ſo much ſo, that at one time preparations were actually ordered for re-commencing the ſiege. The ſultan however at laſt aſſented to the arrangements, which were propoſed to him. March 19th.

The diviſion of the acquired territories was of courſe made in a manner, which beſt ſuited the intereſts of the different powers. The Nizam and the Mahrattahs were each rewarded with a large northern diſtrict adjoining to their reſpective dominions. All the country between the Gauts and the Carnatic, extending from Amboor to the moſt ſouthern bend of the river Cavery juſt above Caroor (except the Coimbetore) with the addition of the fort of Dindigul and its diſtrict, on the eaſtern ſide of Myſore, and on the weſtern, all the tract of the Malabar coaſt, from Chitwa to Declah, were ceded to the Engliſh. The boundary line, internally, was carried round the Coorg country, to the great mortification of the ſultan, who was highly exaſperated againſt the rajah.

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The advantages which have accrued to the company from this treaty, amply appear to counterbalance the enormous expences of the war. By the acquisitions in the neighbourhood of the Carnatic, and the consequent possession of the several passes from Mysore, a considerable augmentation of revenue, and a greater protection from hostile incursions, have been obtained in a very important quarter; while on the Malabar coast, where we owned but little before, a portion of rich territory has been allotted to us, which, exclusive of its own commercial consequence, by being attached to the presidency of Bombay, will at once tend to increase the security of that presidency, and enhance its value.

The wise moderation of those councils, which directed only a partial division of the conquered countries, cannot be too much praised. For had not a sufficient extent of dominion been left to Tippoo Sultan, to make him respectable, and still in some degree formidable to his neighbours, the balance of power in India might have been again materially affected, the future adjustment of which would have led to new wars. The treaty was a return, as far as circumstances would allow, to our old and true policy.

CHAP. XI.

Public attention to the Indian war and Russian negociation. Riots at Birmingham. Their causes and origin. Charges of the dissenters, and answer of the church party. Opening of the session of parliament. Speech from the throne. Address moved in the house of lords. Lord Stormont. Amendment on the address in the house of commons. Both sides of the house express satisfaction at the marriage of the duke of York, and at the flourishing state of the revenue. Russian negociation attacked, and defended. His majesty's recommendation of the repeal of taxes represented as a breach of privilege. Supported as perfectly proper and constitutional. Omission of Birmingham riots in his majesty's speech. Ministry challenge an enquiry into the conduct of government during the riots. War in India considered on one side as disastrous, on the other as distinguished by brilliant successes. Mr. Fox. The chancellor of the exchequer's speech on the state of the finances. Repeal of certain taxes. Mr. Pitt's statement controverted by Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Fox. Mr. Pitt's reply. House of lords. Earl of Guildford. Lord Rawdon. National debt bill brought in by Mr. Pitt. Opposed by Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox censures the minister for not reducing the four per cents. when the three were at 96 or 97. The opportunity lost. Mr. Pitt's defence of his conduct. Establishment for the duke and duchess of York. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox coincide in opinion. Mr. Burdon proposes to grant an annuity of £. 10,000 only instead of one of £. 18,000. Proposal opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt supports Mr. Fox. Mr. Burdon's proposal rejected without a division.

THE Indian war, previous to the arrival of the last dispatches, which conveyed the intelligence of its termination, interested

tereſted in a great degree all parties at home, alternately raiſing and depreſſing the public expectation. At the commencement of the year, when Parliament reſumed its deliberations, information had been received of Lord Cornwallis's retreat from Seringapatam, an event, which, with reſpect to its probable conſequences, afforded a wide field for conjecture.

Nor was the public attention ſolely directed to Indian occurrences. Our interference between Ruſſia and the Porte had been warmly and ſucceſsfully oppoſed both in and out of parliament; the conſequence of which was, that the miniſtry were compelled to lower their firſt demands, and change the high tone of their language towards the empreſs. On this occaſion the Duke of Leeds reſigned the ſeals, as ſecretary of ſtate for the foreign department.

We have noticed, in our former volume, the part which a gentleman allied to Mr. Fox was ſuppoſed to have taken, relative to the negociations at the court of Peterſburgh. Not only the circumſtances of his appearance there, gave ſcope to unfavourable conjecture, but a letter, addreſſed by him to his illuſtrious relation in England, was reported to have fallen into the hands of miniſtry, which confirmed them in their former ſuſpicions. The contents of this letter were never publicly known; but legal opinions were ſaid to have been taken, whether it did not afford ſufficient grounds for a criminal proſecution. On mature conſideration, however, either from motives of delicacy as to the manner in which it had been obtained, or from a perſuaſion that it could only furniſh a charge of imprudence at moſt againſt the writer, or of its inefficiency to prove any criminal approbation in the perſon for whom it was intended, the thought of an impeachment appears to have been relinquiſhed, although intimations of that kind were thrown out in the debates of the ſubſequent ſeſſion. Previous indeed to the meeting of parliament, the ſubject had been ſo much rumoured abroad, that ſome ſtrong meaſure was generally expected to take place.

On the other hand, the oppoſition threatened an enquiry into the conduct of adminiſtration for the culpable partiality which was ſaid to have been manifeſted in the riots of Birmingham. Thoſe unhappy diſturbances were attributed by different parties, as might indeed be expected, to very different cauſes. And as many aſſerted them to have ariſen from popular indignation at the political doctrines maintained by ſeveral leading men among the diſſenters, in various publications of that time, and at the connexion formed by the ſame perſons with certain political ſocieties, which had awakened the ſuſpicions of the country, by the democratical tendency of their proceedings; it will illuſtrate the ſubſequent debates, to begin the narrative with a view of that conduct, which is ſuppoſed to have been reſented in ſo unwarrantable a manner.

From the period of the diſpute between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, which has been already narrated, the admirers of the French revolution (it was ſaid) conceived, that they had gained a triumph in what they repreſented as the expulſion of the latter gentleman from the party of oppoſition. The members of the revolution ſociety then appear-

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ed to enter into a more avowed correſpondence with the jacobin clubs in France, to aſſume a leſs reſerved ſtyle, and to give ſome expreſs intimations of their principles and views. One ſtriking inſtance of their cloſe connexion with the jacobin club at Paris, appeared on the flight of the French king to Varennes in June 1791. The Jacobins addreſſed a circular letter upon that occaſion to all the ſocieties, which were affiliated with them; and a copy of that very letter was received and publiſhed here in the newſpapers of the day, by the revolution ſociety, in acceptance of ſuch affiliation. It was even reported at the time *, that the advice of the ſociety at the London Tavern in a great degree guided the counſels of the mother-club at Paris, and through that channel even influenced the actual meaſures of the national aſſembly itſelf.

Some of the principal perſons in this ſociety, and a large proportion of the general maſs, were diſſenters. Beſides Dr. Price, who was a very conſpicuous member, but who died early in the year 1791, we find † on the liſt the names of Dr. Kippis, Dr. Rees, and Dr. Towers, men whoſe literary abilities and moral characters, in proportion as they juſtly added weight to the aſſociation, only gave it ſo much greater power of doing harm: not to mention many other gentlemen of the ſame religious communion, who were not leſs reſpectable, though leſs known to the world. The conſtitutional ſociety, which trod in the ſame ſteps, was compoſed in a great meaſure of the ſame individual perſons, or at leaſt of perſons of a ſimilar deſcription. About this period likewiſe a third ſociety (the Unitarian) came under the obſervation of the public, formed wholly of diſſenters, the object of which might have been ſuppoſed to be ſolely of a religious tendency, but which, as it appears by accounts evidently proceeding from themſelves, was applied to a direct political purpoſe. At the commencement of the year 1791 ‡, a meeting of this ſociety was held, at which Dr. Prieſtley preſided; where, after ſeveral political toaſts had been drunk, Dr. Kippis aroſe, and pronouncing a high panegyric on the French revolution, as "an event calculated "to ameliorate the condition of man "over all the earth," propoſed to commemorate the anniverſary of it on the ſubſequent 14th of July. This propoſition, being ſeconded by Dr. Towers in a ſpeech replete with ſimilar ſentiments, was unanimouſly adopted.

Dr. Prieſtley intended to keep

* This, which was not then denied, has ſince been declared by publiſhing the correſpondence of the ſociety; where, beſides the circular letter above mentioned, will be found another letter of this period: It is dated on the 30th of June 1791. "We aſſure you," (ſays the committee of the jacobin club to the ſociety here) "that we have examined with care the various objects, which your preceding "letters confided to our ſolicitude, and that *we have followed your intentions in* "*the different committees of the national aſſembly.*" See App. to Chron. p. 140*.

† See the names of the committee of correſpondence for 1791-2; App. to Chron. p. 134*. Dr. Kippis, Dr. Rees, and one or two others, afterwards publicly declared that they had taken no actual part in the correſpondence.

‡ The account of this meeting having been particularly commented on in the courſe of the parliamentary debates, it will be found in a note on Chapter XIV.

this feſtival at Birmingham, the place of his accuſtomed reſidence, where, on various accounts, but principally on account of his ſuppoſed political tenets, he had been for ſome time paſt highly unpopular. This unpopularity was much encreaſed by the appearance of various publications from his pen during his abſence in London. His diſcourſe, delivered to the ſupporters of the New College at Hackney, on the 27th of April, was written in a ſtyle more free and animated, than that in which he uſually indulged; and ſeemed to have been compoſed under the full impreſſion, that we were at the eve of great revolutions both in church and ſtate, and that the inſtitution at Hackney would ſhortly become ſubſervient to the advancement and perfection of civil and religious liberty, according to his notions of both. In his funeral ſermon on Dr. Price, he boaſted of the ſhare which his deceaſed friend had in the events of the French revolution, and in conſequence compared his death to that "of a warrior in the moment "of victory." Another more profeſſedly political work of his, in the beginning of the ſame year, contained many paſſages yet more explicit. He praiſed the Americans as having ſet a glorious example to France, and the whole world; and the particular topic of his praiſe was, that "they had formed a com- "pletely new government on the "principles of equal liberty, and "the rights of man—*without nobles* "—*without biſhops*—*and without a* "*king*;" an expreſſion which he borrowed, as peculiarly happy, from Dr. Price. This country, he declared to be approaching with an accelerated motion towards a great criſis, ſimilar to that which had occaſioned the French revolution; and if other nations ſhould be as much benefited by the reſult, as France in his opinion was likely to be, he did not ſcruple to pronounce "that great criſis, dreadful as it "might be in proſpect, a conſum- "mation devoutly to be wiſhed *."

Sentiments ſuch as theſe, coming from a perſon of Dr. Prieſtley's reſpectability and conſequence among the diſſenters, gave ſcope for ſevere animadverſion. At the ſame time it is neceſſary to remark, that excluſive of all political conſiderations, local circumſtances ſeem to have produced a kind of party animoſity between the diſſenting and church intereſts in the town of Birmingham, where the diſſenters had for ſome years poſſeſſed the civil power of the bailiwick, by combining together, and keeping to themſelves the nomination of all the public officers; an aſcendancy, which lately had excited much jealouſy.

So unpropitious was the period to their views, when the diſſenters of Birmingham zealouſly promoted the project of celebrating the anniverſary of the French revolution. Previous, however, to the appointed time, a hand-bill of a moſt inflammatory deſcription appeared, which had a direct reference to the propoſed commemoration, and was calculated to excite in the populace a dangerous ſpirit of revolt againſt the government of the country,

* Theſe three paſſages laſt alluded to, are in the letters to Mr. Burke p. 40—p. 353—and p. 154. The two laſt have been abſtracted for ſhortneſs in the text, but without the leaſt alteration of the ſenſe.

The impreſſion which it produced, was nevertheleſs widely different from what ſeemed to be intended. Indignation againſt the author of the flagitious doctrines contained in it, rather than againſt the object at which it was levelled, agitated in an unuſual degree the minds of the common people. Adminiſtration offered a reward to no purpoſe for the diſcovery of the writer; but a ſchool-maſter, who was a paſtor of one of the diſſenting congregations in Birmingham, lay under very ſtrong ſuſpicion; and he ſuddenly abſconded without any oſtenſible motive. The rage of the multitude was increaſed by this incident, and as it did not appear likely to ſubſide, the idea of the celebration was at firſt relinquiſhed, and an advertiſement to that effect prepared; but unfortunately for the peace of the town, the original deſign was at laſt revived, and an indiſcreet reſolution formed, to hold the meeting in defiance of all clamour.

The 14th of July arrived, when crowds of people ſurrounded the door of the hotel, where the dinner had been ordered. A conſiderable party, however, entered the houſe, amidſt the hiſſings of thoſe around it, but finding the tumult increaſe towards the evening, they retired at an early hour: Dr. Prieſtley himſelf, with very commendable prudence, had abſtained from the meeting. Shortly after the company had diſperſed, the populace, as their numbers became augmented, proceeded to break the windows of the hotel. Not ſatisfied, however, with ſuch an outrage, they ſoon hurried to Dr. Prieſtley's meeting, and burnt it to the ground. After the deſtruction of the new they attacked the old meeting, which they completely gutted and demoliſhed, but did not ſet fire to it, on account of its contiguity to other buildings. Dr. Prieſtley's houſe, at Fairhill, next followed the fate of his meeting; but the family, by being previouſly alarmed, had providentially eſcaped. On the ſubſequent day, ſeveral houſes in or near Birmingham, were either totally conſumed, or (where the application of fire was eſteemed dangerous to the adjoining buildings) ſtript of their furniture, and otherwiſe damaged. Among theſe were the houſes of Mr. Ryland, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Hutton. An attack was made the third day on the ſeat of Mr. G. Humphreys, which being reſolutely defended by ſome of the family, was only ranſacked. At Mr. W. Ruſſel's houſe, however, the populace were more ſucceſsful, and carried their point without oppoſition. Before night, the houſes of lady Carhampton, Mr. Harwood, and Mr. Hobſon (a diſſenting miniſter) were all in flames at once. Lady Carhampton's was the property of Mr. Taylor, whoſe elegant manſion at Bordeſley Hall had previouſly fallen a ſacrifice. The depredations were continued on the fourth day (Sunday) when the rioters proceeded into the country, and burnt the meeting, as well as dwelling-houſe of the diſſenting miniſter, at Kingswood, and the houſe and out-houſes of a farmer, at Worſtock. At length, however, a military force arrived, much to the joy of the inhabitants, and ſoon reſtored the tranquillity of the town. Without the aſſiſtance of the ſoldiery, all oppoſition ſeemed fruitleſs; and ſo inadequate was the civil power to reſiſtance,

resistance, that the magistrates of the neighbourhood thought themselves under the necessity of temporizing with the multitude, as the only expedient in their power to allay that fury, which they could not subdue; a measure afterwards much noticed and vehemently censured by the opposition in parliament.

Several of the supposed ring-leaders in these riots were apprehended and imprisoned; twelve of whom were tried at Warwick, but only four found guilty. Of those four, two were executed; the other two being reprieved, in consideration of some circumstances which appeared after their trials, and which pointed them out as proper objects for royal clemency. At Worcester five were tried; but only one was condemned, and he was executed.

Though the immediate occasion of these afflicting events had apparently no connexion whatsoever with any thing religious, yet the dissenters seemed to think, that the sequel afforded them a fair opportunity of interesting the public feeling in their favour, by representing themselves as men in a state of actual persecution. Accordingly they made common cause with the most distinguished sufferer, whose eminence in literature and philosophy might throw additional reproach on his supposed enemies and destroyers. Great bodies of dissenters, purporting to comprehend large divisions of the kingdom, condoled with Dr. Priestley in the public prints, declaring that they considered the outrages against him as an attack on themselves, and all of their several communions. In his answers of thanks, he re-echoed these sentiments. On the other hand, the political societies above-mentioned, addressed him agreeably to the ends of their respective institutions; and the revolution society in particular, took this occasion of testifying their exultation on the success of the French revolution; to which Dr. Priestley answered, that "their "principles and his were entirely "the same; and notwithstanding "all opposition, must prevail in "this as well as in other coun-"tries." In a letter to M. Condorcet, he distinctly attributed his ruin to the clergy, and the king's friends, on account of his defending the glorious revolution of France; and he intimated, that it was one of their objects, to destroy the instruments of that science, which gave weight to his political labours. His adversaries did not fail to remark, and certainly with some colour of justice, on the apparent inconsistency of these declarations.

Besides these incidental publications on the subject, he wrote a formal appeal to his country and the world. He argued, among other things, that the celebration of the French revolution, so far from being a culpable, was in reality a meritorious act, as it might tend, by a liberal participation in the joys of Frenchmen, to render our commercial treaty with them popular in that country, where it had been hitherto very ill received. And this, he contended, was the proper light in which that celebration at Birmingham should be viewed. The riots, however, were in his opinion to be attributed to a very different cause; they were said to have solely originated, in what was termed, the bigotry of the high-church party in the town and its neighbourhood, and to have been consonant with

with the feelings of the clergy in general. So direct a charge was brought againſt the clergy reſiding in and near the town, that the bench of biſhops was expreſsly called upon to come forward, for the honour of the eſtabliſhed church, and publicly reprobate their conduct; otherwiſe it was declared, that epiſcopal ſilence would be conſtrued into epiſcopal approbation. Strong inſinuations were likewiſe thrown out againſt the laity as well as clergy of Birmingham, under the general deſcription of the high-church party, who were accuſed of encouraging the riots to a certain degree, inſtead of ſuppreſſing them. It was even ſaid, that perſons of better condition, apparently ſtrangers, mingled with the crowd, and directed their proceedings. The exiſtence of a ſyſtematical plan, from the commencement of the riots, was confidently aſſerted; and it was ſarcaſtically added, that the two poor wretches, who were left for execution at Warwick, were probably ſuch as knew no ſecrets.

In defence of the clergy and inhabitants of Birmingham, an immediate reply was made to the charges thus brought forward. Proof was adduced, that the clergy had been really active in curbing the impetuoſity of the populace, as far as the influence of two or three individuals could poſſibly extend; and that the inhabitants exerted themſelves to the utmoſt in a ſimilar manner, as well as in keeping their reſpective workmen employed; in protecting the perſons and property of ſeveral diſſenting families which fled to them for refuge; and even in hazarding their lives to ſtop the progreſs of the conflagration. In corroboration of this ſtatement, reference was made to an advertiſement, coming directly from the diſſenters themſelves, who, immediately after the riots, publicly returned thanks for the "generous "protection" afforded them by the members of the eſtabliſhed church, in the preſervation of their perſons and property. Little credit ſeemed to be given to the ſuppoſed patriotic motive for the celebration of the French revolution, but other motives of a contrary tendency were ſtrongly inſinuated, on the apparent confeſſion of the author of the appeal himſelf, who in that very work foretold, that the French revolution would ſoon be ſeen in a different light from that in which it had hitherto been contemplated, when the whole of the gothic feudal ſyſtem, embracing matters both of a civil and eccleſiaſtical nature, would be ſhaken to its foundation, and a convulſion be produced, which would be felt in every ſtate of Europe; and that then the ſufferers by the riots would be conſidered as the martyrs of liberty.

Such were the principal topics that engaged the public attention, previous to the meeting of parliament; but of theſe the chief was the riots at Birmingham, which were rendered more prominent by the admirers of the French revolution, who ſeemed to imagine that in theſe exceſſes, which no perſon could juſtify, they found ſome palliation and excuſe for the crimes committed in that country.

The ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty obſerved, that he doubted not but parliament would participate with him in the ſatisfaction which he derived from the late marriage between Jan. 31.

tween the duke of York and the princeſs royal of Pruſſia, and would provide for their royal highneſſes a ſuitable eſtabliſhment. He informed them, that a definitive treaty had been concluded, under the joint mediation of England, Pruſſia, and Holland, between the emperor and the Porte.—That terms of pacification had been ſettled with the empreſs of Ruſſia, which he had undertaken to recommend to the Porte.—That although he could not inform them of the ceſſation of hoſtilities in India, yet recent advices from that quarter afforded reaſonable ground to hope, that the war would be brought to a ſpeedy and honourable concluſion. His majeſty next remarked, that as the general ſtate of affairs in Europe appeared to promiſe a continuance of our preſent tranquillity, ſome reduction, he conceived, might be made in our naval and military eſtabliſhments; that the grants of the preceding ſeſſion had in ſome degree defrayed the extraordinary expences of the laſt year; that the continued increaſe of the revenue, as well as the reductions which ſeemed practicable in the eſtabliſhments, might enable them, he hoped, to enter upon a ſyſtem of gradually repealing ſome of the exiſting taxes, and to give an additional efficacy to the plan for diminiſhing the national debt; and that he wiſhed them to take into conſideration ſuch meaſures as might be expedient to reduce the rate of intereſt on any of the annuities which were redeemable. At the concluſion of the ſpeech, his majeſty obſerved, that the continued and progreſſive improvement in the natural ſituation of the country, could not but tend to confirm and increaſe in all claſſes of his ſubjects, a ſteady and zealous attachment to that conſtitution, which had been found by experience to unite the ineſtimable bleſſings of liberty and order.

In the houſe of Lords, little remarkable occurred in the debate on the addreſs, except ſome incidental reflections, by viſcount Stormont, on the proceedings of certain political clubs. His lordſhip remarked, that pamphlets of an alarming tendency were in daily circulation, and numerous ſocieties formed, which he thought it the duty of government to watch with the moſt vigilant circumſpection. Under the diſguiſe of reform a dagger was concealed, which at ſome favourable juncture might be plunged into the vitals of the conſtitution. But although ſuch nefarious deſigns were ſecretly projected, the people of England, he truſted, would never be diſpoſed to relinquiſh that happy conſtitution which they now poſſeſſed, and which he pronounced to be the moſt perfect, moſt pure, and moſt equitable in the world. The people of England, he thought, knew how to diſtinguiſh liberty from licentiouſneſs, and in the application of this rule, generally diſplayed a ſobriety and ſolidity of judgment, which reflected on them the higheſt honour. Their joint voice, at the preſent moment, he conceived to be unequivocally in favour of the conſtitution; but of this he was perfectly convinced, that the voice of the people conſtitutionally united in parliament, was clear and unanimous in its favour. Political opinions might vary; animoſity between parties might be carried to conſiderable lengths; and family intereſts might conſolidate formidable oppoſitions;

oppositions; but when attempts were made to undermine the constitutional rock, on which all our political prosperity was built, the strife of parties instantly ceased, animosity was forgotten, and the only contention existing in parliament was, who most should shew his zeal in counteracting the threatened danger.

In the sentiments of viscount Stormont, administration cordially concurred. The address had not one dissenting voice.

The case was otherwise in the house of commons. There an amendment was moved on the address, relative to a part of it which expressed the satisfaction of the house on the present state of the war in India. It was proposed to omit the whole passage in the address (as usual, the echo of the speech) and insert the following "That the house, fully sensible of the evils of a procrastinated war, which must be ruinous to the finances of the company, cannot help expressing their regret, that the prospects held out in the speech from the throne, at the commencement of the last session, have not been realized; nevertheless that their attachment to his majesty, and their desire to support the honour of his crown are undiminished."

In the debate which succeeded, the supporters of the amendment did not confine themselves to the single point of the Indian war, but took a wider range, and expatiated on every topic, which they conceived to be directly or indirectly implied, or which ought to have been inserted in his majesty's speech.

The happy occurrence in the royal family, and the flourishing state of the revenue, were circumstances, which afforded both sides of the house great and substantial cause for congratulation; but a total difference of opinion appeared on almost every other point.

The opposition derided in strong language the idea of our having mediated with any real effect between Russia and the Porte. So far was our recommendation from having influenced the latter power, that terms of adjustment were thought to have been agreed upon before any such recommendation could have reached Constantinople. The preliminary articles of peace had been said to have been settled on the foundation of a *status quo*; but before the definitive treaty was ratified, it appeared, that a new line of demarcation had been chalked out, by which a certain extent of territory had been transferred from one power to the other, and then the definitive treaty was concluded upon the pretended ground of a *status quo*. This was termed an undignified and dishonourable proceeding; it was censured as establishing only a *status quo* in words, and conceding it in fact. But the whole point in dispute was treated so lightly by a distinguished leader of opposition, that he declared neither for the new nor the old line of demarcation would he consent to hazard the hundredth part of a British life, or the hundredth part of a British pound. It was remarked likewise, that ministers had been a little over ruled in the language which they wished to have used towards Russia; that they had found themselves under the necessity of changing their system, and that they had apologized for the peremptoriness of their demands by the humility of their retraction, for the insolence of their menaces by the meanness of their submission. This circumstance, however, was considered

conſidered as a great and juſt cauſe of triumph, as a proof that the oppoſition were ſtrong in argument although few in numbers, ſince they had compelled adminiſtration to relinquiſh, what was termed, the moſt abſurd and impolitic line of conduct ever adopted.

On the other ſide it was inſiſted, that the modification reſpecting a new line of demarcation, afterwards to take place, was known, expected, and admitted at the treaty of Reichenbach, when the *ſtatus quo* was fixed upon as the terms of adjuſtment. The intentions of government, to preſerve the balance of power in Europe, by preventing the aggrandizement of Ruſſia at the expence of the Porte, had not, it was confeſſed, been crowned with ſucceſs; but little doubt was entertained, that they would have terminated very differently, had it not been for opinions delivered both in and out of that houſe. Miniſters freely declared, that, conſcious of the hazard and danger which muſt have attended entering on a war, while ſuch a contrariety of opinions concerning its tendency exiſted, they had ſubmitted to the ſenſe of parliament and the country, in oppoſition to their own judgment; but that they conſidered the happineſs of the public, which ſeemed to be expreſſed at the relinquiſhment of the war, as a ſufficient compenſation for their diſappointment.

The royal ſuggeſtion, that it might be proper to relieve the people from the burthen of ſome of the exiſting taxes, was conſidered by the oppoſition as ſingular and indelicate. To originate taxes, and to originate the repeal of taxes, was ſtated to be the excluſive rights of that houſe, and that the infringement of either right ſhould be treated as a breach of privilege. Could it be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the conſtitution had conferred on the houſe of commons the unthankful office of impoſing taxes, and of enacting ſevere laws to give them efficacy, while it inveſted the crown with the popular privilege of propoſing their repeal? What would this be, but teaching the people to expect from the crown every inſtance of grace and favour, from their repreſentatives burthens only and reſtraints? Such a proceeding on the part of the crown, might likewiſe tend to limit the freedom of debate, when any propoſed repeal became the ſubject of diſcuſſion. It was poſſible, that the meaſure of repealing a tax might be raſh and unwiſe, but what member of that houſe would chooſe to incur the odium, which would neceſſarily attend ſuch a declaration of his ſentiments, after the meaſure had been recommended by his majeſty in a ſpeech from the throne? Nor were the grounds of the preſent ſuggeſtion deemed clear and incontrovertible. Granting that the income of the revenue had exceeded the expenditure, ſtill was it a nice queſtion to decide, how much of the exceſs ſhould be applied to the payment of the national debt, and how much ought to be remitted by alleviating the burthens of the people. His majeſty's miniſters on this occaſion were not charged with any attempt to violate the conſtitution, but were ſuppoſed to have inſerted the obnoxious paſſage in the ſpeech inadvertently, without weighing the conſequences which it involved.

On the ſide of adminiſtration, it was admitted, that the right of originating as well as the right of repealing taxes was undoubtedly veſted

ed in the houſe of commons; nevertheleſs it was maintained, that, as the demand, which produced taxes, was made by the crown, his majeſty, in ſtating the improved condition of the revenue, might conſtitutionally expreſs his hopes, that ſo fortunate a circumſtance would enable the houſe to lighten ſome of the burthens, which the exigency of the ſtate had previouſly induced it to impoſe. Had his majeſty ſtated any particulars as to the mode of the reduction, or even the amount of the taxes to be reduced, it was confeſſed that a reaſonable cauſe for jealouſy might have exiſted; but he had only expreſſed a hope, that the houſe would find ſome ſort of reduction both opportune and practicable, and this hope was couched in the broadeſt and moſt unexceptionable terms.

Another topic for animadverſion was a total omiſſion in the ſpeech of ſome occurrences in the preceding year, which were denominated diſgraceful to the country, and were ſaid to have revived the ſpirit and practice of the moſt barbarous ages. The alluſion was to the riots at Birmingham, which ſeemed to be conſidered by one ſide of the houſe as events of national importance, and worthy of reprehenſion from the throne. It was thought ſomething ſingular, that this year, in particular, ſhould be ſelected for boaſting of "the ineſtimable bleſſings of liberty and order," when a violent interruption of them had occurred in a rich and populous part of the country, where a lawleſs mob had committed the moſt outrageous exceſſes, not on account of a ſcarcity of proviſions, which every feeling heart would pity, while it condemned, nor in the great cauſe of liberty, which, though highly blameable, might in part be excuſed from the purity of the principle, but under the dangerous pretext of ſupporting government and religion. It was not indeed aſſerted that any culpability could attach to adminiſtration for its conduct at the period alluded to; but certain it ſeemed to be, that many *good friends to the church* had ſpoken in favourable terms of the rioters, and thought, that ſomething like rough juſtice had been done, informal as to the mode, but laudable in principle. Inſtead of paſſing over this ſubject in ſilence, his majeſty's ſentiments ſhould have gone forth as a manifeſto, laden with every epithet of reprehenſion, and every expreſſion of abomination, which the language could furniſh. Some very ſevere and ſarcaſtic cenſures were then thrown on ſeveral gentlemen of the neighbourhood of Birmingham, who had endeavoured to temporize with the mob during the period of the riots, and addreſſed them by the appellation of "*friends and fellow churchmen.*"

A conciſe reply was made by miniſters, to the following effect, that in all popular exceſſes, whether proceeding from fanaticiſm, republicaniſm, or any other cauſe, it had been the conſtant wiſh and ſtudy of government to check their progreſs in the moſt effectual manner; and that in the particular events under conſideration, every immediate and poſſible exertion had been uſed. If any member wiſhed to provoke a diſcuſſion on the ſubject, the miniſter declared himſelf ready to meet him, and to exculpate government from any little ſuſpicion of partiality. It was at the ſame time remarked, that the events at Birmingham, inſtead of furniſhing ground for

inſinuation againſt the conſtitution, ought in fact to be quoted as proofs of its excellence and energy, as it enabled adminiſtration to ſtop the progreſs of ſuch alarming tumults ſo eaſily, without having recourſe to more violent and deſperate meaſures.

When the Indian war, the preciſe object of the amendment on the addreſs, came under diſcuſſion, a total difference of opinion appeared on the ſucceſſes of the preceding campaign. On one ſide it was confidently aſſerted, that it had terminated in diſgrace and diſaſter, and that nothing like ſucceſs, worth mentioning, had attended our arms, ſince his majeſty had addreſſed parliament at the opening of the former ſeſſion, when he had held out the proſpect of a ſpeedy concluſion to the war. On the other ſide it was maintained, that the military tranſactions of the year had been ſingularly fortunate and brilliant. As a proof of the firſt aſſertion, the retreat of lord Cornwallis from Seringapatam was urged with much confidence. Could that campaign, it was obſerved, be called ſucceſsful, which had ended in a retreat, attended with circumſtances of mortification and diſtreſs? Either ſome ſecret and alarming cauſes muſt have operated to produce ſo unexpected an event, or there muſt have been great want of military wiſdom in planning and conducting the campaign.

On the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion, it was admitted, that the retreat from Seringapatam was in itſelf a diſaſter; but, that it was an unavoidable one, and that it would be attended with only a temporary inconvenience to us, while it afforded Tippoo Sultan nothing more than a ſhort ſuſpenſion from total defeat. But if a ſurvey of the whole campaign were taken, it would appear the moſt ſucceſsful which had ever been recorded in the annals of Indian warfare. We had invaded the territory of our enemy, had diſpoſſeſſed him of his ſtrong holds, captured the ſecond town in point of importance in his dominions, and beat him before his own capital. In ſpite likewiſe of the unpleaſant circumſtance of a retreat in the moment of victory, we ſtill kept him confined to a very narrow diſtrict of his country contiguous to his capital, from which alone he could derive his ſcanty ſupplies; and we kept him there haraſſed, diſpirited, deſpairing, and even diſtruſting the fidelity of his troops, who were daily deſerting from his ſtandard. To this it might be added, that the native Indian powers, who were in alliance with us, had alſo contributed their parts to the furtherance of the common cauſe.

Theſe remarks made not much impreſſion on the minds of the oppoſition, who hinted, in depreciation of the vaunted ſucceſſes, that little cauſe for triumph occurred in the capture of an Indian fort, or in a victory over an Indian army. While they profeſſed great reſpect for the private character of lord Cornwallis, they ſeemed to conſider him, if not deficient in military ſkill, as ſingularly marked for military misfortune; inſinuating, that it would be prudent to defer all praiſes of his conduct, until the particulars of it were better known, and had been thoroughly inveſtigated. Such a precaution was thought the more neceſſary, as it might be recollected, that in a former inſtance the thanks of the houſe for the victory at Camden, reached his lordſhip

ſhip juſt time enough not to paſs through the hands of an American general.

In the courſe of Mr. Fox's ſpeech in this debate, he noticed the many encomiums which he frequently heard from the other ſide of the houſe on the Britiſh conſtitution; to all of which he declared, that he moſt heartily ſubſcribed, when they were not introduced by way of alluſion to certain proceedings in another country, and were not intended obliquely to convey cenſure on individuals for their ſuppoſed ſentiments on thoſe proceedings. He perfectly coincided in opinion, he obſerved, with a friend of the miniſter, who had thus expreſſed himſelf; "the conſtitution of France was eſſentially bad, and every thing was to be riſked to deſtroy it; the conſtitution of Great Britain is eſſentially good, and every thing is to be riſked to preſerve it." The Britiſh conſtitution indeed he thought had ſome trifling defects; but upon the whole it was a wonderful fabric, and no true friend to liberty could behold it without rapture.

The amendment on the addreſs was negatived by a majority of 124, the numbers being for the amendment 85, againſt it 209.

In conſequence of the intimation contained in his majeſty's ſpeech, that the income of the revenue exceeded the expenditure, public expectation was conſiderably raiſed; Feb. 17. when the chancellor of the exchequer entered upon the ſubject in a committee of the whole houſe, and delivered a ſplendid ſpeech, which was heard with general admiration by the houſe, and read with avidity by people of all deſcriptions in every part of the kingdom. To follow the right honourable gentleman on every topic, which his ingenuity ſuggeſted, and his imagination adorned, would be conſiſtent neither with the nature of our hiſtory, nor the ſcantineſs of our limits. We can only, therefore, briefly ſtate the general outlines of his obſervations.

The firſt object to which he called the attention of the houſe, was the conſideration of the Permanent Income of the country. From the papers on the table, he remarked, that,

	£.
The produce of the permanent taxes, from January 5, 1791, to January 5, 1792, was - - - -	14,132,000
The real produce of the land and malt duties - - -	2,558,000
Old duty on ſtamps - - - - - -	40,000
Total produce of the permanent taxes for the laſt year -	16,730,000

To induce the committee to conſider the riſe of the revenue as permanent, he entered into a ſtatement of the averages of the revenue for the laſt four years. The average of it for the laſt two years he ſtated to be £.16,615,000, for the laſt three years £.16,418,600, and for the laſt four years £.16,212,000; by this calculation it appeared, that the income of the laſt year exceeded the average income of the laſt four years by above £.500,000.

He next proceeded to conſider the future probable expenditure;

	£.
According to the eſtimate of the revenue Committee of 1791, it amounted to	15,969,000
To this was to be added an annuity to the duke of Clarence, voted laſt ſeſſion	12,000
For the eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada	12,000
Propoſed eſtabliſhment of the duke of York	18,000
	16,011,000

From the above ſum ſhould be deducted, ſavings likely to be permanent:

In the expences of the navy	104,000
By regulations in the dock-yards	10,000
On the army eſtabliſhment	50,000
By the expiration of the Heſſian ſubſidy	36,000
Total ſavings	200,000
Eſtimated future expenditure	15,811,000

Hence it appeared, that if the actual produce of the revenue in the laſt year (£.16,730,000) were compared with the probable permanent expenditure, there would be found a ſurplus of £.919,000; if the average of the laſt four years (£.16,212,000) the ſurplus would be £.401,000. The latter ſum only, he meant to conſider as the clear exceſs of the revenue, which he propoſed to appropriate in equal portions to the reduction of the national debt, and to the remiſſion of ſome of the exiſting taxes.

He then brought forward the Supply, and the Ways and Means for the year.

SUPPLY.

	£.	
Navy.		
Seamen 16,000	832,000	
Ordinary	672,000	
Extraordinary	350,000	
Navy debt	131,000	
		1,985,000
Army.		
Eſtabliſhment	1,474,495	
Extraordinaries	277,243	
Advance to the Eaſt India company	63,062	
		1,814,800
Ordnance, &c.		
Ordinary	221,272	
Extraordinaries	156,626	
Unprovided	44,103	
		422,001

Miſcellaneous

Miſcellaneous articles, conſiſting of plantation eſtimates, expences of Mr. Haſtings's trial, &c. &c.		145,343
Deficiency of land and malt beyond the eſtimate	93,432	
Bank repayment	123,260	
Intereſt and charges of exchequer bills	212,538	
Secretary, commiſſioners, national debt, American orders, lottery charges, &c.	16,883	
	446,113	
Exceſs of ways and means beyond ſervices eſtimated	9,123	
		436,990
Deficiency of land and malt		350,000
Propoſed repeal of malt tax		100,000
Commiſſioners national debt		400,000
Total ſupply		£. 5,654,134

WAYS and MEANS.

Land and malt	2,750,000
Surplus of conſolidated fund, January 5, 1792	155,495
Expected ſurplus, April 5, 1792	486,000
Growing produce, on April 5, 1793	2,290,000
Total ways and means	5,681,495
Total ſupply	5,654,134
Exceſs of ways and means	£. 27,361

He now came to his favourite object, the repeal of certain taxes, in which he wiſhed to proceed on the following principles, 1ſt. that the relief to be given ſhould be really and efficiently felt by the perſons relieved; and 2dly, that the perſons to be relieved ſhould be of the moſt indigent and moſt induſtrious claſſes.

The firſt tax he propoſed to repeal was the laſt additional duty on malt, which produced 100,000l.

The ſecond, a tax on female ſervants, productive of 31,000l.

The third, a tax on waggons and carts, which produced 30,000l.

The fourth, the three ſhilling houſe tax for that deſcription of houſes under ſeven windows, which brought in 56,000l.

The fifth and laſt tax, which he propoſed to repeal, would be the laſt halfpenny a pound upon candles.

The total amount of the above taxes, excluding the malt tax, which was provided for another way by becoming one of the articles in the ſupply of the year, he eſtimated at about 220,000l. annually. With reſpect to the prudence of the meaſure,

ſure, ſo far was he from apprehending danger to the revenue by it, that he was convinced ſtill greater ſavings would accrue, which might hereafter be applied to accelerate the diſcharge of the national debt.

When the houſe, he remarked, entered on the plan of reducing the national debt, it was a queſtion, whether the commiſſion ſhould be allowed on the real or nominal ſums redeemed, and in which of the ſeveral funds it was moſt advantageous to buy. This queſtion was now fortunately at an end by the riſe of the three per cents, which, although it might at firſt occaſion a temporary obſtruction to the plan of reduction, would ultimately produce a very different effect. The three per cents ſeemed rapidly advancing. When they arrived at their higheſt pitch, he ſhould propoſe to reduce the four per cents, which could always be diſcharged at par, to three or three and a half. He ſhould then likewiſe hope to be enabled to reduce the five per cents, whenever the period arrived at which they were redeemable. This period he flattered himſelf would take place in about eight years. He next adverted to the ſinking fund, which he thought might probably complete the object of its inſtitution by the year 1808, according to the preſent growing ſtate of the revenue, and on the ſuppoſition that the country enjoyed ſo long a period of uninterrupted tranquillity. But as it was poſſible this might not be the caſe, he gave notice that he ſhould, at ſome future opportunity, propoſe a plan to prevent any alarming accumulation of debt. As a proof that we might expect a farther increaſe of the revenue, he ſtated its continued and progreſſive gradation for ſeveral preceding years. The income of the laſt year exceeded that of 1786 by 2,300,000l. it exceeded that of 1783 in a ſum little ſhort of 4,000,000l. and except in the year 1786 (when it ſuffered materially in conſequence of the pending negociations for the commercial treaty with France) its increaſe had been from 1783 regularly progreſſive. The principal cauſes of this happy change he conceived to be the ſuperiority of ſkill in our artizans and manufacturers, the great improvements in the application of machinery, the facility of credit, and above all the accumulation of capital. While human ſkill therefore in any branch of mercantile commodity was capable of advancement; while a ſingle ſpot of ground in the country had not reached its higheſt degree of cultivation; while there were foreign markets to be explored; while there remained the growing demands of the opulent, and the refinements of luxury to be ſatisfied, or the wants of nations advancing from barbariſm to civilization to be ſupplied, it was impoſſible, he ſaid, to calculate the increaſe of the capital of the kingdom. Since the acceſſion of the preſent family to the throne, we had enjoyed domeſtic tranquillity undiſturbed for a longer period than we had ever before experienced; this, continued he, is the governing cauſe of all; we had felt the happy effects of a conſtitution, which by blending liberty and law, erected a barrier againſt the inroads of arbitrary power, and the rude operations of popular commotion and violence; a conſtitution, that formed and protected the national character, promoted proſperity and happineſs, ſet in motion every ſpring to the aggrandizement of our empire,

pire, and not only excited induſtry in the peaſant, gave ſkill to the artizan, and ſpirit to the merchant, but created unanimity in all.

Mr. Sheridan controverted the ſtatement of the chancellor of the exchequer with reſpect to the great ſurplus of the revenue. He contended, from the papers on the table, that ſo far from there being a ſurplus, the actual expenditure of the preceding year had exceeded the income by no leſs than a million. If the revenue had lately increaſed, he inſiſted that it was principally owing to the impoſition of new taxes, or to the regulation of old ones, which in fact ſhould be conſidered as the addition of new burthens. Grounding his poſition on the reports of the two committees, he aſſerted, that the ſum total of the increaſe of the permanent taxes ſince 1786, was no more than 130,000l. Had the miniſter really poſſeſſed the ſurplus of which he boaſted, would it not have been better to have applied it to the diſcharge of the unfunded debt, a great part of which bore intereſt? But this, he ſuppoſed, would only have been deemed a proper, not a ſhining meaſure. In a happy ſtrain of ironical invective, he then repreſented the miniſter's propoſal for repealing certain taxes, as a mere atonement for the late blunders of adminiſtration, particularly in the Ruſſian armament.

Mr. Fox ſpoke in very handſome terms of Mr. Pitt's eulogy on the proſperous ſtate of the country, but did not, he ſaid, traverſe the ſame ground, becauſe he felt himſelf incapable of doing equal juſtice to the ſubject. His firſt object of animadverſion was, the recommendation in his majeſty's ſpeech, relative to the repeal of taxes, which he again maintained to be an infringement of the privileges of the houſe. He ſpoke of it in rather ſtronger terms than he before had uſed, and called it a violation of the conſtitution, an inſult to the popular branch of the legiſlature, and an inſidious intervention, calculated to divert the people from their true guardian the houſe of commons, and to delude them by fixing their hopes on the government.

The manner likewiſe in which the miniſter had conducted himſelf on that day, was another topic of complaint. The right honourable gentleman had come down to the houſe with a declared ſurplus in one hand, and a number of odious taxes in the other (moſtly of his own impoſing) and thus made it impoſſible for the houſe to heſitate in their compliance. Inſtead of this he contended that the miniſter ſhould have fairly ſtated the following caſe, "there is a ſurplus of 400,000l. Will you apply it all to the diminution of the national debt, or towards the immemediate relief of the burdens of the people, or partly towards one, and partly towards the other?"

He directly attacked the miniſter for deviating from the principle of a ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by himſelf in 1786,—that the ſurplus of the revenue ſhould be, with a ſacred and inviolable hand, applied to the diſcharge of the national debt, with all its compound intereſt, until it ſhould amount to the ſum of four millions. This principle was completely abandoned for the ſake of a little momentary popularity.

The reduction of the four per cents he thought a prudent and politic meaſure. He likewiſe agreed with the miniſter that the riſe of the

funds was a great national benefit, for though it threw obſtacles in the way of paying off the debt, it invigorated every branch of our proſperity, and conſequently promoted the general opulence of the nation. The moment therefore of wealth he conceived to be the moment of redemption. On this principle (which he aſſerted to be the true principle of the miniſter's ſinking fund) he argued for the application of the whole ſurplus of the revenue, whatever it might be, ſolely to the diminution of the national debt, and not partly to that object and partly to the repeal of taxes.

When the ſame ſubject again came under conſideration, Feb. 24th. Mr. Sheridan remarked, that the ſuppoſed ſurplus was in fact a loan, and a loan of the worſt kind, becauſe the money aroſe from the anticipation of the revenue. The fact was, that the miniſter had anticipated the income of one entire quarter.

Mr. Pitt obſerved in reply, that the mode of making up the accounts from April to April rendered this unavoidable; but that it was both a uſual and proper mode, and that he was aſtoniſhed to hear ſuch an objection from Mr. Sheridan, who when himſelf in office in the year 1783, made up the accounts exactly in the ſame manner, and even anticipated to a greater degree. Bills for the repeal of the ſeveral taxes as propoſed by the chancellor of the exchequer, were brought in, and paſſed the houſe of commons without oppoſition. In the houſe of lords a ſhort diſcuſſion took place on the propriety March 6th. of the repeal, when the earl of Guilford expreſſed his diſapprobation of the meaſure upon the ground, that the ſurplus of the revenue would be better applied to the reduction of the national debt.

Lord Rawdon ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and contended that ſince the year 1786, adminiſtration had impoſed more taxes than had been repealed, including thoſe before the houſe, which he computed to amount only to 120,196 l.

To this ſum he added, what he aſſerted to be the amount of the ſhop tax formerly repealed, *viz.* 120,000 l. which together made 240,196 l. He then ſtated the new duties impoſed ſince that period.

In 1787.

Additional duties on ſpirit licences	80,000
Conſolidation tax	60,000

In 1788.

Transfer of tobacco tax from cuſtoms to exciſe	300,000

In 1789.

New taxes	111,000
	£. 551,000

Hence

Hence he drew a conclusion that ministers were entitled to little credit for the boasted surplus.

The chancellor of the exchequer shortly after brought in a bill the objects of which were to continue the effect of the sinking fund for the reduction of the national debt, subsequent to the period when the interest of the money in that fund should amount to four millions annually; and likewise to prevent any future permanent burthens on the country, by enacting, that a provision should be made for the speedy payment of any loan entered into, or that an additional sum, in proportion to the loan so borrowed, should be set apart for the reduction of the whole debt.

Mr. Pitt stated, that the prospe- March 30th. rous state of the country made it necessary to extend the principle of his former bill of 1786; and that he flattered himself the house would feel with him the importance of adopting some uniform system for paying off any loan, which necessity might hereafter make requisite, without stopping the effects of the sinking fund.

On the propriety of the first object of the bill, Mr. Fox declared he had some doubts, but such, perhaps, as he might bring himself to give up; the second object he strongly reprobated. A principal ground of his objection seemed to be, that when our national debt by the operation of the sinking fund might be less, our burthens, in the event of a loan, would thus become unnecessarily greater. He likewise disapproved of binding down future ministers, and future parliaments to particular measures, when it was possible, that both would be full as wise as those which we at present possessed, or rather wiser, because wisdom was in an evident state of progression.

Before the bill passed the house of commons, the funds experienced a sudden and considerable depression.

In consequence of this May 24th. circumstance, Mr. Fox took an opportunity, in one of its stages, to introduce the subject of the proposed reduction of the four per cents. He remarked, that at the time when this measure was first announced, the funds were unusually high, and that the three per cents had since been at 96 or 97, but were now fallen 8 or 9 per cent.

The favourable moment should have been seized: It was so suggested at the time, but ministry resisted upon the idea that a still greater advance was probable. By the speculations therefore of the chancellor of the exchequer, the public, he contended, had been considerable losers. From a calculation which he had made, he computed the loss to be three millions capital, and one hundred and seventy-six thousand pounds annuity. He then strongly impressed on the house the policy of securing a present advantage, in preference to that of speculating upon future contingencies. Even then, he observed, something might be gained, which he advised administration instantly to secure; for the reduction, he conceived, would still save one hundred and seventy-six thousand pounds.

The chancellor of the exchequer confessed, that a loss had accrued to the public nearly to the extent mentioned, nevertheless he did not think himself culpable for the line of conduct which he had

purſued. When the funds were at the higheſt, he inſiſted, that under all exiſting circumſtances a rational hope might have been entertained that they would have riſen ſtill higher, as they were in a ſtate of progreſſive advancement. He by no means approved of reducing the four per cents at preſent; becauſe he believed, that in the courſe of twelve months the funds would more than recover themſelves, and even reach the ſummit of his higheſt expectation. He reprobated the idea of reducing the four per cents, at that moment, as contrary to all obvious policy, for ſhould the holders of them refuſe to ſubſcribe them into the threes (which was highly probable) they muſt be paid at par, although worth no more in the market than 96.

As connected with the ſubject of the finances, the eſtabliſhment of their royal highneſſes the duke and dutcheſs of York came under conſideration at an early period in the ſeſſion.

March 7th. The chancellor of the exchequer propoſed on this occaſion, that the ſum of eighteen thouſand pounds annually ſhould be granted out of the conſolidated fund, to be computed from July 5th 1791, which added to the twelve thouſand already granted to his royal highneſs from the civil liſt, and likewiſe to ſeven thouſand which it was intended to give him out of the Iriſh revenue, would render the amount of his whole income thirty ſeven thouſand pounds per annum. He alſo propoſed that her royal highneſs's jointure upon the contingency of her ſurviving the duke, ſhould be eight thouſand pounds, payable out of the conſolidated fund.

The ſentiments of miniſtry and the leaders of oppoſition on this ſubject ſeemed perfectly to coincide, except that the latter rather wiſhed to go farther, and not only grant his highneſs an annuity for life, but enable him, by a ſuitable preſent, to commence, as a married man, with princely ſplendor. The miniſter, having no propoſition of the laſt kind in command from his Majeſty, could not make a motion to any ſuch effect. Mr. Fox warmly deprecated the idea of reducing a prince of the blood to the neceſſity of raiſing money on an annuity. It was, however, on the other hand obſerved, that as the grant would take place from July 1791, the amount of half of it would be immediately at his royal highneſs's diſpoſal.

Notwithſtanding the general coincidence of opinion in Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, the houſe was by no means unanimous. Mr. Burdon thought 18,000l. too great an allowance, and propoſed 10,000l. in its ſtead. He was ſupported by ſeveral gentlemen, particularly by Sir James Johnſtone, who conceived that the duke's revenue from Oſnaburgh ſhould be taken into conſideration, which he ſtated to amount to 35,000l. per annum. Sir William Dolben ſeemed of the ſame opinion with reſpect to the propriety of conſidering the revenue from Oſnaburgh, but did not think it exceeded 12,000l. Mr. M. A. Taylor (who approved of the original ſum propoſed) aſſerted that the revenue did not nett above 5 or 6,000l. a year.

Amidſt ſuch a contrariety of opinions, Mr. Fox remarked, where ſhould they look for an ultimate deciſion? In fact it was unuſual, improper,

proper, and undignified for a Britiſh houſe of commons to calculate the income of a German principality when called upon to ſupport the ſplendor of a Britiſh prince. With his accuſtomed ſhrewdneſs of application, he exclaimed, Did gentlemen forget that monarchy was an eſſential part of our conſtitution; and would they act upon the levelling principle of the meaneſt republic, and ſink their princes to the rank of private gentlemen? If the people choſe to have the benefit and pageantry of monarchy, it was beneath them to grudge at the neceſſary expence of it.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſupported Mr. Fox in the aſſertion, that we had no right to enquire into the expenditure of the revenue of Oſnaburgh.

Mr. Burdon's propoſal was rejected; and that of the chancellor of the exchequer paſſed without a diviſion.

CHAP. XII.

Ruſſian armament. Mr. Grey gives notice of his intention to move for papers. Mr. Pitt. Mr. Grey moves for papers. Oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, who alludes to certain circumſtances of notoriety, which might give riſe to a more ſerious diſcuſſion in future. Conjecture on the alluſion. Mr. Pitt anſwered by oppoſition. Rejoinder of miniſtry. Mr. Whitbread moves ſeveral reſolutions cenſuring the conduct of miniſtry. Arguments in ſupport of the reſolutions. Anſwered by the other ſide of the houſe. Mr. Jenkinſon's ſpeech on the balance of power. The oppoſition ſupport their former arguments. Speech of Mr. Sheridan, who expreſſes his aſtoniſhment at Mr. Pitt's ſilence. Mr. Dundas's reply. Houſe adjourns. Speech of Mr. Fox. Reflections on it. Anſwer of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox recommends an alliance with Ruſſia. Houſe of Lords. Lord Fitzwilliam's reſolutions. Lord Portcheſter moves a vote of cenſure. Duke of Leeds defends his reſignation. Lord Stanhope. Indian War. Major Maitland moves for papers. Propriety of the production diſcuſſed on both ſides. On the papers obtained major Maitland grounds ſeveral reſolutions. Lord Cornwallis's letter to the Nizam cenſured. Defended. Other queſtions on the war argued. Colonel Phipps moves a vote of approbation on the conduct of lord Cornwallis. Adopted without a diviſion.

AS the oppoſition conſidered the propoſed repeal of taxes in the light of an attempt to recover the miniſter's popularity, which had been diminiſhed by the Ruſſian armament, they ſeemed reſolved to puſh the latter ſubject a little further, while yet recent, and if poſſible, obtain a vote of cenſure againſt adminiſtration. Accordingly Mr. Grey took an early opportunity of noticing, that he meant to move for papers illuſtrative of the Ruſſian negociation, which he did not find among thoſe on the table. At the ſame time he remarked it to be a little ſingular, that there ſhould be a chaſm in the correſpondence between our court and the courts of Peterſburgh and Conſtantinople from the 31ſt of October 1790 to the 26th of May 1791. He likewiſe pointed out another omiſſion, the

Feb. 13th.

the non-production of a certain extract in a diſpatch, which was mentioned in one of the papers, and referred to in a letter of the duke of Leeds. He alſo thought it would be proper to lay before the houſe all that had paſſed on the ſame ſubject between our court and that of Berlin.

Mr. Pitt obſerved, that he apprehended Mr. Grey would move partly for papers which had no exiſtence, and partly for papers which he deemed it highly improper to make public.

When Mr. Grey brought forward his motion, a debate enſued characterized by much perſonal alluſion, and pointed inſinuation. He endeavoured to prove, that the papers before the houſe were mutilated and imperfect, and that, in order to form a fair judgment of the late tranſactions, it would be neceſſary for parliament to be furniſhed with all the documents relative to the ſubject. Pending a negociation, they had been told, that it would be dangerous to divulge the particulars of proceedings ſtill in embryo; but when the negociation was terminated, he thought no reaſonable objection could lie againſt their being made public. The empreſs, who was renowned for her political wiſdom and conſiſtency, had adopted ſuch a meaſure, and informed her ſubjects of the cauſe of the war, and the reſources neceſſary for the ſupport of the Ruſſian honour and dignity. If the ſovereign of Ruſſia, whoſe actions were not amenable to her people, had condeſcended to ſuch an explanation, had thus in effect acknowledged, that even deſpotic governments were in ſome degree under the controul of public opinion, ought not the miniſter of England to purſue a ſimilar line of conduct, and by explaining the riſe and progreſs of the negociation, ſtate to parliament the real grounds for the expenditure of the public money?

Feb. 20th.

He contended, that even the papers before the houſe furniſhed ſufficient documents for a criminal charge againſt the miniſtry. By them it appeared that government had armed without any reaſonable cauſe of provocation, and then diſhonourably receding from the threatened hoſtilities, had expoſed the country to ridicule and contempt. Unleſs ſome enquiry was made into the conduct of a miniſter who had fruitleſsly waſted the public money in an uſeleſs and expenſive armament, the members of that houſe would, in his opinion, forfeit the high title of incorrupt repreſentatives of the people, and become the tools of an abandoned adminiſtration.

In the courſe of his ſpeech, he threw out ſome reflections on the nature of our engagements with Pruſſia, tending to inſinuate, that we had perhaps ſtipulated to ſecond the ambitious views of that power on Dantzick and Thorn.

He moved, "For copies or extracts of all repreſentations or requiſitions made by Pruſſia to Great Britain, or by Great Britain to Pruſſia relative to the war between Ruſſia and the Porte, with the reſpective anſwers to ſuch repreſentations or requiſitions:

2. For an account of all offers made to the Porte by Great Britain for the purpoſe of propoſing conditions of peace to the empreſs, together with the anſwers to ſuch offers; of all repreſentations and requiſitions,

tions, with their reſpective anſwers made by the Porte; and alſo of ſuch engagements entered into by Great Britain with the Porte relative to any aſſiſtance which was to be afforded to that power in caſe of the continuation of the war:

3. For an account of the ſteps taken by the allied courts of Great Britain and Pruſſia to propoſe to the Porte the conditions of peace, conſented to by Meſſrs. Whitworth and Fawkener, and count Goltze, in their memorial dated July 22d 1791:

4. For an account of the overtures made by his Catholic majeſty and the court of Denmark for the purpoſe of terminating the war between Ruſſia and the Porte:

5. For an account of all memorials, repreſentations, and requiſitions, together with the anſwers to the ſame, which may have paſſed between the courts of London and Peterſburgh, from the 10th of December 1789, relative to the ſaid war."

The chancellor of the exchequer oppoſed the production of the papers for which Mr. Grey moved. Sufficient, he thought, had already been laid before the houſe to regulate its deciſion on the conduct of adminiſtration. The production of more would not only be an unneceſſary but dangerous meaſure. That miniſters were entitled to ſome ſort of confidence was, he conceived, agreed on all ſides. Every ſpecies of unlimited confidence he allowed to be unconſtitutional, as the deareſt privilege of that houſe was the right of inveſtigating, condemning, and correcting the abuſes of the executive government. Pending a treaty, a certain diſcretionary power ought to be repoſed in adminiſtration; a power, which had always been aſſumed, although occaſionally reſiſted by the operations of party and cabal, embracing with avidity every opportunity of clogging the wheels of government. The ſame confidence might ſometimes be requiſite even after the concluſion of a treaty, which was particularly the caſe in the inſtance under conſideration. For the unreſerved communication of the documents then demanded would, he contended, fruſtrate our operations abroad, and render the ſituation of our miniſters at various courts irkſome, if not precarious. In general, it might be aſſerted, that a reaſonable ſhare of confidence was not only allowed, but required by the conſtitution. If the executive government abuſed the truſt repoſed in it, then, but not till then, the duty of parliament was to enquire, condemn, and puniſh. But here, as in every other inſtance of crimination, there ſhould always be ſome ſpecific charge alledged, ſomething which, when brought home to adminiſtration, would counterbalance the evils neceſſarily attendant on the expoſure of ſtate ſecrets.

He reminded the oppoſition, that in the year 1784, when the country had been ſaid to be without any executive government at all, the doctrine of confidence was the favourite cry of their party, and that this doctrine was carried to ſuch an height, as to addreſs the throne upon the choice of miniſters againſt the decided voice of the people. At the period alluded to, the ſentiments of a majority of that houſe were maintained to be the ſentiments of the whole people conſtitutionally declared by their repreſentatives in parliament; when circumſtances

cumſtances were altered, he perceived that they were conſidered as nothing more than the mere ſentiments of a party under the ſuppoſed controul of miniſters.

He inſiſted, that the papers on the table inſtead of criminating, completely exculpated him; and that the production of more in every point of view would be unneceſſary, for, as he wanted no more for his defence, ſo his opponents had ſtated, that thoſe already before the houſe furniſhed ample proofs of his guilt. He had not armed the nation without the concurrence of parliament. If he had been unable, at laſt, to carry the point for which he at firſt contended, if he had been unwilling to riſk a war, after having prepared an armament, culpability would not attach to him. Had it not been for certain circumſtances of notoriety hoſtile to the political intereſts of the country, he was confident that the efforts of miniſters would have been crowned with ſucceſs; but this ſubject might perhaps give riſe to a more ſerious diſcuſſion at another time.

The circumſtances of notoriety, to which Mr. Pitt alluded, were ſuppoſed to be thoſe which we noticed * at the concluſion of our narrative of the war between Ruſſia and the Porte; and the ſerious diſcuſſion which he had in contemplation, to be a parliamentary enquiry into the proceeding.

The miniſter's arguments were combated by the other ſide of the houſe, and the charge againſt oppoſition of having changed their ſentiments on the doctrine of confidence, immediately retorted. The alteration of opinion, it was ſaid, was not in them, but in thoſe gentlemen, who, previous to the year 1784, had formed the minority, and thought it was impoſſible for miniſters to have too little confidence, but who had ſince been admitted into his majeſty's councils, and now thought it was impoſſible for them to have too much. The general principle of confidence was next argued; but it was firſt maintained to be the duty of an individual in that houſe, when he could not perſuade the majority to impoſe reaſonable limits on their confidence in the miniſter, to ſound the alarm without doors, and to inform the people, that if the unlimited confidence which they repoſed in their repreſentatives was transferred to the miniſter, they were betrayed, not repreſented; that in this caſe they ſhould watch for themſelves, and ſubſtitute for the controul of parliament, the controul of public opinion.

The general propoſition, that confidence ſhould be placed in miniſters, was acknowledged to be a vital part of the conſtitution. One exception, however, was at leaſt to be made, that of voting money for armaments at the demand of the miniſter, without due information of the neceſſity and uſe of the propoſed object. The crown, it was granted, poſſeſſed the ſole right of declaring war, but the commons might give or withhold ſupplies at their diſcretion. In a caſe where one party muſt give way, it was thought that the conceſſion would come with more reaſon and better grace from the crown than the com-

* Vol. xxxiii. p. 202 and 203.

mons,

mons, who must otherwise vote away the money of their constituents without their consent, and for a purpose of which they might not approve. Upon the supposition that a difference of opinion existed on the expediency of a war, that a majority of the house, supported by a majority of the people were on one side, and ministers on the other, would it be proper for the opinion of ministers to prevail?

The propriety of producing the papers moved for, was principally argued on this ground, that if the papers already produced afforded matter of crimination, the house had a right to the production of others, in order to learn the whole extent of culpability. In answer to the remark, that state secrets might thus be divulged, the disclosure of which would prove inimical to the interests of the country, it was observed, that the house might appoint a secret committee for the inspection of such as ought not to be submitted to the public eye. As an additional argument for the production of the papers, it was hinted, that the court of Berlin had been dissatisfied with the negociation, complaining, that Prussia had been drawn in for the sake of a British interest, and likewise, that the Porte so far from soliciting, had in reality objected to our interference.

Ministers, however, on the other hand, conceived themselves to have been entitled to confidence even on the mode of reasoning adopted by their opponents; for, when application had been made to parliament, in the preceding session, for money to defray the expences of an armament, the precise object of that armament had been distinctly stated, viz. to mediate a peace between Russia and the Porte. The instance of our interference in the affairs of Holland in the year 1787 was quoted to prove, that the most profound secrecy at the commencement of a war was sometimes absolutely necessary. Any explanation of the measures about to be pursued, would at that time have completely ruined the object in view. Mr. Grey's motions were rejected by a majority of 115.—Ayes 120—noes 235.

When the subject came again under consideration, Mr. Whitbread took the lead on the side of opposition. He moved the three following resolutions; Feb. 29th.

"1. That no arrangement respecting Oczakow and its district, appears to have been capable of affecting the political or commercial interests of this country, so as to justify any hostile interference on the part of Great Britain between Russia and the Porte:

2. That the interference of Great Britain for the pupose of preventing the cession of the said fortress, and its district, to the empress of Russia, has been wholly unsuccessful:

3. That his majesty's ministers in endeavouring by means of an armed force to compel the empress of Russia to abandon her claim to Oczakow, and its district, and in continuing an armament after the object for which it was proposed had been relinquished, have been guilty of gross misconduct, tending to incur unnecessary expences, and to diminish the influence of the British nation in Europe."

Before entering on the general subject of discussion, the opposition assumed merit to themselves for the distinguished line of conduct which they had pursued in the preceding session.

ſeſſion. Perſuaded, that the war, had it been proſecuted, would have reduced this country to the loweſt ſtate of actual diſtreſs, and that their oppoſition to it had been highly grateful to the bulk of the nation, they naturally felt a more than uſual pride on the occaſion.

The firſt argument advanced in ſupport of the reſolutions, was the impolicy of a war with Ruſſia, in a commercial point of view. Our trade with that country was ſaid to be not only a great and ſubſtantial, but even an indiſpenſable benefit to Great Britain. As a nurſery for ſeamen, as an inexhauſtible ſource of ſupply in naval ſtores, and raw materials of every deſcription, the Ruſſian trade was declared to be the firſt in point of value, which we ought to cheriſh, the laſt that ſhould be relinquiſhed.

It was next obſerved, that there never exiſted the ſlighteſt grounds on our part for an armed negociation. The empreſs had requeſted us to uſe our influence with the Turks, for the purpoſe of perſuading them to comply with her juſt and reaſonable demands. Inſtead of conciliating them to the propoſals of the empreſs, miniſters were accuſed of having ſtimulated them to a proſecution of the war. Yet after all, the very identical propoſals, with only a trifling modification, which at firſt had been declared inadmiſſible, and had occaſioned one armament, were at laſt accepted, and formed the baſis of the late peace.

That the principal objection of miniſters to admit the terms of the empreſs in the firſt inſtance, aroſe from an unwillingneſs to leave Ruſſia in poſſeſſion of the town and diſtrict of Oczakow, appeared from an official letter, dated May 26 1791, in which it was ſtated, that the poſſeſſion of Oczakow by Ruſſia would be attended with conſequences not only injurious to the ſecurity and independance of the Ottoman power, but deſtructive of the general tranquillity of Europe. But, it was aſked, of what poſſible importance in a commercial point of view, can Oczakow ever be to Great Britain, ſince we neither have had, nor are likely to have, the leaſt connection with it? Nor was its political conſequence eſtimated at a higher rate, which was thought to have been ſufficiently proved by the conduct of miniſters themſelves; for if the poſſeſſion of it by Ruſſia could poſſibly affect the general balance of power, why did they ever agree to ſuch a conceſſion?

In anſwer to the aſſertion, that the trade with Ruſſia was an indiſpenſable benefit to Great Britain, the miniſterial ſide of the houſe maintained the reverſe of the propoſition, that the trade with Great Britain was an indiſpenſable benefit to Ruſſia, at the ſame time remarking, that the queſtion turned more on the balance of power, than on the balance of trade. The argument on the balance of power, was diſcuſſed in a full and complete manner by the honourable Mr. Jenkinſon, who addreſſed the houſe for the firſt time in his life, in a ſtyle of elocution unuſual in ſo young a man, and ſo inexperienced a ſpeaker. The ſyſtem, he obſerved, upon which miniſters had acted, was wiſe and politic. It had been long an eſtabliſhed maxim with the ſoundeſt politicians, that the principle which ſhould guide the counſels of Great Britain, was that of forming and cementing continental alliances. France was our natural rival: Holland

land our natural ally; every attempt, therefore, to prevent the latter from falling into the rapacious hands of the former, was in his opinion deſerving of applauſe. But in vain, he remarked, would every attempt of this kind be made, unleſs we connected ourſelves with ſome continental power which might, upon occaſion, furniſh an army capable of coping with the formidable troops of France. The powers of Pruſſia and Auſtria appeared equally eligible for this purpoſe; but while the diſſenſions in the Netherlands, and the connection between the court of Vienna and France militated againſt the idea of our uniting with Auſtria, the ſubſiſting friendſhip between the houſe of Brandenburgh and the Dutch inclined us to give the preference to Pruſſia. If, therefore, our alliance with Pruſſia was to be ſupported (which ſeemed admitted on all ſides) he contended, that our interference to prevent the Porte from being cruſhed by Ruſſia, was abſolutely neceſſary. For if the Porte were incapacitated from keeping Ruſſia in check, the whole weight of the Ruſſian empire might preſs with an accumulated force on Pruſſia, and thus diſable it from affording us aſſiſtance in the hour of neceſſity. What Holland was to England, he aſſerted, that Turkey was to Pruſſia; and that we were as much bound to come forward in ſupport of the Turk, as Pruſſia had been when a late attempt was made to ruin the independence of Holland. Such was the outline of Mr. Jenkinſon's argument on the policy of our interference; an outline which he filled up with much elaborate preciſion.

That a principal object of the armament was to prevent the ceſſion of Oczakow to Ruſſia was in part admitted by the friends of the miniſter, who contended, that ſuch a ceſſion might enable Ruſſia, in time, to become a formidable naval power. The other ſide of the houſe was accuſed of arguing on extremes, either that Oczakow was of no importance at all, or of every importance, when the truth perhaps lay between the two poſitions. That it was of conſiderable importance appeared from the manner in which the contending parties had ſtruggled for it. Almoſt every other point the empreſs ſhewed a readineſs to concede or modify, but ſhe adhered to this with the moſt inflexible firmneſs. Its real importance however, ought not, it was thought, to be decided by what might be the ſuppoſed value of it in the hands of the Ottomans, and in its preſent ſtate, but by what ſubſequent uſe the empreſs might make of it, to the probable aggrandizement of her own empire, and the deſtruction of the general balance of power. To the arguments on the policy of our interference were added others in proof of its juſtice. The empreſs was ſtated to have conducted herſelf in ſuch a manner, by obtaining poſſeſſion of the Crimea, by promoting a rebellion in Egypt, by laying claim to Beſſarabia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, and by ſtill preſſing for farther conceſſions, that the Porte was at length neceſſitated to take up arms, as its laſt and only reſource againſt her unjuſt encroachments.

As to the miniſter's failure on the point of Oczakow, it was alledged that culpability ſhould not be imputed to him, but to his opponents, who

who had crippled his exertions, and palsied the hands of government. Something, however, had been obtained, as the empress had been persuaded to recede from her original intention of dismembering the Turkish provinces of Bessarabia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, and to permit the free navigation of the Dniester. In justification of giving up Oczakow, it was remarked, that the same perseverance which might be wise and commendable when success was probable, and war uncertain, might be highly impolitic when success was doubtful, and war certain. The resignation therefore of their primary object entitled ministers to praise rather than blame. With respect to the continuation of the armament after it was resolved to relinquish Oczakow in preference to hazarding a war, this measure was defended on the ground, that without it there might perhaps have been little probability of our obtaining from the empress any modification at all.

The opposition again came forward in support of the resolutions. Many compliments were paid to Mr. Jenkinson for his masterly observations on the balance of power. His system, however, was conceived to be more ingenious than rational, entirely depending on a chain of contingencies, the breaking of any link of which immediately destroyed the whole. Could the support of such precarious principles be thought an adequate cause for war; especially at a period when almost every court in Europe was producing changes, which mocked all political speculation? If the empress indeed, commanding a numerous and hardy race, possessing great extent of territory without disunion, and accumulation of power without unwieldiness, were to seize Constantinople itself, to occupy the Euxine with her fleets, where no European eye could see or examine their force until they poured into the Mediterranean, then perhaps it was admitted she might become an object of dread to Great Britain, but the probability of such an event should be proved before the necessity of an armament appeared.

The idea of our having obtained any modification of the least consequence was extremely ridiculed. Our commencement of the negociation was declared to be unnecessary and wanton; our conduct in it characterized by arrogance and injustice; and our termination of it mean and pusillanimous. So far were we from having gratified our Ottoman friends, that they regarded us with contempt and abhorrence. In support of this last assertion *, a long paper was read, purporting to be

* The authenticity of this paper was denied by the ministry. As a singular performance, we nevertheless give it in a note.—"The grand signior wars for himself, and for himself makes peace—he can trust his own slaves, servants, and subjects—he knows their faith, has experienced their virtue, and can rely upon their fidelity. A virtue long since banished your corner of Europe. If all other christians tell truth, no reliance is to be had on England, she buys and sells all mankind. The Ottomans have no connection with your king, nor your country—we never sought for your advice, your interference or friendship; we have no minister, no agency, no correspondence with you; for what reason offer ye then to mediate for us with Russia? why seek ye to serve an empire of infidels, as ye call us

be a copy of the grand vizier's answer to our ambaſſador at Conſtantinople. The miniſter, it was remarked, had not been blamed for yielding to the public opinion; but for reducing himſelf to ſuch a ſituation,

us Muſſelmen? we want not your friendſhip, aid, or mediation. Your vizier, of whom you ſpeak ſo highly, muſt have ſome project of deception in view, ſome oppreſſive ſcheme to amuſe your nation whom we are told are credulous, ſervile, and adorers only of money. Avarice, if we are well informed, is your chief characteriſtic—you would ſell and buy your God—money is your deity—and all things is commerce with your miniſtry, with your nation.—Come ye then to ſell us to Ruſſia? No, let us bargain for ourſelves: When fate has ſpun out the thread of our good fortune we muſt yield; what has been decreed by God and the prophet of men muſt and will come to paſs. We Ottomans know no fineſſe.—Duplicity and cunning are your chriſtian morals. We are not aſhamed to be honeſt, downright, plain and faithful in our ſtate maxims. If we fail in war, we ſubmit to the will of Heaven, decreed from the beginning. We have long lived in ſplendor the firſt power on earth, and we glory, having triumphed for ages over chriſtian infidelity and depravity, mixed with all ſorts of vice and hypocriſy—we adore the God of nature and believe in Mahomet—you neither believe in the God you pretend to worſhip, nor in his Son, whom you call both your god and your prophet. What reliance can there be upon ſo ſacrilegious a race? Truth you baniſh, as you do virtue, from all your conduct and actions with each other—read the catalogue of the complaints, manifeſtoes, declarations, and remonſtrances of all the chriſtian kings, monarchs and emperors, who have lived and warred with each other—you find them all equally blaſphemous, equally perfidious, equally cruel, equally unjuſt and faithleſs to their engagements.—Did the Turk ever forfeit his promiſe, word, or honour? Never! Did ever a chriſtian power keep an engagement but while it ſuited his own avarice or ambition? No! How then do you think we are to truſt you, a nation at this moment, if we are told truth, ruled by a perfidious adminiſtration, without one grain of virtue to guide the machine of ſtate? the grand ſignior has no public intercourſe with your court—he wants none—he wiſhes for none. If you wiſh to remain here either as a ſpy, or, as you term yourſelf, an ambaſſador for your court, you may live with thoſe of other chriſtian nations, while you demean yourſelf with propriety, but we want neither your aid by ſea or land, nor your council or mediation. I have no order to thank you for your offer, becauſe it is by the Divan deemed officious; nor have I any command to thank you for the offer of your naval aſſiſtance, becauſe it is what the Porte never dreamed of admitting into our ſeas. What you have to do with Ruſſia we neither know or care, our concerns with that court we mean to finiſh as ſuits ourſelves, and the maxims of our laws and ſtate policy. If you are not the moſt profligate chriſtian nation, as you are charged to be, you are undoubtedly the boldeſt in preſumption and effrontery, in offering to bring ſuch a power as Ruſſia to terms; ſuch as you and ſome other trivial chriſtians united fancy yourſelves equal to command—we know better, and therefore this effrontery of yours amounts rather to audacity, and to an imbecile dictation, which muſt render your councils at home mean and contemptible, and your advice abroad unworthy of wiſdom, or attention from any power, much leſs the regard of the Porte, which on all occaſions wherein its miniſters had liſtened to you, have experienced evil, either in your deſigns or in your ignorance—his ſublime highneſs cannot be too much upon his guard againſt the attempts and preſumption of a nation ſo perfidious to the intereſts of its ſubjects (or coloniſts)—but it is the uſual way of chriſtian princes to ſell and cede over their ſubjects to each other for money. Every peace made amongſt you, as we are well informed, is made favourable

ation, that he could neither proceed without loſs, nor retreat without diſgrace.

On this laſt topic, Mr. Sheridan in particular was peculiarly pointed and perſonal, directly accuſing Mr. Pitt of having continued the armament, not to produce acquieſcence in his demands, but merely from a proud obſtinacy of diſpoſition, which could not brook the retraction of error. The right honourable gentleman, in his idea, had ſtill kept it up to preſerve an haughty appearance of character for himſelf, after he had ſacrificed the dignity of his royal maſter; ſtill perſiſted in making the fleet of England ride at Spithead in affected pomp, or rather in diſgraceful array, exhibiting in naval manœuvres the zig-zag type of his own crooked policy. If Mr. Pitt was wrong in the principle which he at firſt held out as a reaſonable cauſe for our arming, he ought to be diſgraced; if he was right he ought to be impeached for abandoning it. Mr. Sheridan likewiſe expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the ſilence which the miniſter had hitherto preſerved, wrapping himſelf up in a garb of myſtery, with his accuſtomed haughtineſs, adding inſult to injury, and with a degree of arrogance altogether unexampled, diſdaining to account to the houſe for his conduct.

Mr. Dundas obſerved in reply, that Mr. Pitt waited until he heard from the lips of Mr. Fox the full amount of the charges which were to be brought againſt him. On account, however, of the lateneſs of the hour, the houſe adjourned; and the debate was reſumed on the following day.

After two or three gentlemen in oppoſition had delivered their ſentiments on the reſolutions, which were heard by the houſe with much ſeeming impatience, Mr. Fox at length roſe, and prefaced his ſpeech by reprobating the mode in which the miniſter choſe to conduct his defence. Accuſed of having involved the nation in diſaſter and diſgrace, he thought proper to reſerve himſelf, until his opponents had all ſpoken, that no means might be given to reply to his defence, and to expoſe its fallacies, or detect its miſrepreſentations.

After having animadverted for ſome time on this (as he termed it) unfair and unmanly conduct, he proceeded to ſupport the arguments of his friends. Notwithſtanding that ſome of them had ſpoken, perhaps, too generally againſt continental connections, he confeſſed that he could not himſelf behold affairs on the continent with perfect indifference. When ſuch a power as that of France, and with views ſuch as the family compact was intended to ſerve, appeared ready to dictate

vourable to the king that beſt bribes. The Ottoman miniſtry have too long and too often given ear to European councils, and as often as they ſo did, they either were betrayed, ſold, or deceived—away then with your interference for the Porte with Ruſſia.

"It has been your aim to embroil all mankind, and thereafter to profit by your perfidy. We aſk not, want not, nor deſire your commerce, becauſe our merchants have been ſacrificed to your double dealings—you have no religion but gain—avarice is your only god, and the chriſtian faith you profeſs but a maſk for your hypocriſy—we will hear no more from you—therefore you are commanded to make no reply."

and

and give laws to its neighbours, he thought that the intereſts of our country demanded our interference and our arms; but he could not carry his ideas to ſuch diſtant dangers, to ſuch a concatenation of political connections, as Mr. Jenkinſon had developed. To judge of our alliances by the circumſtances which made them neceſſary, he ſtated to be the true policy for England. He conceived it would be wrong to form no continental connections at all, and equally wrong to carry them to the extreme which had been propoſed.

On the point of Oczakow, he remarked, that if the ceſſion of it to Ruſſia, could in the leaſt affect the general balance of power in Europe, by abandoning it to the empreſs, the miniſter had condemned and diſgraced himſelf. If it were ſaid, that perhaps Oczakow was not worth a war particularly againſt public opinion, it was only worth an armament, it was worth a threat, but not worth carrying that threat into execution, he ſhould reply, that ſuch a mode of reaſoning was groſs and ſcandalous, contemptible, profligate, and diſhonourable.

Adminiſtration it ſeemed, defended the dereliction of its firſt meaſures upon the principle, that public opinion was againſt them. His obſervation on this was, that when the public opinion on great and important points did not ſquare with the opinion of miniſters, it was a duty which they owed to their king, their country, and their own honour, to reſign. But he denied, in fact, that they had acted on public opinion at all; they had rather acted on the dread of being unſupported in the war by a majority of that houſe. This he thought evident, from the bare circumſtance that in one week after the firſt delivery of his majeſty's meſſage they had completely changed their ſyſtem.

If it were aſked, what right had the right honourable gentleman to interfere at all in the diſpute, the anſwer, he conceived, would be obvious—the right of a proud man anxious to play a lofty part. France had quitted the ſtage; the character of the miſerable diſturber of empires was vacant; when he came forward, reſolved to boaſt, and vapour, and to play his antick tricks on the ſame theatre. What has been the conſequence? After menacing, twiſting, and turning, after keeping up an armament for four months, and ſpending half a million of money, after having reſorted to all the ſeverities of impreſſing, dragging the moſt valuable citizens from their peaceful homes, he had been obliged at laſt to crouch at the empreſs's foot, to aſk "from her goodneſs and generoſity ſome ſlight modifications of her firſt propoſals," and finally to accede to all her demands.

In a mingled ſtyle of contempt and ridicule, Mr. Fox deſcanted at large on the whole of what he called this dirty tranſaction. He defied any man to produce an inſtance half ſo degrading from the page of hiſtory. Before we armed, the object he obſerved, for which we were ſuppoſed to have embraced that meaſure, was actually abandoned; yet miniſters perſevered in their abſurd ſcheme, diſtreſſed our commerce and ſquandered the revenues of the kingdom for no one rational purpoſe, only to gratify the pride and folly of the chancellor of the exchequer, to preſerve his place for him by keeping up the appearance of conſiſtency. Such miſerable and

ruinous expedients belonged but to low and groveling minds. Careleſs of fame, and attached only to power and emolument, the right honourable gentleman had preſerved his place, but loſt his reputation. If arguments were wanting to prove the neceſſity of a reform, the conduct of adminiſtration on this occaſion ſufficiently proved it. That the pride and preſumption of one man ſhould bring calamity and diſgrace on a whole nation he thought was almoſt more than philoſophy could teach human patience to endure.

In this admired ſpeech (to which the plan of this hiſtory will not allow ſcope for doing juſtice) Mr. Fox, perhaps, added not much new matter to the arguments which had been previouſly advanced. He nevertheleſs took ſo comprehenſive a ſcope, exhibited every topic in ſo ſtriking a point of view, and while he exerciſed his accuſtomed ingenuity in viewing and reviewing the whole ſubject in every poſſible light, apparently expreſſed himſelf in ſo fair and unſtudied a manner, that this want of novelty was amply compenſated by the impreſſion produced on the minds of his hearers.

Mr. Pitt paid Mr. Fox many high compliments on the richneſs and power of his elocution; but conſidering the addreſs as rather made to the imagination than the judgment of the houſe, he very neatly converted the eloquence of his adverſary to his own advantage, by remarking, that the cauſe of oppoſition might make an artful appeal to the paſſions neceſſary, while that which he defended, ſtood in need of no ſuch aids.

He ſpoke long on the policy of preſerving the balance of power, and accuſed the other ſide of the houſe of admitting the principle, but exploding the practice. His own opinion on the ſubject, he ſaid, was clear and decided; for he was fully convinced that the intereſt and honour of this country required the moſt vigilant attention to the political ſituation of the continental powers, leſt the predominancy of any one ſhould deſtroy that equipoiſe, which he deemed neceſſary to the ſafety of the whole.

That the depreſſion of the Turkiſh empire in Europe would conſiderably affect the balance of power, he thought had been ſufficiently proved already. From the time of William III. to the preſent period, the Ottomans had always been conſidered as powerful allies, and formidable enemies.

But the great object of the Ruſſians, he remarked, had long been to acquire an aſcendency on the Black Sea; an object which they had in part effected; for, although they had not yet obtained a complete pre-eminence, they nevertheleſs divided the ſovereignty of it with the Ottomans. Should they get the whole of it into their poſſeſſion, a new naval power would ariſe, formidable to all Europe. To check therefore the rapid progreſs of the empreſs againſt the Porte, to compel her to deſiſt from war, and accept reaſonable terms of pacification, was undoubtedly the intereſt of Great Britain and her allies.

Having ſtated what he conceived to be the true policy of this country in the late diſpute, he next adverted to the inquiry, What advantages had we obtained by our intervention? In his opinion, we had gained ſeveral; 1ſt, by carrying our point relative to the navigation of the Dnieſter; and 2dly, by inducing the empreſs

empreſs to recede from her firſt unfair demand, that the Turkiſh provinces of Beſſarabia, Wallachia, and Moldavia ſhould be formed into an independent ſtate, under the government of a chriſtian prince.

In anſwer to the chargé of his having given up Oczakow to the empreſs, which he undoubtedly regarded as a place of ſome importance, calculated in the hands of the Turks to check the progreſs of the Ruſſian arms, he could only obſerve, as he before had done, that in this inſtance blame ſhould attach to his adverſaries, and not to himſelf or his colleagues; but he meant not to impute criminality to their meaſures, as they might have acted on patriotic motives, in order to ſave the effuſion of blood, and the expenditure of the public money.

Had no diviſion, however, exiſted in this country, the empreſs, he was convinced, would not have ventured a ſingle campaign. The triumph on the occaſion was certainly on Mr. Fox's ſide, if that gentleman could arrogate to himſelf any triumph over the friends and counſels of his country.

He acknowledged that a time had exiſted, when the ſame terms which had been ultimately obtained with an armed force, might have been obtained without one. But as thoſe terms had been refuſed at the period alluded to, and as we afterwards armed, had we diſarmed immediately upon a change of ſyſtem, it was highly probable that we ſhould never have gained the very conditions which we at firſt rejected. On the whole, he flattered himſelf that the houſe would not liſten to general terms of unmerited obloquy, but put a liberal conſtruction on the motives which had directed his conduct.

After Mr. Pitt had concluded, Mr. Fox, in a ſhort ſpeech remarked, that both in and out of office he had always regarded Ruſſia as a deſireable ally for this kingdom. Ruſſia, of all the powers in Europe, ſcarcely excepting Holland, he conceived to be that power with which the cultivation of reciprocal ties of friendſhip, both commercial and political, was moſt natural and moſt important.

The principal ſpeakers on the miniſterial ſide were Mr. Jenkinſon and Mr. Grant; on the ſide of oppoſition Mr. Whitbread, colonel Macleod (who in the former ſeſſion ſupported the miniſter) Mr. Grey, Mr. Windham, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Francis: Mr. Burke was not preſent. When the firſt reſolution was put, it was negatived; on the ſecond, the previous queſtion was carried; and on the third, a diviſion took place, Ayes 118—noes 244.

On the ſame day that Mr. Grey in the houſe of commons moved for papers illuſtrative of the Ruſſian negociation, Earl Fitzwilliam brought forward in the houſe of lords ſeveral ſtrong reſolutions, containing an indirect cenſure of the whole tranſaction. They were, "1. That it appears to this houſe, that the empreſs of Ruſſia (whoſe uncontroverted aſſertion to the Pruſſian and Britiſh miniſters at Peterſburgh, that the courts of Berlin and London had acknowledged and avowed that ſhe had been unjuſtly attacked and provoked) communicated to his majeſty's miniſters by her miniſter at this court, the count de Woronzow, on the 26th of May 1790, the following as the loweſt terms on

which she was ready to make peace with her enemies.—1st, The re-establishment of the treaties subsisting at the moment of the rupture; 2dly, the cession of the void and uncultivated territory which extends as far as the Dniester (containing nothing of importance, except the single town of Oczakow) so as this river may hereafter serve as a frontier between Russia and Turkey:

2. That in answer to this communication, his Majesty's ministers observed to the Russian minister, count Woronzow, that these propositions appear little calculated to conciliate the minds either of the king of Sweden or the Porte. The cession of Oczakow with its territories to Russia might meet with the greatest opposition on the part of the Turks, and consequently serve rather to prolong than terminate the calamities of war:

3. That in the month of August 1790, the king of Sweden concluded a peace with the empress of Russia, without the intervention of Great Britain:

4. That after the peace had been concluded with the king of Sweden, and during the course of a successful campaign, the same propositions respecting terms of peace with the Porte, as had heretofore been offered by the empress of Russia, were again repeated by his Swedish majesty on different occasions, and particularly so on the 31st of October 1790, accompanied, on that occasion, by a declaration, that the conditions of peace would always consist of the same terms on her part:

5. That those propositions having been invariable on the part of the empress from the 26th of May 1790, a message was delivered on the 28th of March last, by his majesty's ministers to the two houses of parliament. The resolution then proceeded to state his majesty's message.

6. That a great naval armament was immediately ordered to be equipped: that subsequent to this armament, a negociation was resumed by his majesty's minister at Petersburgh on the 26th of May 1791, for the express purpose of securing a defensive frontier to the Turkish empire, as a point of the highest importance to the security and independence of that power, and essential for the maintenance of the permanent tranquillity of Europe; which negociation was concluded by adopting the proposition made by the empress on the 26th of May 1790, to his majesty's ministers; and not only admitted as the basis of an accommodation, but it was further declared, on the part of his majesty's minister, that if the said terms were not accepted by the Porte within four months, the termination of the war should be left to the course of events:

7. That the negociations of the British cabinet, during a period of fourteen months, from May 26 1790, backed and enforced by the weight and formidable authority of a great naval armament, equipped for that express purpose, had no effect with respect to the interests of the Ottoman Porte, unless that of retarding the conclusion of peace between that power and Russia, and of extending the calamities of war for two unnecessary and more destructive campaigns to the Turks; nor any with respect to the interests of Great Britain, but that of exposing the honour, hazarding the tranquillity of the kingdom, and of cramping

cramping the extent, and endangering the ſafety of its commerce by an unneceſſary and moſt expenſive diſplay of naval equipment, which had no beneficial object in view, and which obtained no national advantage whatever."

Theſe reſolutions were negatived by a majority of 63—82 to 19. Not diſcouraged, however, by their firſt failure, the oppoſition renewed the ſubject on the 27th of February by a ſtill ſtronger meaſure. On that day, lord Porcheſter moved a direct cenſure on his majeſty's miniſters, for abuſing the confidence of that houſe; the motion was nevertheleſs negatived by a greater majority than the preceding one, the numbers being 98 to 19. To particularize theſe debates, would be to repeat the ſame arguments with very little modification, which we have juſt detailed from the reports of the proceedings in the houſe of commons. The complexion of both debates was rather warmer than what is uſual in that houſe. At the cloſe of the firſt debate, the duke of Leeds roſe to defend his conduct in reſigning his official ſituation, when adminiſtration in the preceding year ſhifted its ground, and abandoned the ſyſtem of war. His grace forcibly argued upon the policy of this ſyſtem, on which adminiſtration had committed itſelf in the eyes of all Europe; but, added he, when I found in my colleagues a diſpoſition to depart from it, duty to my king, reſpect to my country, and, permit me to ſay, to my own feelings pointed out the only line which I had to purſue. I laid thoſe ſeals at the feet of his majeſty, with which he had been pleaſed ſo long to honour me. Immediately after the diſcuſſion on his majeſty's meſſage in both houſes of parliament, adminiſtration, he remarked, determined for reaſons which he could not juſtify to himſelf, to abandon the preciſe object of the armament at the moment it commenced. Had they met the queſtion fairly and fully laſt year, when repeatedly called upon for explanation (and here he took ſhame to himſelf for the part he had acted in reſiſting all explanation on the ſubject) he was convinced, that the nation at large would have given a hearty concurrence to their meaſures.

The ſimplicity, candour, and manlineſs of his grace's declarations on this occaſion were highly extolled by the oppoſition in both houſes, who endeavoured to contraſt it, in the moſt diſadvantageous point of view, with the language and conduct of the miniſters remaining in office.

Earl Stanhope, who had voted againſt the armament in the former ſeſſion, becauſe he thought a war with Ruſſia neither founded in juſtice, policy, nor neceſſity, ſupported adminiſtration on theſe queſtions. He reſted the ground of his ſupport on the defence made by miniſters themſelves, who profeſſed to have reſigned their own opinions to the opinions of the people. After declaring himſelf a warm friend to the principles of the conſtitution, he recommended a cloſe alliance with France. United with her, he aſſerted, we might eaſily preſerve the balance of power, and awe all the neighbouring ſtates from projects of ambition and aggrandizement.

The Ruſſian armament was not the only meaſure in which the wiſdom of adminiſtration was arraigned; its conduct in the Indian war was equally cenſured. The ſame

ground indeed had been traverſed in the former ſeſſion; but the oppoſition ſeemed to flatter themſelves, that they might be able to produce new articles of crimination, or additional proofs of old ones. With this view major Maitland moved Feb. 9th. for the following papers: "Copies of all orders or inſtructions from the court of directors, or the ſecret committee, to the government of India, relative to the conduct to be obſerved towards Tippoo Sultan, or the Nizam, from the 1ſt of January 1788, to the receipt of the firſt accounts from India of the commencement of hoſtilities with Tippoo.

"Copies of minutes of all conſultations of the Bengal government relative to any negociation between earl Cornwallis and the Nizam in 1789.

"Copies of all correſpondence between the court of directors, or the ſecret committee, and the government of India, relative to any negociation carried on by earl Cornwallis with the Nizam in 1789.

"Copies of all parts of letters from earl Cornwallis, or the preſidency of Fort St. George relative to a conſiderable loan of money promiſed by earl Cornwallis to the Mahrattas in June 1791. And,

"Copies of all accounts received by the court of directors in their public or ſecret capacity, from their ſervants in India, relative to propoſals for peace, either written or verbal, made by Tippoo Sultan ſince the commencement of the preſent war; together with the reaſons aſſigned for not accepting the ſame, according to the lateſt advices."

Mr. Hippiſley likewiſe, at the ſame time, moved for copies of all letters reſpecting the purchaſe of Cranganore and Jacottah, by the rajah of Travancore.

In favour of the production of theſe papers it was argued, that no poſſible danger could ariſe from a liberal diſcuſſion on great and important queſtions, relative to the origin or conduct of a war, at any period, except to the partial views of adminiſtration, which might thus perhaps be fairly and fully expoſed. To the intereſts of the people ſuch diſcuſſions would be always beneficial. To withhold the particular papers moved for would be a manifeſt injuſtice, not only to the houſe, which had a right to inſtitute an enquiry, but to the public at large, who ought to receive information from authority. If the war, agreeably perhaps to the idea of its advocates, was already terminated, all pretexts on the ſcore of ſecrecy were of courſe annihilated; if it ſtill continued, it would nevertheleſs be probably at an end before the reſult of any debate could reach India; but if it was ſuppoſed, that the war might be protracted even beyond that period, the neceſſity of an immediate enquiry appeared ſtill more urgent. To theſe reaſons for the propriety of producing the papers, it was added, that the refuſal of them could only be conſtrued into a confeſſion, that the war was involved in expences and calamities of the moſt ſerious nature, which miniſters did not judge it expedient to ſubmit to public view.

In reply to the foregoing obſervations it was ſaid, that the production of no papers would be reſiſted, unleſs ſuch as might lead to a diſcuſſion, the wiſdom and propriety of which could not be made manifeſt. To the production of all the papers moved

moved for by major Maitland, except the laſt, there appeared no objection; and theſe could not be produced, becauſe they had no exiſtence, government being poſſeſſed of no other information reſpecting overtures for peace made by Tippoo, than what the gazettes had already made public. Had ſuch papers however really been in the hands of miniſters they would have thought it their duty to have withheld them. It was at the ſame time remarked that diſcuſſions in that houſe might affect a war, even at ſo great a diſtance as India; and that much miſchief would have certainly accrued from the debates of the preceding ſeſſion, had not reſolutions in favour of the juſtice and neceſſity of the war been ſubſequently introduced and carried. The diſtance of India, which prevented its native princes from having any tolerable knowledge of the language, cuſtoms, and proceedings of a Britiſh parliament, was rather an argument againſt the propriety of ſuch diſcuſſions.

March 15th. On the papers thus obtained major Maitland afterwards grounded ſeveral reſolutions to the following effect; "that the letter of earl Cornwallis dated July 7, 1789, was meant to have, and has had, the full effect of a treaty executed in due form: That up to that period Tippoo gave no provocation.

That the ſaid letter was a recognition of the treaty of 1768.

That the agreement of lord Cornwallis and the Nizam, muſt naturally have convinced Tippoo, that it was intended to ſeize his country.

That the object of a ſettlement in Jacottah was the invaſion of Tippoo.

That the reſources of Bengal were too much exhauſted to ſupport the war; and that the government of Madras had directed the ſeizure of Arcot and Tanjore.

That the agreement with the Nizam was in direct violation of the moderate meaſures recommended by government in Great Britain."

Many of the arguments urged on this occaſion had been anticipated in the preceding debate for papers. Theſe however we have reſerved; to give here a ſhort and connected view of the whole.

A direct indication of a hoſtile diſpoſition in this country towards Tippoo Sultan was ſuppoſed to be contained in lord Cornwallis's letter to the Nizam of July 7th 1789, which was termed a moſt ſcandalous piece of diplomatic artifice and folly. In this letter lord Cornwallis referred to an obſolete treaty with the Nizam of 1768, one object of which had been to cement an alliance againſt the Myſorean power; but as in the ſubſequent year we had entered into another treaty offenſive and defenſive with the Myſorean chief himſelf, the former was ſuppoſed to have been virtually abandoned. In the time therefore of profound peace with Tippoo, lord Cornwallis was accuſed of having attempted to revive a treaty, in which we had bound ourſelves to hoſtile engagements againſt the chief of Myſore. Such a tranſaction was thought to have given the Sultan reaſonable cauſe for jealouſy and ſuſpicion.

On the other hand the letter was defended as a fair and judicious performance, which furniſhed the moſt convincing proofs of the pacific diſpoſition of England towards the Sultan. It expreſsly declared that this country would never enter into any inimical

inimical measures against him, unless provoked by some act of aggression on his part. That Tippoo had not taken offence at the letter was evident from his having never complained of it, or hinted at any expressions which it might be supposed to contain of a hostile tendency towards him. That it had not influenced his conduct in the attack upon Travancore was apparent from the bare circumstance of its date, which was scarcely a month before the period of his appearing at the head a powerful army in a distant quarter. Besides it was contended to be so far from lord Cornwallis's intention to revive the treaty of 1768, that at the commencement of the war he concluded a new treaty of partition with our allies. The whole letter was said to be nothing more than a proper explanation of a doubtful clause in a former treaty, conformable to the spirit of the laws of nations, and agreeable to the subsequent decisions of parliament.

The measure of sending troops to Travancore, previously to any open rupture with the sultan, was adduced as another proof of our hostile disposition towards that prince. This measure was said to have been carried into effect not only without the request, but expressly against the inclinations of the rajah, for the sole purpose of exciting alarms in the sultan's mind, that he might be irritated to hostile proceedings, and thus furnish us with an excuse for attacking him, under the pretext of supporting our ally. Or granting, that the troops were only sent to act defensively, it was argued, that as Tippoo could not possibly know the orders which had been given them, his jealousy must have been of course as much excited, as if they been actually sent to commence hostilities.

On the other hand it was maintained, that the troops entered Travancore with the full consent, and at the express desire of the rajah, wholly for his protection against the threatened hostilities of the sultan. In every point of view Tippoo was declared to have been the aggressor; and it was hinted, that he had actually formed an alliance with France for the express purpose of extirpating the British name from the Peninsula of India.

The prospects of the termination of the war, and the mode of conducting it, came next under consideration. Our resources were represented as very unequal to the contest, an opinion advanced in the debates of a former session, and then disregarded, but now corroborated by the authority of lord Cornwallis himself, who in one of his late dispatches had held a similar language. To make up our deficiency however one way or other, we had been guilty of a flagrant injustice; we had stript our ally, the nabob of Arcot, of his dominions, reducing a native prince of India to a state of indigence and beggary; a transaction which was said to exceed in turpitude all the alledged crimes of Mr. Hastings.

The change in the plan of conducting the war when lord Cornwallis first assumed the command, was adduced to prove that little could be expected from an administration thus shifting its ground, and fickle in its measures. Instead of pursuing the advantages which general Medows had gained in the Coimbetore country, with a great waste of blood and treasure, lord Corn-

wallis,

wallis abandoned them entirely, and entered upon a new and very different plan.

All chance of terminating the war with profit to ourſelves was much doubted. In the ſubſequent campaign, lord Cornwallis, it was conceived, would be leſs able to obtain ſupplies, than he had been in the former. But ſuppoſing this not to prove the caſe, and that we ſhould ſucceed to our moſt ſanguine expectation; ſuppoſing Seringapatam itſelf to be taken, and the ſultan annihilated, what would be the conſequence? By the removal of the Myſorean barrier, it was contended, we ſhould find ourſelves preſſed on all ſides by the Mahrattas, a more formidable power than that of Myſore, and become to all the princes of India an object of jealouſy and hatred.

In the courſe of theſe reflections the oppoſition ſtrongly inſinuated their want of confidence in the military talents of lord Cornwallis, at the ſame time that they profeſſed great reſpect for his private character, and the many good qualities of his heart.

On the other ſide it was maintained, that the expence of the war had been conſiderably leſs than was uſually imagined; and that our reſources were fully adequate to the probable demand upon them. The ſeizure of the Carnatic from the Nabob, was ſaid to have been made fairly and equitably, nor did miniſtry ſhrink from any diſcuſſion of the queſtion which might be brought forward. The alteration in the plan of attack at the commencement of the laſt campaign under lord Cornwallis was aſſerted to be judicious, notwithſtanding that many advantages had been acquired in the preceding campaign on a contrary plan. By the poſſeſſion of the Coimbetore country, we were made maſters of ſeveral ſtrong holds, which were of great importance to the ſultan, and which, diſtreſſed as he was, he had lately made a bold attempt to recover. General Medows's campaign was a wiſe one; lord Cornwallis's perhaps a wiſer; beſides, it was natural for them, being formed under different circumſtances, to be diſtinguiſhed by different features.

Our proſpect of final ſucceſs was declared to be almoſt certain; wiſe and equitable meaſures would then be adopted for giving additional ſecurity to our Indian poſſeſſions, againſt which no confederacy of native powers was dreaded, unleſs ſuch as might be headed by the formidable ſovereign of Myſore.

The military character of lord Cornwallis was defended in warm terms; and the conduct of the other ſide of the houſe cenſured as unfair and unmanly in attacking abſent officers, employed in the ſervice of their country.

Major Maitland's reſolutions were amended by others, purpoſely ſo framed as to convey a direct approbation where cenſure had been intended; in which form they paſſed the houſe. Theſe amendments were followed by a motion in favour of lord Cornwallis's conduct, both in a civil and military capacity, made by colonel Phipps. It was in ſubſtance, "That it appears, that the agreement entered into by lord Cornwallis with the Nizam in his letter of the 7th of July 1789, the eſtabliſhing a military port in the Travancore country, and the carrying on war againſt Tippoo in conſequence of his unprovoked aggreſſions,

sions, are consonant to the wise, moderate, and politic views established by the parliament of Great Britain, as the rule of conduct to be observed in the British settlements in India."

No division took place on this motion, and only one on the several amendments previously moved. The numbers on that division were 159 —to 42. Major Maitland's resolutions were principally supported by Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Hippisley, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Fox; they were opposed by Mr. Powis, lord Mornington, general Smith, Mr. Pybus, colonel Phipps, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt.

CHAP. XIII.

Action against Mr. Rose for the recovery of a sum expended at the Westminster Election in 1788. *Mr. Thompson's motion against persons high in office for improper interference in that election. Mr. Rose defends his own conduct. Motion opposed, because no specific charge is brought against any individual high in office. Negatived. Westminster police bill. Opposed on the principle of its extending the influence of the crown. A particular clause for the apprehension of reputed thieves objected to in both houses, and supported by the chancellor. Bill passes without alteration. Mr. Fox's libel bill passes the commons: opposed in the upper house by the chancellor, Lord Kenyon, and Lord Stormont—supported by the lords Camden and Stanhope, and the Marquis of Lansdowne. Question of the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Mr. Wilberforce. Arguments on both sides. Mr. Dundas moves a gradual abolition. Mr. Jenkinson. The amendment for a gradual abolition carried. Mr. Dundas proposes, that the total abolition shall take place January* 1, 1800. *This proposal rejected. Lord Mornington moves several shorter periods without success. Lord Carhampton. The period fixed at January* 1, 1796. *Mr. Dundas declines any further proceedings in the business. Mr. Pitt moves Mr. Dundas's propositions, with amendments. The lords agree to take evidence on the subject at the bar of their house. Mr. Sheridan's motion relative to the royal burghs of Scotland: opposed by the lord advocate of Scotland, and Mr. Anstruther—Supported by Mr. Fox—Negatived. Mr. Sheridan presents a petition from the Burgesses, praying to be heard by counsel at the bar. Petition rejected. The lord advocate introduces a bill on the subject, which is postponed for the session. Association of the "friends of the people." Mr. Grey's notice of an intended motion for a parliamentary reform. Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox. Mr. Burke. Several members of opposition disapprove of the measure. Mr. Grey's answer to the objections against his proposed motion.*

ATTEMPTS were not only made in this session to criminate administration for the imbecility and tergiversation of its public measures, but a charge of a more domestic nature was brought forwards, which, had it been fully made out, would have exposed a scan-

ſcandalous abuſe of power and miniſterial influence.

A publican, by the name of Smith, had preferred an action againſt Mr. Roſe, ſecretary to the treaſury, for the recovery of a bill of 110*l.* which was ſtated to have been a ſum expended by him, with Mr. Roſe's concurrence, in the detection of ſeveral bad votes polled for lord John Townſhend at the Weſtminſter election in the year 1788. A verdict was given on this occaſion in favour of Smith.

While the general impreſſion of this trial remained on the public mind, Mr. Thompſon March 13. introduced a motion in the houſe of commons to the following purport: "That this houſe will reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to enquire into all abuſes committed by perſons in office at the election of a member to ſerve in parliament for the city of Weſtminſter in July 1788, as far as the ſame relates to penalties incurred under the exciſe laws, or the lottery act."

Mr. Thompſon related the particulars of Mr. Roſe's tranſaction with Smith, as affording a ſufficient argument for his propoſed enquiry. Smith, he ſaid, had been convicted by the board of exciſe in a penalty of 50*l.* for having brewed beer contrary to the act; but, feeling the penalty to be ſevere, applied to Mr. Roſe, through a member of parliament, for a remiſſion of the fine. In conſequence of his ſervices, the application proved ſucceſsful, and the fine was mitigated to one half of the original ſum. The publican, however, not thoroughly ſatisfied, brought in to Mr. Roſe a bill of 110*l.* for expences incurred in the Weſtminſter election, which at firſt he had not intended to charge, but which he then reſolved to claim, unleſs his fine ſhould be wholly remitted. On the refuſal of Mr. Roſe to enter into any ſort of compromiſe, or to pay the bill, Smith commenced an action in the court of king's bench, and obtained a verdict.

Mr. Lambton ſtated another tranſaction of a ſimilar nature, which he ſaid had taken place at the ſame election.—A perſon named Hoſkins was fined in the penalty of 700*l.* under the lottery act; but being unable to pay ſuch a ſum, was committed to priſon. At the Weſtminſter election he applied to Lord Hood's agent, who was ſolicitor to the lottery, pledging himſelf to procure ſixty votes for Lord Hood, if in conſequence he might be liberated from confinement, by offering ſuch bail for his appearance as he might be able to procure. After having conſulted perſons high in office, the ſolicitor agreed to the propoſed condition; but ſo improper were the two men, who appeared to bail Hoſkins, that the clerk of the judge, before whom the neceſſary oaths were to be taken, refuſed to ſwear them, until his fears and ſcruples were allayed by the interpoſition of ſuperior authority. Hoſkins was accordingly admitted to bail, and polled the promiſed number of votes; but nothing had ſince been heard, either of him or his bail.

Mr. Roſe, in his defence, related the circumſtances ſomewhat differently. The application from Smith came to him, he ſaid, incloſed in a letter under the form of a petition, which ſtated, that the petitioner had been fined 50*l.* for brewing beer at home, but that this

this beer in reality was nothing more than ſmall beer, for the uſe of his own family; that therefore, in conſideration of the hardſhip of the conviction, and of his poverty, the petitioner hoped that Mr. Roſe would exert his influence to procure a mitigation of two thirds of the fine, particularly as the veſtry of St. Martin's would, in that caſe, give up the other third, which was forfeited to the poor of the pariſh. This petition was referred by Mr. Roſe to the board of exciſe, which rejected it, as totally founded in falſehood. Half the penalty was immediately levied, and the other half promiſed to be paid by inſtalments.

Mr. Roſe admitted the fact, that in the Weſtminſter election Smith came to him, and aſſerted, that he could detect a great number of bad votes given for Lord John Townſend; that he likewiſe, at the time, expreſſed his approbation of ſuch a proceeding. Smith afterwards brought a bill of expences; for the payment of which he referred him to Lord Hood's committee. The ſame bill was offered a ſecond time, and again refuſed to be paid by Mr. Roſe, when Smith commenced his action; and, in conſequence of the caſe made out by his counſel, ultimately obtained a verdict.

Lord Hood expreſſed his ſurpriſe at the caſe of Hoſkins, of which he had then heard for the firſt time. He remarked, that little credit could be due to the report of his agent Froſt, who had notoriouſly attempted to defraud him in his bill for agency.

Mr. Grey read to the houſe a note from Mr. Roſe to Smith, in which Mr. Roſe deſired the attendance of Smith at his own houſe, to meet Mr. Vivyan, ſolicitor to the board of exciſe. He likewiſe named Mr. Gaſcoyne, member for Liverpool, as the member of parliament through whom Smith had requeſted Mr. Roſe's interference.

Mr. Roſe obſerved, in reply, that the note was dated April 1789, after which period the penalty was actually levied; ſo that evidently no interference of his had availed Smith. He admitted that he had accidentally met Mr. Gaſcoyne at Smith's livery ſtables (where both of them kept their horſes), and that Mr. Gaſcoyne had mentioned Smith's caſe to him, and preſſed it in converſation, ſimply as a mere caſe of compaſſion. The latter circumſtance was corroborated by Mr. Gaſcoyne, who added, that he was afterwards convinced of the deception, which Smith had practiſed towards him and Mr. Roſe. Mr. Fox ſupported the motion, inſiſting that there appeared ſufficient ground for going into a committee. He informed the houſe, that in the very bill which Lord Hood had paid for agency this item occurred: "To the expence of finding bail for the action againſt Hoſkins."

The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, becauſe no preciſe charge had been brought againſt any individual high in office; but only vague aſſertions had been made againſt the conduct of the board of exciſe, and the ſolicitor of the lottery. He aſked Mr. Lambton if he would come forward with a ſpecific charge, and name the individual high in office, whom he meant to accuſe.

Mr. Lambton replied, that he did not think himſelf juſtified in naming any one. If a committee were granted, an enquiry might be inſtituted, and culpability be fixed

ſome-

ſomewhere. The attorney general remarked, that the ſum for which Hoſkins had given bail could only have been an action of debt ſued out by Froſt as a mere individual. Had it been an action in which government was intereſted, the ſolicitor to the lottery would have been bound in duty to have conſulted him, which had never been done.

The members of oppoſition were on this occaſion extremely ſevere on the other ſide of the houſe. Mr. Windham, in particular, remarked, that, if an enquiry was refuſed, thoſe miniſters, whom it had been the faſhion to repreſent as paragons of purity and virtue, would ſtand unmaſked and expoſed in their natural and true colours. The gay embroidered ſuit, in which they had decked themſelves, and under which they had ſtrutted in magnificent diſguiſe, would be torn off, and they would appear in the tattered rags of their genuine deformity. They would ſtand like the uncaſed Frenchman, which the licentiouſneſs of our ſtage is too apt to exhibit in ridicule, in ruffles without a ſhirt, in tinſel and lace on the outſide, in dirt and dowlas within. On a diviſion, the numbers were—84 to 221; the motion being negatived by a majority of 137.

The next ſubject of any importance, which occupied the attention of parliament, was one apparently of no party deſcription, but which was nevertheleſs conſtrued into an attempt, on the part of miniſtry, to increaſe by indirect means the influence of the crown. Mr. Burton, purſuant to a previous notice, moved for leave to bring in a bill, the object of which was to render more effectual the adminiſtration of juſtice in ſuch parts of Middleſex as lie in or near the metropolis. His plan, he ſaid, had been countenanced by gentlemen of both parties, and gentlemen of no party. The bill was afterwards accordingly brought in, which went to eſtabliſh a certain number of offices for the adminiſtration of juſtice in the neighbourhood of London, and a ſufficient number of magiſtrates to attend thoſe offices, who were to be appointed and paid for their attendance by the crown.

March 16.

The friends of the bill urged in its favour the neceſſity of ſome ſuch regulation, for preventing the flagrant abuſes of juſtice, which were practiſed by perſons well known under the appellation of trading juſtices, and likewiſe for providing a proper number of offices, at which redreſs might on all occaſions be fairly and ſpeedily obtained. It was not intended to infringe the exiſting ſyſtem of county magiſtracy in a particular diſtrict, but only to eſtabliſh regular offices, where the exaction of fees for the tranſaction of buſineſs might alone be legally allowed.

A conſiderable oppoſition, however, was made to that part of the bill, which gave to the crown the appointment of the new magiſtrates, with a fixed and liberal ſalary, as ſuch an appointment would throw an additional weight into that ſcale, which was already too heavy. But it was obſerved, in reply, that the new magiſtrates, who received a regular ſtipend from the crown, would, in all probability, prove more reſpectable and independent than thoſe who, receiving no ſalary at all, too frequently crept into the commiſſion of the peace ſolely for the ſake of the fees and emolu-

emoluments of office. To meet likewiſe all objections on this head it was ſtated, that the bill would be only temporary, expiring after a period of three years.

In another ſtage of the bill a warm oppoſition was made to a clauſe, which enabled conſtables to apprehend *reputed thieves*. It was contended, that the expreſſion "*reputed thieves*" was too vague and indefinite; that to apprehend and puniſh an individual on ſuſpicion only, without proof of guilt, would be the height of injuſtice; and that the whole clauſe completely reverſed the fundamental principle of the criminal law—"That innocence muſt be ſuppoſed, where guilt cannot be proved."

The clauſe was defended not only on the ground of precedent, ſimilar powers, or at leaſt powers nearly ſimilar, having been given by former acts, but on that of expediency, and even of abſolute neceſſity. No difficulty, it was conceived, could poſſibly occur in aſcertaining, who were reputed thieves, that deſcription of perſons unfortunately being too notorious. On the ſuppoſition, however, that the magiſtrate acted improperly, and abuſed his power, the court of king's-bench would be open to the party aggrieved. In the courſe of this debate ſome inſinuations were thrown out againſt the views of miniſters, who, although not the original propoſers, were zealous ſupporters of the bill. When a diviſion took place, the clauſe was carried by a conſiderable majority.

In the houſe of lords the bill was diſcuſſed late in the ſeſſion, when little was advanced in objection to it, except ſome few remarks on the above-mentioned clauſe, of a ſimilar tendency to thoſe which had been ſuggeſted in the houſe of commons. The lord chancellor aſſerted in defence of the clauſe, that it was by no means repugnant to the common law, nor did it contain any reaſonable ground of alarm. He remarked, that the perſon to be apprehended muſt be proved to be a reputed thief, at leaſt ſufficient reaſons for ſuppoſing him to be a man of ſuch a deſcription muſt be given on oath before the magiſtrate; that the perſon thus apprehended would have it in his power to diſprove, if he could, the accuſation brought againſt him; and that no man couſd be deemed a reputed thief, unleſs he was found loitering about in ſuch a manner, and under ſuch circumſtances, as might create reaſonable ſuſpicions of his character and intentions. No amendment of any kind being propoſed, the bill paſſed without the ſlighteſt alteration.

At the ſame time that the regulation of the police in the vicinity of the metropolis was under the conſideration of parliament, Mr. Fox's libel bill*, which had been loſt by a motion of delay in the preceding ſeſſion, was again introduced, and paſſed the houſe of commons without oppoſition; but occaſioned conſiderable diſcuſſion in the houſe of lords. On the ſecond reading the lord chancellor ſpoke againſt it in a very deciſive tone, convinced, that its principle militated againſt what he believed to have been the uniform practice of almoſt every judge, who had ſat in the court of king's-bench March 16.

* Vol. xxxiii. p. 142.

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from the days of Elizabeth. Conceiving that it would be an inſtance of unbecoming precipitation in the houſe to proceed with a meaſure of ſuch legal importance, while the judges were on their circuits, he propoſed that the further conſideration of the bill ſhould be deferred to the 24th of April, which propoſal was accordingly adopted.

When the ſubject was reſumed, Lord Kenyon ſpoke on the ſame ſide with the chancellor. Several legal queſtions were then referred by both parties to the judges for their deciſion.

May 18. On the day, when * the anſwers of the judges were taken into conſideration, Lord Camden came forward, under the preſſure of age and infirmity, to give the bill his moſt cordial ſupport. He thought the anſwers of the judges far from being ſatisfactory, as they had carefully avoided giving any opinion on the main point of the bill, and confined themſelves ſolely to collateral ſubjects. Not a doubt, he declared, remained in his mind on the general principle of the bill, that juries were and ought to be the only judges of the queſtion of a libel, that they were competent to decide on the intention as well as fact of the publication. He contended, that this opinion was ſtrictly conformable to the general bent of all the charges that have been given by the ableſt judges for many centuries paſt; in proof of which aſſertion he entered into a long hiſtorical detail of authorities from the time of Bracton.

Earl Stanhope warmly ſupported the ſame ſide of the queſtion; Lord Stormont ſpoke on the other ſide, in conformity to the opinion of Earl Mansfield, which was declared to be decidedly againſt the bill.

In a reſumed debate, the Marquis of Lanſdowne animadverted with much ſeverity on the anſwers of the judges to the queſtions which had been propoſed to them, and ſpoke at conſiderable length in ſupport of the bill. It was likewiſe ſupported with much effect by Lords Loughborough, Grenville, Portcheſter, and Lauderdale; and oppoſed as before by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Kenyon. A diviſion took place on the queſtion of commitment, when the numbers were, for the commitment 57, againſt it 32.

June 1. After the houſe had reſolved itſelf into a committee, the chancellor again ineffectually oppoſed it, and defended his former poſition, that the eſtabliſhed practice of the courts diſcountenanced its general principle. He moved an amendment to the firſt clauſe, the object of which was, that the judge ſhould ſtate to the jury the legal effect of the record. His amendment was negatived without a diviſion.

Another meaſure, in which the two leaders of the lower houſe accorded in ſentiment, but which they had ſupported without ſucceſs in the preceding ſeſſion, was the abolition of the ſlave trade.

April 2. Mr. Wilberforce opened the debate with his uſual order, and retracing his former argument, reprobated in the ſtrongeſt language the injuſtice and inhumanity of the traffic. He deſcribed the many cruel and unfair modes of obtaining ſlaves on the

* See them in the Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 69*.

African coaſt, the horrors which they endured in the middle paſſage, and their innumerable ſufferings in the Weſt Indies. His motion was, "that it is the opinion of this committee (a committee of the whole houſe), that the trade carried on by Britiſh ſubjects, for the purpoſe of obtaining ſlaves on the coaſt of Africa, ought to be aboliſhed."

The opponents of Mr. Wilberforce's motion, as on the former occaſion, contended, that the numerous acts of cruelties, to which the ſlaves were ſaid to be expoſed, were founded, at leaſt moſt of them, in miſapprehenſion, and much exaggerated. They complained, that the feelings of the houſe had been unfairly biaſſed againſt the trade by the recital of enormities, many of which exiſted only in idea. But the impolicy of the propoſed abolition was principally urged on this ſide of the queſtion. It was remarked, either that the planters would be inevitably ruined by the meaſure, or that they would procure a ſupply of ſlaves by the medium of foreign nations. On the firſt ſuppoſition an attempt at abolition would be dangerous; on the ſecond it would be futile.

It was as confidently argued on the other hand, that the ruin of the planters could not be the neceſſary conſequence of the abolition, the population of the negroes being at preſent ſo conſiderable, and ſo much on the increaſe, that no future ſupply would be wanted.

In order to conciliate the contending parties, Mr. Dundas came forward with a propoſal, that inſtead of an immediate a gradual abolition ſhould take place; and to ſuch an effect moved an amendment on Mr. Wilberforce's motion. His plan was ſupported by the ſpeaker, and oppoſed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox. Mr. Jenkinſon, however, ſtill fearing, that even a gradual abolition would be hazardous, unleſs ſome meaſure was adopted to increaſe the ſtock of ſlaves by holding forth encouragement to propagation, propoſed, that premiums ſhould be granted to the proprietors or overſeers of plantations, where the greateſt number of children ſhould be reared, and that a bounty of five pounds per head ſhould be given for every woman, under twenty-five years of age, imported in any ſhip above the equal proportion of males and females in the cargo. A diviſion took place on Mr. Jenkinſon's propoſitions, which were negatived by a majority of 147. Mr. Dundas's amendment was then put and carried, 193 to 125.

After ſome little delay the ſubject was reſumed by Mr. Dundas, who wiſhed not to fix on too ſhort a period for the abolition, that the planters might have time to try, by proper treatment, how far they might be able to increaſe the population of the negroes; for if they were prevented from ſuch a trial, their only alternative would be to procure freſh ſupplies of ſlaves from other nations, a traffic, which it might not be in our power to prevent or limit. He read ſeveral reſolutions to the following effect: April 23.

"That from May 1, 1792, it ſhall not be lawful for ſhips to be fitted out from any port of Great Britain, to be employed in the ſlave trade, except ſuch as were previouſly employed or contracted for.

That

That from October 10, 1792, no ships shall be fitted out from any port in our West India islands.

That from May 1, 1793, it shall not be lawful to export negroes to foreign islands or colonies.

That from May 1, 1793, no greater proportion of males than females shall be imported.

That from the said time it shall not be lawful to import males above twenty, nor females above sixteen years of age.

That from October 10, 1797, duties be laid on every male negro, according to his stature, from five pounds to fifteen pounds.

That from October 10, 1792, it shall not be lawful to import negroes from foreign islands.

That it shall not be lawful to import any negroes whatever after January 1, 1800.

That a committee be appointed to enquire into, and report, the losses sustained by merchants and others in consequence of these resolutions.

That provision be made for inflicting exemplary punishment on any person who shall be guilty of abuses on the coast of Africa, in the prosecution of the slave trade, while it continues.

That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying him to take such measures as his wisdom may suggest, to induce the other powers of Europe to abandon the African slave trade."

The advocates for an immediate abolition expressed themselves much dissatisfied with Mr. Dundas's plan, convinced, that the present stock of negroes on our islands were fully adequate to their cultivation, and by proper treatment would continue to be so without the least necessity of fresh supplies.

The subject was again debated on the 25th and 29th of April, and the 1st of May. When Mr. Dundas moved his first resolution, it was opposed by Lord Mornington, who, in an animated speech, contended that the British parliament had an undoubted right to abolish the trade, notwithstanding any previous sanction, which it might be supposed to have given. The utility of a continuation of this inhuman commerce to the real welfare of our islands he positively denied; and conceiving the point at issue to be in fact a question of feeling, he disdained to reason on the impolicy of the measure. He proposed that the trade should be abolished on the 1st of January 1793.

After a long discussion, in which the subject was again argued with much ability, but little novelty, his lordship's proposal was negatived by a majority of 49.

Not discouraged by this want of success, Lord Mornington, on a subsequent day, moved a second amendment, "that the trade do cease on the 1st of January 1795."

Lord Carhampton, in a style of poignant irony, ridiculed the enthusiastical fervor with which a subject of such importance had been debated. He lashed with equal severity the two political rivals of that house, who had employed their great abilities in the joint support of a fanatical, unjust, and injurious project, and who by speechifying from hour to hour, and day to day, had talked the young members out of their senses, and the old ones out of all patience.

Lord Mornington's amendment was rejected by a majority of 40, after which, at the propoſal of Sir E Knatchbull, the period was finally fixed for January 1, 1796, Sir Edward's amendment being carried by a majority of 19—151 to 132.

Mr. Dundas declining all further proceedings in the buſineſs, as his firſt reſolution had been ſo unexpectedly reſtricted, Mr. Pitt aſſumed the lead, and moved ſeveral of that gentleman's reſolutions, with various modifications and amendments, all of which were adopted by the houſe.

May 8. When the buſineſs came before the peers, Lord Stormont propoſed, that evidence ſhould be taken on the ſubject, and an enquiry be made into the preſent ſtate of the Weſt Indian iſlands, the average quantity of rum and ſugar which they produced, and the whole of their trade. In order to expedite the enquiry, Lord Grenville wiſhed it to take place in a committee above ſtairs, and not at the bar of the houſe; and made a motion to ſuch effect. This motion, however, was negatived by a majority of 27, from an idea, that the faireſt and fulleſt evidence would be taken at the bar of the houſe. The Duke of Clarence, who ſpoke for the firſt time in parliament, argued againſt the abolition, conceiving the trade abſolutely neceſſary to the welfare of our colonies. The declaration of Lord Grenville, that he had already made up his mind on the ſubject from information previouſly acquired, was highly cenſured by ſeveral lords, who conſidering it as meant to inſinuate, that little evidence was requiſite, contended, that too minute and complete an inveſtigation could not be made, before they ventured on the hazardous experiment of aboliſhing a trade which had been carried on during a century and a half under charter from the crown, and under the repeated ſanctions of parliament. At different periods afterwards, until the cloſe of the ſeſſion, evidence was accordingly taken at the bar of the houſe.

While the queſtion of the abolition of the ſlave trade was ſtill under diſcuſſion in the houſe of commons, Mr. Sheridan made his April 18. long intended motion relative to the royal burghs of Scotland. After much minute inveſtigation, he was enabled to lay before the houſe, what he thought would amount to a ſufficient proof of the ſtated grievances. He ſeemed ſenſible that objections might be made to his propoſal for an enquiry into the evils complained of, upon the ground, that reform led to innovation, innovation to revolution, and revolution to anarchy. But ſuch a mode of reaſoning appeared to him directly hoſtile to the very ſpirit of our conſtitution; for the whole hiſtory of the Britiſh conſtitution exhibited little but an eternal ſeries of reforms. Nor could he perceive any thing in the French revolution, which ſhould make him pauſe on the preſent occaſion. That glorious event ought rather in his idea to be a real cauſe of joy and exultation, as it had annihilated the reſtleſs intrigues and ambitious projects of the ancient government, that perpetual ſource of alarm. By ſecuring to us tranquillity abroad, it afforded us leiſure to examine and correct abuſes at home. A

ſpirit of enquiry had gone forth among all claſſes of men; a ſober and rational reform was demanded; if all redreſs therefore ſhould be denied, the people he feared might be driven to the miſerable and alarming neceſſity of abandoning their repreſentives in parliament, and of ſelecting for themſelves leaders of another deſcription. He propoſed, that a committee of enquiry ſhould take into conſideration the papers on the table, which ſtated the exiſtence of certain grievances in the royal burghs of Scotland; and, if it appeared, that the alledged grievances were founded in fact, ſhould ſuggeſt ſome ſuitable remedy.

The lord advocate of Scotland conceived, that all the evils, of which the petitions on the table complained, might be claſſed under the three following heads; 1ſt. That the inhabitants of the royal burghs were liable to an illegal exaction of taxes which they were incapable of reſiſting; 2dly. That there exiſted inſtances of groſs miſconduct and violation of duty in the reſpective magiſtrates of the burghs; and 3dly. That there was no court in Scotland which could claim any kind of juriſdiction over thoſe magiſtrates, or to which they were in the leaſt reſponſible. The two firſt grievances he treated as totally groundleſs, affirming that, if any magiſtrates exacted illegal taxes from the burgeſſes, the court of ſeſſion would grant immediate redreſs. The laſt he admitted only in part, acknowledging that there did not exiſt any court in Scotland competent to demand from the magiſtrates the production of their accounts. In this particular only he thought the legal juriſdiction to be defective. If Mr. Sheridan would bring forward any fair and reaſonable propoſition to counteract this evil, he declared himſelf ready to give it his cordial ſupport; but he rather ſeemed to ſuſpect, that the intention was to ſubvert, if poſſible, the whole conſtitution of the burghs, under the pretext of reforming abuſes.

Mr. Fox contended, that, when aſſertion, as in the preſent inſtance, was oppoſed by aſſertion, the duty of the houſe was to inſtitute an enquiry. The grievances, which were ſtated to exiſt in the Scottiſh burghs, had been treated as imaginary ones; but ſurely, he remarked, evident as were the numerous abuſes of the Engliſh boroughs, was it poſſible that in a country, where there were avowedly no checks, things ſhould be better conducted than in one where there were ſo many? The petitioners, he hoped, would come to parliament with their complaints from year to year, until they forced it to redreſs their grievances; forced it, not by the adoption of any unjuſtifiable means, but by the juſtice and reaſonableneſs of their cauſe. No danger to the peace of Scotland was in his idea to be apprehended from any conſequences of the propoſed enquiry; but much if the enquiry was not granted; for popular exceſſes might in ſome degree be expected, where redreſs of grievances had been peremptorily and repeatedly refuſed.

Mr. Anſtruther ſupported the ſame ſide of the queſtion as the lord advocate, maintaining, that the immenſe quantity of papers on the table contained only aſſertions, without the evidence of a ſingle fact to ſubſtantiate them.

Mr. Sheridan, in reply, perſiſted in the propriety of an enquiry. The redreſs, for which he contended, muſt, he ſaid, and ſhould be granted; for in a time of increaſing reaſon and declining prejudice, in theſe days of light and liberality, the cauſe of truth would gain by every diſcuſſion, until it finally prevailed. This motion for a committee was loſt by a majority of 42, ayes 27, noes 69.

April 30. At a ſubſequent period in the ſeſſion, Mr. Sheridan preſented a petition on behalf of the burgeſſes of the royal burghs, who prayed to be heard by counſel at the bar of the houſe, in order to prove the aſſertions contained in the papers, which had been the object of the former motion. Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt oppoſed him, principally on the ground, that the reception of ſuch a petition would be contrary to the uniform practice of the houſe, which permitted only private petitions to be heard by counſel at the bar. As the petition therefore had a public object expreſſed in it, namely, the reformation of the royal burghs of Scotland, it could not be received.

The other ſide of the houſe ſtrongly reprobated this oppoſition of the miniſters, as ariſing from a total diſinclination to redreſs grievances, ſupported by petty ſhifts and paltry tricks, which would not always be capable of defeating the purpoſes of juſtice. The ſpeaker remarked, that the rule of hearing only private petitions by counſel at the bar was general, but not abſolute, as exceptions to it had occurred. Having, however, ſome doubts on the ſubject in his own mind, he left it to the deciſion of the houſe. The petition was rejected.

After this ſecond failure on the part of oppoſition, the lord advocate came forward, and propoſed a bill "for the better regulating the mode of accounting for the common goods and revenues of the royal burghs of Scotland." He explained his intention to be, not to ſubvert the preſent ſyſtem of government in the royal burghs, as he conceived Mr. Sheridan would have done, but only to reduce it to its ancient reſponſibility. He named the Scottiſh court of exchequer as the court to which he meant to make the magiſtrates amenable for their conduct.

Mr. Fox obſerved, that as the learned lord had denied the exiſtence of many abuſes which, in his own opinion, at leaſt to a certain degree, really did exiſt, he feared, that the propoſed meaſure would only prove a partial remedy to a partial grievance.

In conſequence of Mr. Sheridan's unavoidable abſence from the houſe, the lord advocate's bill only arrived at the ſecond reading, when it was poſtponed for the ſeſſion.

But the attention of oppoſition was not ſolely occupied with the conſideration of abuſes ſtated to exiſt in the internal government of the Scottiſh burghs; it was likewiſe directed to the more important object of effecting a change in the general repreſentation of the people in parliament. An aſſociation had been recently eſtabliſhed, the declared object of which was to procure what is commonly called a reform in parliament, and to ſhorten the period of its duration. Several reſpectable members of the houſe of commons patronized this aſ-

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ſociation, which aſſumed the title of "The Friends of the People," and lent it the credit of their names. Lord Lauderdale, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan, were ſaid to be the principal founders and directors of it. It was in conſequence of a reſolution, which was adopted by this ſociety, that Mr. Grey came forward with a notice of his intention to move for a parliamentary reform at ſome period in the ſubſequent ſeſſion. He remarked, that abuſes had been permitted to creep into the conſtitution through neglect, or had been introduced into it by corruption, and that to ſo great a degree as to threaten its very exiſtence;—in his idea, therefore, a reform was the only means left to prevent its ſpeedy and total decay. If the members of the houſe of commons were not to be conſidered as the true repreſentatives of the people, the greateſt evils were to be feared, the worſt of dangers to be apprehended. The times were critical, and the minds of people much agitated; nothing, therefore, he thought, but ſuch a meaſure as he meant to propoſe, would effectually preſerve the peace of the public, and the general tranquillity. He gave this early notice, that the ſubject might be well conſidered before the period of its diſcuſſion, and that the ſentiments of the nation might in the mean time be fully aſcertained.

April 30th.

Mr. Pitt obſerved, that as it was not ſtrictly regular to make any obſervations on the mere notice of a motion, he would not deliver his ſentiments on the preſent occaſion without the permiſſion of the ſpeaker. As the houſe ſeemed particularly anxious to hear him, the ſpeaker did not oppoſe his proceeding. If ever there were a time, continued he, when the ſubject of a parliamentary reform ought not to be agitated, the preſent was that period. The part, which he had himſelf formerly acted on a ſimilar occaſion was well known to the houſe; but he felt unwilling to dwell on any perſonal topics, as the queſtion propoſed for diſcuſſion involved ſomething more than the character, the fortune, the liberty, or the life of any individual. The public, however, had a right to know the ſentiments which he held on ſuch a ſubject, and the motives which then induced him to oppoſe meaſures that he had formerly ſupported. When he had himſelf propoſed a parliamentary reform, the complexion of the times was different in every reſpect from what it then was. Real grievances were practically felt, and a direct contrariety exiſted between the opinions of parliament and the opinions of the people. The country was in a ſtate of actual diſtreſs, a national bankruptcy dreaded, and the public mind almoſt bordering on abſolute deſpair. In this ſituation ſomething he had conceived ought to be attempted to counteract ſuch alarming evils, by reſtoring to the people that confidence in parliament which they ſeemed to have loſt. A parliamentary reform had appeared to him adequate to ſuch an effect; a meaſure which, at the time, would have ſatisfied the nation, and was not likely to have gone beyond its declared object. The caſe, he remarked, at preſent was widely different—By the bleſſing of Providence we enjoyed an unexampled ſtate of political happineſs; and the gloom, which had brooded over the public mind, mak-

ing it out of humour with every thing around it, was completely diſperſed. It was impoſſible, by any attempt at reform, to make the nation eaſier or happier. On the other hand, much real evil would unavoidably attend it; the ſecurity of all the bleſſings, which we poſſeſſed, might be ſhaken to the very foundation. For ſuch was the temper of too many reformers out of doors, that moderate meaſures were not likely to ſatisfy them; they wiſhed not to preſerve, but to ſubvert the conſtitution. At the cloſe of the American war, little could have been loſt, and much might have been gained; but then, little could be gained, and all might be loſt. Such were his principal objections to the time, when this ſubject was brought forward;—objections, which he thought ſufficiently accounted for the altered line of conduct he propoſed to purſue, ſtill retaining his opinion of the propriety of a parliamentary reform, whenever it might ſeem attainable without danger or miſchief, by a general concurrence, and harmleſsly pointed at its preciſe and determinate object. He complained, that inſtead of coming forward at once with ſome ſpecific propoſition on the ſubject, Mr. Grey had given an indiſtinct notice, which would naturally agitate the public mind for a conſiderable period, and ſet to work many dangerous and deſigning theoriſts. Of this latter deſcription he conceived ſome of that ſociety to be, with which he grieved to find a man of Mr. Grey's talents and character unhappily connected. The aim of ſuch people was nothing leſs than to deſtroy the Britiſh conſtitution, and to erect on its ruins that mad ſyſtem, which had been miſnamed liberty in another country;—a ſyſtem at war with freedom and good order, to which deſpotiſm itſelf was preferable. From apprehenſions of this nature he declared, that he would rather relinquiſh all hopes of ever ſeeing a reform of any kind, than ſupport one attended with ſuch ſuſpicious and alarming circumſtances.

Mr. Fox attacked the miniſter on the inconſiſtency of his conduct. The danger, he contended, which formerly threatened the liberty of the people, ſtill threatened it. So deep, indeed, was the neceſſity of a parliamentary reform impreſt on the public mind, that, unleſs ſome adequate meaſure of this deſcription was propoſed and adopted, it would be impoſſible, he feared, long to preſerve the internal tranquillity of the kingdom. If a variance in opinion between the people and their repreſentatives could ever have been thought a ſufficient argument for the propoſal of a reform, that argument at the preſent period ſhould, in his idea, have double weight; for is it poſſible, ſaid he, for a more ſtriking inſtance of ſuch an oppoſition in ſentiment ever to have exiſted, than that of the late armament againſt Ruſſia?

In reply to Mr. Pitt's animadverſions on the ſociety, of which Mr. Grey was a member, he remarked, that, if the allies of oppoſition were infuriated republicans, thoſe of the miniſter were the ſlaves of deſpotiſm; both equally hoſtile to rational liberty, but the former in the leaſt degree. He conceived that Mr. Pitt, when he alluded to the mad ſpeculations out of doors, principally had in view a book, entitled, "The Rights of Man," which mocked all ideas of reform

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in our government, and rather went to a total change of it.—Sorry he was to hear thoſe, who profeſſed a reverence for the conſtitution, charged with having taken up the ſentiments of a work, which was an acknowledged libel on it. On the ſubject of innovation, he confeſſed that he had no apprehenſions. If innovation was then wrong, it could not have been right when formerly propoſed by the miniſter himſelf. The longer a reform was delayed, the more urgent would it become; he therefore thought that precautions ſhould be taken in time, to prevent the malady from increaſing, until it required a deſperate remedy.

He conceived the greateſt beauty in our conſtitution to be, that it admitted of perpetual improvements, which time and circumſtances rendered neceſſary. If it were true (which he believed to be the caſe) that, under a ſenſe of exiſting grievances, the people generally wiſhed for a parliamentary reform, they had a right to demand it; if, on the other hand, the contrary ſhould appear to be the fact, ſtill, he maintained, his honourable friend had acted properly, in directing the attention of the public to an object confeſſedly of much importance.

The miniſter had appeared to hint, that no other country but this was in the actual poſſeſſion of eſtabliſhed freedom. France however, he maintained, had at leaſt deſtroyed a moſt deteſtable government; Poland could not be ſaid to be under deſpotiſm; and America was in the complete enjoyment of a liberty, which had produced juſtice, commerce, wealth, and proſperity. The world ſeemed rapidly advancing in ſcience, knowledge, and virtue; and, as philoſophy was ſpreading her light round every quarter of the globe, England, he hoped, would not remain unimproved, enveloped in all the darkneſs of bigotry.

Mr. Burke deſcribed himſelf as a worn-out invalid, fit only for garriſon duty, and coming forward on this occaſion to protect the citadel of the conſtitution from the rude attacks with which it ſeemed to be threatened. He was decidedly againſt the notice, which appeared to him, in almoſt every point of view, extremely dangerous in its tendency. The friends of the propoſed meaſure acted, he thought, on a very unwiſe and imprudent plan; they not only preſumed on the exiſtence of a ſuppoſed grievance, aſſerting that the houſe of commons was a corrupt body, without the leaſt attempt at proof; and that a reform of ſome kind or other was abſolutely neceſſary, but had neglected to propoſe any ſpecific remedy. They laboured to convince the people that they were unhappy, and ought to be diſcontented; and in the worſt ſpirit of political quackery, endeavoured to create the perſuaſion of a diſeaſe, in order to adminiſter their favourite panacæa. The notice came from men, for whom he profeſſed the higheſt reſpect, and moſt ſincere friendſhip; men, whoſe motives might be pure and patriotic, although the conſequences of their indiſcretion might prove truly alarming. An aſſociation had been formed, the principal object of which ſeemed to be to make the people feel their grievances; to ſeek out and proclaim the defects which were ſuppoſed to exiſt in the par-

parliamentary repreſentation: but how high ſoever the characters of thoſe might rank, who took the lead in this buſineſs, after having excited a ſtrong ſpirit of change and innovation in the public mind, would they undertake to regulate its opinions, and prevent its exceſſes, when proceeding to unreaſonable lengths, on a ſubject ſo much diſcuſſed, but ſo little underſtood? Hiſtory, unfortunately, abounded with too many inſtances to prove, that the beginners of a reformation ſeldom or never ſaw the end of it. He conſidered this as a powerful argument againſt all indefinite reforms, the extent and conſequences of which it was impoſſible to foretel. Regular and progreſſive improvements of the conſtitution had always made the nation happier, by the application of ſuitable remedies to ſome known and oppreſſive grievances. At different times certain branches of the prerogative had been curtailed, when they were found inimical to the welfare of the people; but the ſacred lamp of the conſtitution had been kept conſtantly burning, and occaſionally ſupplied, no ſacrilegious hand preſuming to extinguiſh it. He likewiſe obſerved, that amidſt all our political regulations, no eſſential change had ever taken place in the parliamentary repreſentation. We had ſeen a reformation, a revolution, an abdication of the throne, and a change in the line of ſucceſſion, but never till lately had any attempt been made to re-model the conſtitution of the houſe of commons. The prudence, therefore, and caution of our anceſtors in this reſpect he deemed it wiſe to imitate; at leaſt, before we undertook the delicate and dangerous taſk recommended to us, we ought well to weigh the nature of thoſe grievances, which were ſaid to exiſt, and to be perfectly convinced that they originated in the defective ſtate of the preſent mode of repreſentation. He nevertheleſs contended, that, if any real grievances did exiſt, (which he much doubted) they could not with propriety be attributed to ſuch a cauſe.

To the time, in which this propoſal was made, he had many ſtrong objections. The reformers of the day, thoſe with whom the friends of the meaſure muſt neceſſarily act, were, more or leſs, avowed enemies to the conſtitution. Being called upon to name thoſe perſons, he ſaid, that he had particularly in his contemplation thoſe clubs and ſocieties which had recommended Paine's pamphlet, declared by Mr. Fox to be an infamous and ſeditious libel on the conſtitution. Some of theſe clubs had entered into a kind of federation with the moſt abandoned traitors and regicides on record, the Jacobins of Paris, and that in the name of all England. Two of their agents were men of ſome conſideration; their names were Thomas Cooper and James Watt. As a perſon of ſimilar principles and equal zeal, he likewiſe named Mr. Walker, of Mancheſter. With ſuch coadjutors, could the propoſers of the preſent meaſure anſwer for any thing like a moderate and temperate reform? In the example of France, he ſaw nothing to encourage innovation, but much to diſſuade from it. He concluded with expreſſing his admiration of that happy conſtitution, which gave us freedom without loſing order, and which, by increaſing order, increaſed our liberty. Theories ought

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to be grounded on experience;—instead, therefore, of endeavouring to adapt the conſtitution to ſome preconceived theory, he wiſhed to ſee every theory grow out of the conſtitution.

Mr. Fox in explaining ſaid, that he had not given Mr. Paine's book the epithets of "infamous and ſe-"ditious." Afterwards, in alluſion to a remark of Mr. Dundas, he farther declared, that he was not certain whether both Mr. Paine's books had not done good, by leading men to conſider of the conſtitution: and he thought the ſame of the diſcuſſion occaſioned by Mr. Burke's book, which he diſliked as much as either of Mr. Paine's.

Notwithſtanding the informality of the proceeding, the debate was carried to a conſiderable length, ſeveral members ſtrongly expreſſing their diſapprobation of the ſociety, in which the meaſure had originated. Lord North and Mr. Windham, in particular, ſided on this occaſion with Mr. Burke, and oppoſed the arguments of their friends in oppoſition; as did alſo Colonel Hartley, Sir William Milner, Sir F. Baſſett, Sir James St. Clair Erſkine, and Mr. T. Grenville, who profeſſed his readineſs to coaleſce with Mr. Pitt or any man againſt the danger of this queſtion. On the other hand, Mr. Erſkine, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Sheridan, defended themſelves and Mr. Grey, aſſerting, that their aſſociation had nothing in view beyond the ſingle object of a parliamentary reform, and was totally diſtinct from the Mancheſter and Sheffield ſocieties. Mr. A. Taylor and Mr. Francis retracted their former oppoſition to this queſtion; the latter obſerving, that the part which he had before taken, was rather negative than affirmative, in which he was guided by the natural influence of reſpectable authority, and his own doubts; he was now convinced (he ſaid) and had been concerned in drawing up the public declaration and addreſs of the new aſſociation. Mr. Grey, in a general reply, obſerved, that the principal objections which had been made to his notice, regarded either the manner or the time of its being brought forward. In anſwer to the firſt objection, he remarked, that a ſet of gentlemen, among whom he had the honour of being one, perceiving an opinion to be daily gaining ground, that the conſtitution, although beautiful in theory, was deformed in practice, conceived the beſt means of preventing the miſchievous conſequences of ſuch an opinion, would be to examine it with a friendly eye, and to ſuggeſt the correction of any abuſes which might be ſuppoſed to have crept into it by neglect or wilful corruption; thus depriving its adverſaries of their only ſubſtantial plea for clamour. In anſwer to the ſecond objection, he contended, that the preſent period, as being a period of general tranquillity, was peculiarly adapted to the diſcuſſion of ſuch a ſubject, certainly much more ſo, than a period of national diſtreſs and diſturbance.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Difference of opinion in the oppoſition. Friends of the people. Revolution and other ſocieties. Motion of Mr. Fox for repeal of certain penal ſtatutes. Oppoſed by Mr. Burke. The political tenets of the Unitarians attacked by Mr. Burke. Defended by Mr. W. Smith. Mr. Pitt. Mr. Fox's reply. Mr. Whitbread's motion on the Birmingham riots. He ſeverely condemns the conduct of the magiſtrates. Mr. Dundas ſtates the meaſures which had been adopted by government on the occaſion. The attorney-general. Solicitor-general. Mr. Grey. Notice of a hand-bill, addreſſing the rioters by the appellation of Friends, and Fellow Churchmen. Royal proclamation. Addreſs to the king moved in the Houſe of Commons. Arguments urged in favour of the addreſs. Againſt it. Amendment moved by Mr. Grey. Miniſters defend the meaſure. The addreſs ſupported by many reſpectable members of oppoſition. Mr. Grey ſeverely attacks the conduct of the miniſter. Mr. Pitt's notice of the attack. Mr. Fox. The amendment negatived without a diviſion. Addreſs moved in the houſe of lords. An amendment ſimilar to that of Mr. Grey, propoſed by lord Lauderdale. The Prince of Wales, and ſeveral lords in oppoſition, ſupport the addreſs. Marquis of Lanſdowne. Lord Grenville. Addreſs carried. Indian budget. The flouriſhing ſtate of Bengal controverted by Mr. Francis. Anſwer to his objections. Bill for providing a new ſinking fund with every new loan, unexpectedly oppoſed in the lords by the chancellor. Carried againſt him by a ſmall majority. He oppoſes the bill for the encouragement of the growth of timber in the New Foreſt. Poſtponed for the ſeſſion. Mr. Haſtings's defence. Schiſm among the friends of the people. The chancellor diſmiſſed. Propoſal of the miniſter for a junction with part of the oppoſition. Negociation on the ſubject. Ineffectual.

THAT difference of opinion on ſeveral important topics, which began to diſcover itſelf among the members of oppoſition in the preceding debate, became ſoon after ſo fully apparent, that a direct ſchiſm ſeemed to be ſooner or later inevitable. One great cauſe of diſcord, was the inſtitution of the ſociety mentioned in the laſt chapter, under the appellation of "The Friends of the People." Many principal perſons of the old whig party were known to be adverſe to the avowed object of the aſſociation; and the time and manner of bringing it forward, ſeemed to them no leſs obnoxious than the meaſure itſelf. Neither was it believed, that Mr. Fox, though he ſupported Mr. Grey's queſtion, approved, or indeed knew, of the original foundation of the ſociety. When the names of the members were firſt made public, it was obſerved, that none of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be moſt in the perſonal and intimate confidence of that gentleman, appeared in the number. It was even reported, and upon authority which ſeemed to deſerve full credit, that ſeveral days after the appearance of the ſociety's firſt declaration, when his opinion of the whole proceeding was aſked by a friend, he remarked, that he had never

never before been conſulted on the ſubject by any one, but now being aſked, muſt avow his diſlike of the ſcheme. The friend, whoſe name was mentioned on this occaſion, certainly did not join the new aſſociation.

Different motives were aſcribed to the leading member of the ſociety. He was repreſented by himſelf and his friends, as having ſtood forward on the occaſion from a hope of moderating, if not directing to ſome uſeful purpoſe, that ſpirit of reform, which had gone abroad, and which, if left to itſelf, might produce the moſt miſchievous conſequences. At any rate, it was obſerved, by bringing the ſubject to a final deciſion, ſhould the fair ſenſe of a majority appear againſt it, he would deprive all future demagogues of that inſtrument of popular agitation. Many who belonged to the ſame connexion with him in Parliament, thought that they perceived in this ſtep an irregular ambition of forming a new party under himſelf, which, from the title given by him to his aſſociation, profeſſed to favour democracy more than did the known principles of the old party; while the political adverſaries of the gentleman, to whom we allude, attributed his conduct to that perſonal competition with the miniſter, into which, as they aſſerted, he ſo pointedly ſtudied to raiſe himſelf on every occaſion. They remarked, that not having come into public life, till after the elevation of Mr. Pitt to power, he had erroneouſly ſuppoſed the popularity ariſing from this queſtion, to have been the principal cauſe of that event, and was therefore endeavouring unfairly to poſſeſs himſelf of that popularity for his own purpoſes, without regarding the peace of his country. The ſubject, they ſaid, was now inſidiouſly brought forward, with the hope of ſubjecting the miniſter to one of two miſconſtructions; if he ſhould ſupport the motion, of countenancing the pretexts, and lending credit to the complaints of ſocieties repreſented by himſelf as highly dangerous, or, if he ſhould oppoſe it, of laying himſelf open to a direct charge of political inconſiſtency.

But whatever opinions might have been entertained, reſpecting the motives which actuated the leaders of this new aſſociation, the other members of it were of ſuch a deſcription, as to give much room for alarm to all who had attentively marked the progreſs of the ſocieties here, connected with the Jacobin clubs of France. In the original liſt of the Friends of the People, was to be found, at leaſt, one-fourth of the correſponding committee appointed by the Revolution Society for that year, and moſt of theſe perſons, as it has been* already intimated, were alſo active members of other ſocieties, profeſſing the ſame political principles with that at the London Tavern.

All theſe ſocieties, both in the metropolis and throughout their various ramifications, in moſt of the principal towns of Great Britain, began now to be unuſually active. They employed pamphlets, handbills, public advertiſements, eſſays,

* See p. 311; and for the connexion of the Friends of the People with the revolution ſociety, compare the liſt of the former, in Debrett's Parliamentary Regiſter, with the committee of the latter, in the Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 134*.

paragraphs,

paragraphs, in ſhort, all the arts of the preſs, to aſſail every claſs and deſcription of men with addreſſes to their reſpective paſſions, prejudices, and intereſts. Nor were theſe merely ſudden and detached effects, ſpringing from the zeal, and directed by the caprice of thoſe who made them; they were planned and combined upon ſyſtem, and to keep them more ſurely to one point, a new inſtitution was formed under the denomination of the "London "Correſponding Society;" the members of which were perſons of inferior ſtations, artfully, perhaps, ſelected by the leaders of the higher clubs, as bolder and more effective inſtruments for the proſecution of what was called the common cauſe, than men of better condition, and more decorous character. Much expectation was built on the communications to be made and received through this channel, as it was notorious that the univerſal domination of the Jacobin club at Paris over the whole extent of France, was obtained and fixed by a ſimilar inſtitution of a correſponding committee.

Acquiring confidence as their numbers and connexions increaſed, the different ſocieties, by way of eſtabliſhing a known and firm bond of political union, recommended in public reſolutions, and circulated at their own expence, in every poſſible ſhape, to catch the common people, the different productions of Mr. Paine; eſpecially his "Rights "of Man"; the ſecond part of which work was then new, and paſſing far beyond the bounds of the firſt part, profeſſed "to combine "practice with principle."

About the ſame period, the members of the revolution ſociety thought proper to publiſh with great exultation, and a proud aſſumption of merit towards their country, a collection of their proceedings and correſpondence, both at home and abroad, from the autumn of 1789 to the March preceding their publication. Although many of the papers, contained in this volume, had before ſeparately appeared in the public prints, yet, when ſeen in one view, and combined with others of equal or greater importance, they made a very ſerious and deep impreſſion. In almoſt all the communications with the Jacobinical clubs of France, the revolution in that country was not only praiſed in general terms, but that leading maxim of it, the ſacred duty of inſurrection, particularly applauded; while ſanguine expectations were formed, that the people of other nations would profit by the example. Our own Revolution in 1688, was conſidered as imperfect; correct only in the implication of a ſuppoſed principle, faulty and deficient in practice. The final completion of this neceſſary and glorious work, it was repeatedly ſaid, was only to be hoped from an imitation of the conduct of France; and the ſpecific grievances, from which we were thus to be delivered, were ſtated to be, "royal prerogatives, injuri"ous to the public intereſt; a "ſervile peerage, a rapacious and "intolerant clergy, and a corrupt "repreſentation." The celebrated vote of the national aſſembly, renouncing all foreign conqueſts, was underſtood on both ſides, not as precluding the French from an acquiſition of territory, but as affording them the means of extending their limits more widely, and irreſiſtibly, by the propagation of their principles,

principles, than could be effected by the ſword. It was acknowledged, that the evident tendency of the French revolution, was the deſtruction of the ſurrounding governments; that theſe with reaſon dreaded the ſpirit of ſuch neighbours; and that it was natural for them to combine for the ſubverſion of that, which would otherwiſe inevitably ruin them. But the people of France were inſtigated to proceed without fear in the further developement of their political principles; and a pretended league was formed with the Jacobins, in the name of the people of England for the avowed purpoſe of extending, what was called, the empire of liberty and truth over the whole world.—* This volume was aſſerted to contain the whole of the Society's correſpondence; but it was remarked, that there was no where to be found in it a ſeries † of important letters, which were mentioned by the Jacobins as the foundation of actual meaſures adopted in various committees of the national aſſembly.

In this critical poſture of affairs, the miniſters thought it their duty to adviſe a royal proclamation on the ſubject of theſe ſeditious proceedings, and to communicate the draught of it to thoſe members of the oppoſition, who were ſuppoſed to participate in the apprehenſions of government on the ſtate of the nation and of Europe. While this meaſure was ſtill under the private conſideration of thoſe who ſuggeſted, and thoſe who concurred in it, two motions were made on the part of oppoſition in the houſe of commons, which incidentally brought into diſcuſſion, ſeveral of the facts connected with the motives of the intended proclamation, and widened the breach already begun in the oppoſition itſelf.

From a wiſh to gratify the Diſſenters, eſpecially the Unitarians who had taken the lead upon this occaſion, and petitioned the houſe upon the ſubject, Mr. Fox moved for the repeal of ſome particular ſtatutes againſt the Diſſenters. May 11th. In ſupport of his motion, he reaſoned from the abſtract principle of toleration, the expediency or inexpediency of which, in a political point of view, was not, he thought, worthy of diſcuſſion, but he wiſhed to have the principle recognized as juſt in itſelf, as a principle founded on the unalienable rights of man. Although he admitted, that there were certain civil rights, which man muſt give up for the ſecurity of the remainder, in a ſtate of ſociety, yet he contended, that the reſignation of any religious right was impoſſible; for who could controul his private opinions? He cenſured the eſtabliſhed church as inculcating the execrable doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, arguing from thence, that, as the church could not be obeyed without a breach of moral obligation, and even of poſitive law, it would be the height of injuſtice to perſecute any perſon for not conforming to the eſtabliſhment.

He quoted the Birmingham riots, as a proof that religious bigotry

* The book appeared without the name of a publiſher, and was ſoon after ſuppreſſed, in conſequence of ſome ſevere ſtrictures upon it in parliament, and the king's proclamation. We have preſerved ſome extracts in the Appendix to the Chronicle, from p. 128* to p. 144*.

† See page 311. and Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 140*.

was

was not extinguiſhed; and remarking, that, although politics were the pretext, none but Diſſenters actually ſuffered by the riots; conſidered the conduct of the populace as proceeding from an opinion, that Diſſenters ought not to take thoſe liberties with government, which churchmen might take with impunity.

He ſeemed aware of its being objected to his motion, that the ſtatutes, which he wiſhed to repeal were obſolete, and oppreſſive only in idea; but thought the objections of little force, as he conceived they might hereafter be revived, and become inſtruments for perſecution, whenever an occaſion might be ſuppoſed to call for them. He preferred the propoſed repeal to the ſuggeſtion of any particular enacting law, becauſe in making a new law, it would not be eaſy to calculate what might be its operation, but in repealing a bad one, we knew that we did nothing more than juſtice.

Mr. Burke conſidered the queſtion as properly coming before the Houſe, not in a theological, but political point of view. He diſclaimed the idea of arguing on any but ſocial rights, recognizing man only in a ſtate of ſociety. Diſclaiming therefore all abſtract reaſoning, and metaphyſical ſubtleties, he confined himſelf ſolely to the prudence and policy of the meaſure.

If relief were to be granted, he conceived it proper to conſider a little the deſcription of perſons to be relieved, and maturely to weigh, whether the ſtate could receive any detriment from their opinions, conduct, or connexions. Far was he from wiſhing to enact penalties againſt men for their religious ſentiments, but when with their religious, certain political tenets were blended, which might ultimately lead to the deſtruction of the church and ſtate, he thought it the indiſpenſable duty of the Houſe to pauſe.

From the writings of Dr. Prieſtley, it appeared evident to him, that the Unitarians, avowed enemies to all eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, aimed at the total ſubverſion of the church. They had formed a ſociety for the propagation of their opinions, and had raiſed a conſiderable fund for that purpoſe. Their principal object in the petition before the Houſe, ſeemed to be, that they might obtain the countenance of parliament by the recognition of their ſect, as a diſtinct and reſpectable body.

In order to prove that the Unitarians were eager to intermeddle in politics, he adverted to the * proceedings of a meeting held at the King's

* Mr. Burke ſeems to have alluded to the following account of the meeting, extracted from one of the papers, and plainly proceeding from ſome member of the ſociety.

UNITARIAN SOCIETY. Yeſterday this Society dined together at the King's Head Tavern in the Poultry. Dr. Prieſtley was in the chair; and a number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed gentlemen in the metropolis, of Unitarian principles, aſſiſted in the temperate feſtivity of the day.

This ſociety is eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of promoting Chriſtian Knowledge, and the practice of virtue; and if we may judge from the enlightened and benevolent ſpirit which they manifeſted in this convivial meeting, the views of the inſtitution

King's Head Tavern, in February 1791, at which Dr. Prieſtley preſided. He noticed ſeveral of the toaſts then given, particularly the following, "Thomas Paine, eſq; and "the Rights of Man." He treated, with great good humour, the toaſt relating to himſelf, introducing it in a ſtyle of convivial pleaſantry, which afforded the Houſe much entertainment. Nor did he forget playfully to touch upon the "temperate feſtivities," of which no leſs than fourteen bumper toaſts were ſaid to have conſtituted only a part. He diſtruſted the principles of the Unitarians, as he conceived them to be connected with the Revolution Society, which had leagued with clubs in foreign countries, for the

inſtitution will be promoted by example as well as precept. As a proof of which we ſhall enumerate ſome of the toaſts that were given from different parts of the room.

"Proſperity to the Unitarian Society."

"The cauſe of civil and religious liberty throughout the world."

"Mr. Fox; and a ſpeedy repeal of all the penal laws reſpecting religion."

"May the example of America teach all nations to reject religious diſtinctions, and to judge of the citizen by his conduct."

"The national aſſembly of France; and may every tyrannical government undergo a ſimilar revolution."

"May no man deſtroy another's happineſs in this world, for the ſake of ſecuring it in the next."

"The ladies and gentlemen who have aſſerted and ſupported civil and religious liberty, by their writings and ſpeeches."

"Thomas Paine, and the Rights of Man."

"Thanks to Mr. Burke, for the important diſcuſſions he has provoked."

"May no ſociety, civil or religious, claim rights for themſelves, that they are not ready to concede to others."

"Succeſs to Mr. Fox's intended motion to aſcertain the liberty of the preſs."

"May the ſun of liberty riſe on Oxford as it has on Cambridge, and as it has long ſhone on the Diſſenters."

"May the governments of the world learn, that the civil magiſtrate has no right to dictate to any man what he ſhall believe, or in what manner he ſhall worſhip the Deity."

"May the example of one revolution make another unneceſſary."

After ſpending the afternoon in the harmony and exhilaration which the union of benevolent ſentiments is calculated to inſpire, Dr. Kippis, with a ſhort encomium on that wonderful event in a neighbouring kingdom, which had reſcued ſo many millions of their fellow creatures from bondage, ſaid, that ſome perſons, who thought the revolution of France calculated to meliorate the condition of man over all the earth, intended to commemorate the anniverſary on the 14th of July next; and he took the ſenſe of the company, whether they thought fit to co-operate in this deſign.

Dr. Towers congratulated humanity on this glorious event; which he was ſorry to ſay, had not been received in England with the warm welcome to which it was entitled; for to Engliſhmen in particular that revolution ought to be truly dear, ſince it gave an example of the ſacred regard that was due to the religious, as well as the civil liberties of men. He, who had zealouſly entered into the laſt feſtival in commemoration of the event, chearfully adopted the propoſal of his reverend

the purpoſe of working the downfal of the conſtitution; in proof of which latter aſſertion, he read ſeveral extracts from the correſpondence of that ſociety, recently publiſhed, animadverting upon them with conſiderable effect.

Much as he deteſted and lamented the Birmingham riots, he could not but be perſuaded, that the Diſſenters had in ſome meaſure brought the evil on their own heads, by the general line of politics which they had lately purſued, as well as by their particular conduct at the meeting above alluded to, when the people of England were invited to celebrate the anniverſary of the French Revolution on the ſubſequent 14th of July. It was in vain to aſſert, that the riots originated in religious bigotry; they were evidently of a political nature. Dr. Prieſtley had long lived at Birmingham, and long taught his Unitarian principles, not only unmoleſted, but, by his own confeſſion, with ſucceſs and pleaſure. Why had he never been perſecuted before? How came the madneſs of the populace to be reſerved for that unlucky moment, when he choſe to ſink the character of the divine in that of the politician, not only to laviſh the moſt extravagant praiſes on the French revolution, but to recommend to the people of England, the celebration of that event from the chair, at the King's Head meeting?

As the Unitarians quoted the example of France, in proof of the ſacred regard which in one country at leaſt was paid to religious liberty, he compared the perſecutions on account of religion, which had there taken place, to what had been ſo named in England. There, he remarked, a great part of the nation had been driven to poverty, wretchedneſs, famine, and death, for avowed ſcruples of conſcience; here the houſes of the leaders of a certain party in the town of Birmingham had been deſtroyed by an infatuated mob, on the ſuppoſition that the principles of the party were inimical to the exiſting government. In this land of bigotry, puniſhment had been inflicted on the rioters, and reſtitution made to the ſufferers. In France, a country adored by the Unitarians, for the tranſcendency of its government, for its complete poſſeſſion of liberty, and its much envied conſtitution, although outrages ten thouſand times greater had been committed, no enquiry had taken place, no puniſhment had been inflicted, and no reſtitution made. If it were alledged in excuſe for ſuch conduct, that it was rendered unavoidable, by the inveterate evils of the former ſyſtem of religion, he ſhould reply,

brother; and he was ſure, now that the principles of the revolution were properly underſtood, it would be adopted by the public with the ſame alacrity.

It was generally declared by the company that they would aſſiſt in the celebration.

The evening concluded with the appointment of Stewards for the next anniverſary feſtival of the Unitarian Society—The following gentlemen were nominated:

Michael Dodſon, Eſq.	James Martin, Eſq. M. P.
T. B. Hollis, Eſq.	J. H. Stone, Eſq.
Rev. Dr. Kippis,	William Smith, Eſq. M. P.
Rev. Mr. Lindſey,	John Towgood, Eſq.

that

that the enlightened philoſophers of the preſent day, ſeemed to have diſcovered new meanings in old words, that they had formed a new vocabulary, in which the deſtruction of ancient eſtabliſhments was termed *reform*, and reſiſtance to dangerous innovations *perſecution*.

After having dwelt for ſome time on the enormities of ſeveral late tranſactions in France, he concluded with obſerving, that thoſe people could be little entitled to the favour of parliament, who held up the proceedings of the French as examples for imitation in this country.

The conduct of the Unitarians was defended by Mr. William Smith, who declared himſelf to be of their number. He aſſerted, that they were a ſect, completely unconnected with other Diſſenters, and with clubs and aſſociations of every deſcription. Granting, that they had approved the French revolution in its origin, he denied this to be any proof of their applauding every abuſe and confuſion which had ſince occurred, or of their wiſhing the people of England to imitate the example. Such an argument appeared to him equally unjuſt and untrue. So far were they from attempting to ſubvert the government of their country, that he believed and knew them to be firm and ſteady friends to the conſtitution. With reſpect to the repeal, he profeſſed not to wiſh for it on his own account, and on account of the Unitarians, becauſe he was convinced, that no perſon would be daring or infamous enough to put the dormant ſtatutes in force.

Mr. Pitt oppoſed the meaſure, as it ſeemed acknowledged on all hands, that no practical evils had ever happened, or were likely to happen, from the laws in queſtion, and as danger might poſſibly accrue from the repeal of them. He likewiſe thought it probable, that the public might be impreſſed with a falſe idea of the motives of the repeal, concluding from appearances, that the Houſe of Commons was become indifferent to the eſtabliſhed religion, and careleſs of what infringements were made upon it.

In reply to the arguments urged againſt the motion, Mr. Fox remarked, that it had not been his intention to ſpeak on French affairs, but, as the ſubject was introduced, he ſhould declare his ſentiments on the revolution to be preciſely what they had always been. That event was in his idea highly important and advantageous to this country, and to the world. He had before termed Mr. Paine's book a libel (but not an infamous one) on the conſtitution of Great Britain; he would now obſerve, that he thought Mr. Burke's book to be a libel on every free conſtitution in the world. From the repeal, for which he moved, it would not, he hoped, be conſidered, that he was aiming at the ſubverſion of the church; for after having read and reflected much on eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, he profeſſed himſelf, from the completeſt conviction, a firm and ſteady friend to them.

A deſultory converſation then enſued on the ſubject of the Birmingham riots, after which, on a diviſion of the houſe, the motion was negatived by a majority of 79; ayes 63, noes 142.

The ſubject, which was ſlightly mentioned at the concluſion of the preceding debate, was ſoon after brought under the notice of the

May 21. House, by Mr. Whitbread, whose principal aim was to fix a stigma on the characters of certain magistrates, for a gross neglect of duty, during the period of the riots. He argued from a number of affidavits, which had been taken on one side of the question at Birmingham, and transmitted to government. It was represented in these, that two of the county magistrates, who were on the spot, during the riots, rather encouraged than suppressed them.

He endeavoured to exculpate the Dissenters from the suspicion of their having been the authors of the seditious hand-bill, which had been supposed to have given birth to the riots.

So far indeed were the Dissenters in his opinion from being enemies to the constitution, that they were its best and most zealous friends; so far from being adverse to the illustrious House of Hanover, that in a case of necessity the reigning family would find its warmest well-wishers and steadiest supporters among that despised and injured body of men. The chief purport of his motion was, to address the king for such information, as had been laid before ministers concerning the conduct of the Warwickshire magistrates, during the riots, and likewise for an account of such measures as government had pursued, against any particular magistrates, for a neglect of duty.

Mr. Dundas stated, that, the moment after information of the riots had been received in town, government took every possible step to suppress them, with an expedition that challenged applause instead of censure. When tranquillity was completely restored, the Solicitor of the Treasury, and with him an able counsel, and an active magistrate, were sent down to discover and prosecute the offenders. Government had endeavoured to conduct itself, through every part of the business, with the utmost impartiality. The magistrates, who were the object of the motion, were not indeed prosecuted on the credit of the affidavits, as the Attorney General did not advise it. If any Dissenter, however, was dissatisfied with the conduct of the magistrates, and thought a sufficient case could be made out against them, he might himself become the prosecutor, and proceed either by indictment or information. It was nevertheless rather singular, that when the Solicitor of the Treasury proposed to get any facts tending to criminate the magistrates, taken in the form of an information (which he proposed when at Birmingham) the Dissenters objected to that mode, and preferred the less satisfactory one of obtaining affidavits, thus bringing forward one side of the question only. In defence of the magistrates, he remarked, that they could not reasonably be expected to be quite accurate, either in their expressions or conduct, during the existence of tumult and danger.

In noticing Mr. Whitbread's exculpation of the Dissenters from the charge of having been the authors of the celebrated hand-bill, he observed, that each party, it was true, had given it to the adversary, but immediately after an enquiry had been instituted, and a prosecution talked of, a dissenting minister of the town, who had long resided there, and on whom suspicions had fallen, disappeared at once, went abroad, and nothing

more

more had ever been heard of him.

Mr. Whitbread allowed, that Mr. Dundas had ſufficiently vindicated the conduct of government on every point, but that which was the object of his motion.

The Attorney General thought the affidavits very unſatisfactory, from the manner in which they had been obtained; they had been taken without the preſence of the perſons accuſed, and without any croſs-examination of witneſſes. Mr. Ruſſel, a diſſenting magiſtrate, before whom they were ſworn, when preſſed by the Solicitor of the Treaſury, to let regular and full informations be taken on this ſubject, had declined it; but afterwards ſent up the affidavits, on which the motion was grounded. He likewiſe thought them in part contradictory: while ſome tended to ſhew that the magiſtrates encouraged the burning of houſes, others only proved, that the ſame magiſtrates, being but two againſt thouſands, had endeavoured to conciliate inſtead of intimidating, and to leſſen the miſchief which they could not entirely prevent. Nothing, he conceived, was more dangerous than to truſt to contradictory evidence of expreſſions, uttered in a moment of alarm, ill underſtood, and imperfectly recollected. The Diſſenters, if they thought there was ground, might themſelves proſecute.

In the ſentiments of the Attorney General, the Solicitor General perfectly coincided.

Mr. Grey contended for the propriety of the motion, perſuaded, that the accuſed magiſtrates had been really the abettors of the riots, and ought, for the honour, juſtice, and peace of the country, to be ſeverely puniſhed.

In the courſe of this, and, indeed, of the former debate, alluſion was made to a ſhort paper which had been circulated during the riots, under the ſignatures of Lord Aylesford and other gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Upon one ſide its conciliating language, particularly the addreſs of "Friends and Fellow Churchmen," was ſaid to have been diſgraceful to the police, the character, and the government of the country. Upon the other ſide, it was conſidered as a temporary but fair expedient to divert the fury of that torrent, which could not be reſiſted at the moment.

When the houſe divided upon the motion, the numbers were, for it 46, againſt it 189.

The royal proclamation againſt ſeditious doctrines, was now iſſued and laid on the tables of the two houſes. On this occaſion, a very ſingular correſpondence * took place between the French miniſter plenipotentiary and Lord Grenville. Notwithſtanding all that has been related in the former part of this hiſtory, M. Chauvelin, in the name of the French nation, the legiſlative body, and the king, declared their entire diſapprobation, and even ignorance, of any confederacy between individuals of this country and France, tending to excite tumults in England; he ſtrongly expreſſed the good diſpoſition of France to this country, and concluded by requeſting Lord Grenville to communicate his official note to parliament. Having, however, been told in anſwer, that the deliberations of parliament, and all communications to it, were objects abſolutely foreign to diplomatic cor-

* State Papers, pp. 260-1-2*.

reſpondence; he ſaid in apology, that his intention had been only to obviate any falſe conſtruction of the proclamation in the two houſes; and he now preſſed the ſecretary of ſtate to adopt ſome other mode of rendering the ſentiments of France very public. This proceeding was paſſed over at the time in prudent ſilence; but it was clearly a managed attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of this kingdom, and to appeal to the people againſt the government and their own repreſentatives.

May 25th. When the proclamation was taken up in the lower houſe, an addreſs to the throne was moved, in which the commons expreſſed the greateſt indignation at the attempts that had been made to alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty's perſon and government; condemned the deluſive theories maintained in the ſeditious publications circulated by the ſocieties, and reſolved to ſupport the conſtitution by law eſtabliſhed, with the utmoſt energy of a free and loyal people. This addreſs was moved by the Maſter of the Rolls, and oppoſed by Mr. Grey, who ſuggeſted a long amendment to the following general purport; that, while the commons profeſſed a moſt dutiful attachment to his majeſty's perſon and government, and held in abhorrence all wicked and ſeditious publications, they humbly conceived the king's miniſters to have been guilty of groſs and criminal neglect, if any writings, which could be deemed proper objects of proſecution, had been long publiſhed and circulated without being noticed; that anxious, according to the tenor of the proclamation, to prevent or puniſh all riots and tumults of every kind, they could not but expreſs their deep regret at the diſturbances which happened at Birmingham in the preceding ſummer, and wiſhed to ſuggeſt the expediency of proceeding with all the ſeverity of the law againſt the aiders and abettors of thoſe diſturbances, who had not yet been brought to puniſhment.

The ſupporters of the addreſs particularly dwelt on the alarming circulation of ſeditious doctrines, in all ways, by ſocieties as well as individuals, and particularly their foreign correſpondencies and confederacies, to which the proclamation alluded, and which have been already related.

On the oppoſite ſide, it was urged, that, generally ſpeaking, there ought to be a perfect liberty for the circulation of all opinions on public affairs. Nevertheleſs, if writings appeared, evidently hoſtile to the well-being of the ſtate, there were other and more proper modes of proceeding againſt them, than by a royal proclamation. It was the duty of miniſters to order the proſecution of the authors, printers, and publiſhers. At any rate, the unwiſe, but favourite ſyſtem of bringing the crown eternally before the eyes of the people, as a refuge and protection from misfortune, called for ſtrong and marked animadverſion.

In another point of view the proclamation was conſidered as a direct party-meaſure of an invidious and malignant nature. The miniſter was accuſed of having brought it forward, with the hope of creating new animoſities, or at leaſt of increaſing the diſſenſions which were known to exiſt in the great body of the Whig intereſt, whoſe firm union was thought eſſential to the maintenance of the conſtitution in purity aad perfection.

It was likewiſe reprobated as unfairly intended to counteract the efforts

ſorts of oppoſition for obtaining a reform in parliament, by indirectly pointing at the aſſociation eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe, and holding it up to the public, as an object of ſuſpicion and dread. The inſinuation, however, that the members of this aſſociation were defective in their attachment to the throne, was thought too foul a calumny to merit any thing but contempt. Mr. Grey and his friends then endeavoured to prove, that they had only adopted the ſame plan, which the miniſter himſelf had formerly ſanctioned; that in the year 1782, Mr. Pitt, not only belonged to a ſimilar aſſociation, but was actually preſent at a meeting, when it was unanimouſly reſolved, that an application ſhould be made to parliament, by petitions from the collective body of the people, and that means ſhould be taken, during the ſummer months, to obtain declarations of the ſenſe of the people upon the ſubject.

That ſomething more was intended by the proclamation than what might appear at firſt ſight, ſeemed evident, from the circumſtance of its having been iſſued ſo long after the circulation of the ſeditious pamphlets, againſt which it was apparently levelled. More than a twelvemonth had elapſed, ſince the moſt obnoxious of thoſe writings had been publiſhed. It was therefore remarked, that his majeſty's miniſters ſhould either have noticed them ſooner, or not have noticed them at all. The fact however was aſſerted to be, that they did not furniſh the leaſt reaſonable ground for ſuch an extraordinary alarm. Inſtead of ſuppreſſing riots and tumults, the proclamation ſeemed rather meant to provoke them; for, if diſturbances were to be apprehended, it was argued from the ſpirit manifeſted at Birmingham, in the preceding ſummer, that they were more likely to happen on the ſide of government, than againſt it.

But, whatever might be the real motive of this meaſure, the oſtenſible one was treated as a mere pretext; of which the language of the miniſter, ſo lately as at the opening of the budget, was thought to be ſome kind of proof, when he deſcribed the country to be in an unexampled ſtate of proſperity, fully enjoying the united bleſſings of liberty and order.

In addition to thoſe arguments, an objection was made to the whole ſpirit of the compoſition, but more particularly to a part of it, which was ſuppoſed to convert magiſtrates into a ſpecies of ſpies and informers. The very idea, that a proclamation ſhould iſſue from the ſovereign of a free people, countenancing ſuch a ſyſtem, was declared to be no leſs ſingular than deteſtable.

Adminiſtration denied the charge of having intended to create diviſions among their political adverſaries. That the oppoſition was not unanimous on ſome points of conſequence, appeared fully evident; but this want of unanimity was conſidered as redounding highly to their honour. A conviction of the rectitude and utility of the proclamation, of its abſolute neceſſity to the maintenance of order, and to the tranquillity of the ſtate, was conceived to be the ſole motive, which had induced ſeveral gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe to abandon thoſe friends on the preſent occaſion, with whom they had acted ſo long and ſo conſiſtently; a fair and honourable line of conduct, which afforded ſufficient proof, that, whatever might be the ſtate of parties, the great and reſpectable body of that Houſe,

would always give up private predilections for public ſecurity, and the preſervation of the conſtitution.

Miniſters profeſſed not particularly to have had in their view, the aſſociation of the "Friends of the People," but rather ſeveral ſeditious ſocieties, in different quarters of the kingdom. "The Friends of the People" might indeed be implicated in the charge, if they connected themſelves with ſocieties of ſuch a deſcription.

The reaſon why government had not proſecuted the firſt part of the pamphlet, called "the Rights of Man," was thought to be obvious. So bold, profligate, and abſurd a production, could not, it had been conceived, do much miſchief; but when clubs were formed for the purpoſe of diſſeminating the flagitious principles of this work, and attempts accordingly made to corrupt the minds of the common people, a conſiderable degree of alarm was excited. A ſecond part of the ſame obnoxious publication had lately appeared, more abandoned if poſſible than the preceding: this, government reſolved immediately to proſecute, and meant to bring it before a jury without delay.

The objection of the other ſide, to that part of the proclamation, which was ſaid to impoſe an ignominious office on magiſtrates was deemed futile; magiſtrates being only reminded of a duty, which they were bound at all times to perform.

Several members of oppoſition, particularly the marquis of Titchfield, Lord North, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Anſtruther, delivered their ſentiments in ſupport of the addreſs, impreſſed with the perſuaſion, that a line of conduct had lately been adopted in this country, which required the utmoſt attention and interference of government.

When Mr. Grey ſuggeſted, that one intention of the proclamation ſeemed to be, to divide the oppoſition, he was unuſually ſevere on the miniſter. It was a meaſure, he ſaid, contrived by him, whoſe ſupreme delight was to ſee diſcord ſupercede harmony among thoſe that oppoſed his meaſures; by him, whoſe whole political life was a tiſſue of conſtant inconſiſtency, of aſſertion and retraction; by him, who never propoſed a meaſure without intending to delude his hearers, promiſing every thing, but performing nothing, and perpetually breaking his word with the public; who ſtudied all the arts of captivating popularity without ever intending to deſerve it, and who was a complete apoſtate from the very commencement of his political life; by him, whoſe malignity ſought its gratification in the ſeparation of the deareſt friends, and whoſe whole conduct was one uninterrupted ſeries of contemptuous diſdain towards the rights of the people, and the privileges of that Houſe. In the courſe of his ſpeech, Mr. Grey was repeatedly called to order, but ſuffered to proceed by the ſpeaker, who did not think his language diſorderly.

Mr. Pitt appeared but ſlightly to notice this attack upon him, and others of a ſimilar tendency, briefly remarking, that no invective ſhould ever deter him from purſuing that line of conduct, which he deemed moſt conducive to the public tranquillity, and the preſervation of conſtitutional freedom.

Mr. Fox expreſſed his regret at the part which ſome of his friends had taken in ſupport of adminiſtration. Unhappily, he ſaid, they had

had been made the dupes of the deep and artful design which ministers had in view. They had acted on honest but erroneous principles, and had been persuaded to think with men very different from themselves, as different as despotism was from liberty, as honour and frankness of disposition from craft and mystery. He nevertheless flattered himself, that their separation would not be complete; that, various as might be their opinions on particular subjects, no arts, however insidious, could effectually divide them.

Under the impression, that Mr. Fox felt no alarm at the circulation of those seditious doctrines, against which the proclamation was levelled, but rather ridiculed the idea of any dangerous consequences to be apprehended from them, Mr. Pitt considered him, if not the declared advocate of such doctrines, in some degree at least a friend to them.

In reply to this accusation, Mr. Fox confessed, that he had no fears on the subject, because he knew the good sense and constitutional spirit of the people, would prove a sure protection against all rash and absurd theories. He appealed to the whole tenor of his life, in proof of the rectitude and purity of his political principles.

Mr. Grey's amendment was negatived without a division.

The same address, in form as well as in substance, was proposed by the Marquis of Abercorn, in the house of lords, who, in the course of his speech, directly attacked the association of the "Friends of the People," for having erected a standard to which the disaffected of every denomination might resort. An amendment on the address was moved by Lord Lauderdale, similar to that of Mr. Grey.

May 31st.

His royal highness the Prince of Wales most cordially supported the address, convinced, that the interference of government was absolutely necessary for the preservation of order, and the security of the constitution.

The Duke of Portland expressed himself happy, to give a most decided and unequivocal support to it.

Earl Spencer, and the Lords Hay, Porchester, Rawdon, and Stormont, likewise voted on the same side of the question.

The Marquis of Lansdowne spoke at some length in favour of the amendment, maintaining the propriety of effecting public measures by clubs and associations, and censuring the steps of administration.

As an argument in proof of the necessity of the proclamation, Lord Grenville stated, that the seditious societies alluded to, had not only propagated the most pernicious doctrines against government, but had avowedly entered into a correspondence with foreign societies, for the worst of purposes, and had even commenced their flagitious designs, by dispersing inflammatory handbills in the army and navy, with the hope of exciting mutiny and disorder.

The amendment was negatived, and the address carried, without a division.

June 5th.

Towards the conclusion of the session, Mr. Dundas brought forward his account of the East Indian revenues. On a review of the whole, he gave the following as a general statement:

Actual

Actual revenues of 1790 and 1791.

Bengal	£. 5,522,292	
Madras	1,644,223	
Bombay	183,946	
		7,350,461

Actual charges of 1790–91.

Bengal	3,225,928	
Madras	2,686,304	
Bombay	1,112,437	
		7,024,669
		325,792
Deduct expences of Bencoolen and Prince of Wales's Iſland - -		62,018
		263,774
Add ſale of import goods and certificates - -		327,877
		591,651
Deduct intereſt paid at		
Bengal - -	301,524	
Madras - -	173,830	
Bombay, ſtated at, but no actual account - -	112,784	
		588,138
Surplus - -		3,513

The total of the year's revenue, and produce of ſales and certificates, after paying the expences of the war, and the intereſt of the Indian debt. The particulars of this debt he thus ſtated:

Debt, April 30th, 1790	7,056,652	
April 30th, 1791	8,150,936	
Increaſe of debt in India		1,094,284
Add debt remitted by ſubſcription to England - - - -		688,044
Increaſe of debt, if none remitted home -		1,782,328

Debt in India, bearing intereſt April 30th, 1790 - - - -	5,406,936	
Ditto, April 30th, 1791	6,325,444	
Increaſe of debt bearing intereſt - -		918,508
Intereſt of debt ſtated laſt year at - - -		447,106
Intereſt April 30th, 1791	529,624	
Increaſe of intereſt, excluſive of the diminution by the transfer of debt - - - -		82,517

It appeared from the above account, that the debt had been increaſed apparently £. 1,782,328. This increaſe he principally imputed to the purchaſe of inveſtments.

Advance for inveſtments at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay	950,821
Supplies to India - -	238,470
Caſh, more remaining in the treaſury in April 1791, than in April 1790 - -	303,355
	1,492,646
If this amount were deducted from the increaſe above ſtated, the real difference would only be	289,681
To this ſum, however, the ſilver which Lord Cornwallis took out of the China ſhips at Madras, ſhould be added. It was -	67,161
	356,842

On the ſuppoſition that the increaſe of debt amounted to half a million, he remarked, that even that ſum was but trifling, when the war in

in India was considered, as well as the exertions which had been made for eighteen months to bring it to a concluſion. He had nevertheleſs reaſon to think the company's affairs in 1792, to be worſe than in 1791, only by the ſum of 276,000 *l.*

After having ſtated that the internal ſituation of Bengal had not ſuffered by the war, he obſerved with ſatisfaction, that the company had been enabled to ſupport a war of conſiderable magnitude by their own proper reſources, without calling on government for aid.

The account which Mr. Dundas gave of the flouriſhing ſtate of Bengal, was the principal point controverted by Mr. Francis, who contended, that the direct reverſe of the aſſertion was the fact. From the ſales of land advertiſed in the Calcutta papers, he thought it evident, that the greateſt diſtreſs prevailed in that part of India. He likewiſe quoted, in proof of his opinion, a minute of Lord Cornwallis, dated April 28th, 1789, in which his lordſhip ſtated, that one-third of the company's territory in Hindoſtan was at that period a jungle inhabited by wild beaſts.

It was admitted in reply, that individual poſſeſſors of land might be extravagant, and wiſh to alienate their property, but that this was no proof of general diſtreſs in the country. In anſwer to the argument drawn from Lord Cornwallis's minute it was obſerved, that thirty years ago, not only one-third, but full two-thirds of the company's territory were inhabited ſolely by wild beaſts; of late years, however, Bengal had been moſt rapidly improving.

Mr. Dundas then read ſeveral reſolutions, grounded on his ſtatement of the Indian finances, which paſſed without oppoſition.

The bill for continuing the ſinking fund, and providing a new one with every future loan, which has been already noticed * in its progreſs through the houſe of commons, was not paſſed by the lords till the very cloſe of the ſeſſion; and in one of its ſtages encountered a very unexpected and formidable oppoſition. The lord chancellor attacked it in the ſevereſt language. It exhibited, in his opinion, a degree of preſumption and arrogance, in dictating to future parliaments, which, he truſted, the houſe would never countenance. It was nugatory and impracticable, he ſaid; the inaptneſs of the project was equal to the vanity of the attempt: none but a novice, a ſycophant, a mere reptile, as a miniſter, would allow this act to prevent him from doing what the exigency of circumſtances might require, according to his own judgment. The principal clauſe, which he treated with much more acrimony both of argument and ridicule, was with difficulty carried againſt him in the committee by the ſmall majority of ſix.

The public had not well recovered the ſurprize of this ſtrange ſcene, when another of the ſame kind followed. A bill was introduced late in the ſeſſion, for the encouragement of the growth of timber in the New Foreſt. It was founded on a report of the commiſſioners, who had been appointed to take into conſideration the land revenues of the crown. In the Houſe of Commons, it met with only a ſlight oppoſition, but was warmly attacked in the Upper Houſe,

* See above p. 327.

particularly

particularly by the chancellor. His lordſhip objected to the time of its introduction as highly indecent, and to its ſuppoſed principle (for he would not allow it to have any real principle) as, under falſe pretences, depriving the crown of that landed property, to which it was entitled by the conſtitutional law of the country. He conceived it to be a point of much conſequence, that the king ſhould have an intereſt in the land of the kingdom. The foreſt laws, of which he took a view, he admitted to be imperfect, but this bill he pronounced to be infinitely more pernicious than their defects. The king had been impoſed upon, he ſaid; and if their lordſhips, the hereditary adviſers of the crown, did not interfere againſt thoſe who had been the adviſers of this meaſure, all was over. He ſpoke with ſo much aſperity, that lord Grenville thought it neceſſary, on behalf of himſelf and thoſe with whom he acted, to diſclaim every intention of deluding his ſovereign on this or any other occaſion, and to expreſs the greateſt reverence, affection, and gratitude to his perſon, as well as conſtitutional ſolicitude for the maintenance of his juſt prerogatives. The motion for reading the bill was carried by a majority of 18.

In a ſubſequent ſtage of the buſineſs, Lord Porcheſter objected to any further proceeding, until his majeſty ſhould formally ſignify his aſſent to the meaſure, in which objection he was ſupported by the chancellor and other lords.

Lord Grenville afterwards gave the royal aſſent officially. But as a petition was preſented to the Houſe, from the owners of land in the New Foreſt, complaining, that their rights were materially affected by the meaſure before the Houſe, and praying to be heard by counſel at the bar, adminiſtration agreed to give up the bill for the ſeſſion.

The defence of Mr. Haſtings, though the bulk of evidence adduced by his counſel was ſmall in proportion to the length of their ſpeeches, made no very rapid progreſs this year. When the prorogation of parliament was generally expected, he perſonally addreſſed the lords, deſiring that he might be allowed whatever time could be ſpared, eſpecially for the examination of two witneſſes (ſelected, he ſaid, out of a much larger number, whom in that caſe he ſhould forbear to call) on the ſecond article then under the conſideration of the court; but the ſeſſion was cloſed before any other day could be appointed.

The new aſſociation, under the title of the Friends of the People, did not outlive the ſeſſion without ſhewing ſome ſymptoms of its early mortality. Five members, Lord John Ruſſell, Mr. Baker, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Dudley North, and Mr. Courtenay, withdrew their names on the 4th of June, in conſequence of what they thought * an improper connexion with ſome of the ſocieties affiliated and correſponding with the jacobin club at Paris.

On the other hand, the breach in the adminiſtration, which had been indicated, was at the ſame time ſo widened, by the recent tranſactions in the houſe of lords, as to have

* See their letter in Debrett's Parliamentary Regiſter for 1792. Vol. 32. p. 459. note,

become

become irreparable. The chancellor had not only inveighed againſt the favourite meaſure of the premier in a manner the moſt perſonally offenſive, and going far beyond the hoſtility of the avowed oppoſition in both Houſes, but he had in the other inſtance publicly denounced all his colleagues as having deceived and betrayed their ſovereign. Mr. Pitt, therefore, was ſaid to have inſiſted, that either himſelf or lord Thurlow ſhould be diſmiſſed from the king's ſervice. The great ſeal was accordingly demanded the very day that parliament roſe, and put into the cuſtody of three commiſſioners, the principal of whom was chief baron Eyre.

Two cabinet offices being now, in effect, vacant, the miniſter, it was reported, ſignified an inclination for a junction with that branch of the oppoſition, which had concurred in the important meaſure of the proclamation. It was likewiſe added, that, ſeriouſly alarmed at the ſtate of the nation and of Europe, and anxious to combine all the abilities of the country for the general ſafety, he did not object to include Mr. Fox in the arrangement, which was underſtood to have been particularly preſſed by Mr. Burke, who, ſince the concert that had been eſtabliſhed between government and the old leaders of the whig party on the ſubject of the proclamation, was known to have had more frequent and free intercourſe with the miniſters. In conſequence of this overture, negociations were repreſented to have taken place, but finally to have proved abortive, from the obſtacles to an arrangement which were ſtarted on the part of Mr. Fox, who would only conſent to the propoſed union, on the condition that Mr. Pitt ſhould relinquiſh the high ſituation he then held, to be more on a level with him in office, while the duke of Portland, or, at leaſt, ſome neutral perſon, ſhould be appointed to the treaſury; a condition, which was rejected on the part of the miniſter.

The friends of Mr. Fox, in talking of this unproſperous iſſue, aſſerted, that what he had demanded was no more than was indiſpenſably neceſſary to his conſiſtency, as being the ſame terms for which he had contended in the beginning of the year 1784: but the friends of Mr. Pitt anſwered, that he was as much entitled as Mr. Fox could be, to conſult his own character; that admitting him to have been wrong (which they did not really mean to admit) in ſtanding upon the prerogative of the crown, againſt the ſenſe of the houſe of commons, and in refuſing to be bound by that ſenſe, as ſpeaking the true voice of the people, in 1784; yet he had then, by a diſſolution, made a regular appeal to the people, and the deciſion was moſt clearly in his favour; that he had lately in a ſtriking manner ſhewn himſelf to retain the public confidence of the king, and of parliament, including even many of the moſt reſpectable members of Mr. Fox's party; and as to the people at large, it was aſked, if Mr. Fox would abide by the reſult of any new appeal to them; if not, what was the juſtice or equity of requiring, that Mr. Pitt ſhould voluntarily forego all thoſe advantages. The former, in reply, treating Mr. Pitt's pretenſions with great haughtineſs, accuſed him of inordinate ambition, and the latter retorted the charge, obſerving that what Mr. Fox meant by his claim of perfect equality, was, in truth,

truth, for the minister to have afforded him a complete triumph, by confessing himself in the wrong, and by humbling himself, to have gratified a personal jealousy, which, if it existed at all, must have frustrated all the salutary effects otherwise to have been hoped from the projected coalition: Mr. Pitt, they added, by manifesting a readiness to share with his opponents, on terms not dishonourable to either party, that power of which he was in the entire and firm possession, gave the best proof, that he was sincere in preferring the interests of his country to any private ends of his own.

The temper, which was thus more or less openly betrayed on both sides, in the discourses of the different partisans, left little room for any rational expectation, that these two great rival statesmen could ever be brought to act together in the public cause. Yet the merit which Mr. Fox had in the eyes of many, for having notoriously disapproved the first formation of the new society, made a great majority of those who did not think like him on French affairs, still resolved to continue their general connexion with him. It has since transpired, that notwithstanding the total rupture of the negociation, a vacant blue ribband was offered to the noble duke at the head of the whig party, in the most gracious and delicate manner, so as not to involve any obligation to the minister; but it is said to have been respectfully declined, with many dutiful acknowledgments of the intended honour, until he should be called, with the full approbation of his own judgment, to take a direct and responsible part in the royal councils.

CHAP. XV.

Affairs of Poland resumed. Interest taken in them here. Subscriptions. Answer of the diet of Poland to the Russian declaration. Address from the king and diet to the nation. Application for assistance made to the court of Berlin. Refusal of Frederick William. Similar application to the court of Vienna. Rejected. Plan of the Russian armies. Prince Poniatowski stationed in the Ukraine. His army augmented by 2,000 men, who go over from the opposite party with all their cannon. Russians penetrate the Polish territory. Action near Municze, in which 300 Poles defeated 2,000 of the enemy. Prince Poniatowski falls back to Lubar. General Kochowski follows. Engagement near Ostropol. The Poles continue their retreat. Accident near Boruszkowce, which exposes two battalions to a severe fire of the enemy. Arrived at Zielime. Prince Poniatowski is reinforced, and halts to give the Russians battle. Action in which he defeats the enemy. Retires to Zarlaw, and from thence to Ostrog and Dubno. Takes a favourable position on the river Bug, where a division of the army under general Kosciusko, amounting to 5,000, gallantly withstands the attack of 17,000 Russians. Progress of the enemy in Lithuania. Polish troops inferior. Battle between Mire and Swierzna, in which the Poles are defeated. Retreat towards Warsaw. A camp near the capital proposed. Confederation at Targowitz, on the entrance of the Russians into the Ukraine. Stanislaus Augustus forced to ac-

cede to this confederation. Military operations ceaſe. The Empreſs excites the king of Sweden to an hoſtile expedition againſt France. Outline of the projected enterprize. King of Sweden goes to Aix-la-Chapelle. King of Pruſſia and Emperor diſapprove of his plan. Spain inclined to recede from her engagements with Sweden, and to cultivate peace with France. Guſtavus perſiſts in his enterprize. Convenes a diet. Its tranquillity and loyalty. The nobility incenſed. Conſpiracy againſt the king's life. He is aſſaſſinated at a maſquerade. Diſcovery of the conſpirators. Guſtavus languiſhes under his wound for ſeveral days. Expires. Previous to his death, pardons all the conſpirators except the aſſaſſin, whom he is perſuaded with difficulty not to pardon. His character. Interference of Sweden in the affairs of France given up. Joy of the French nation on the declaration of war. Counter proclamation of the court of Bruſſels. M. Blumendorff delivers in a note relative to the German princes. Actual hoſtilities againſt the empire, by ſeizing the biſhopric of Baſil. Hoſtile deſigns againſt Liege. Plan of the campaign long previous to the declaration of war. M. Narbonne rejects one offered by Dumourier. His ſucceſſor M. de Grave accepts it. Plan of the campaign. Attack on Tournay. Flight of the French. Maſſacre of Auſtrian priſoners at Liſle, and of general Dillon. Expedition againſt Mons. Its complete failure. Rapid march of La Fayette's army to Givet. His inactivity there. Marſhal Rochambeau reſigns in diſguſt. La Fayette wiſhes to ſucceed him, and is diſappointed. Second plan of a campaign by Dumourier. The three generals confer at Valenciennes. Application of M. La Fayette to the miniſter of war for more troops. Paper war between him and M. Roland. M. Gouvion defeated at Florennes. La Fayette's army moves towards Maubeuge. Second defeat and death of M. Gouvion. M. Luckner moves towards Flanders. Captures Menin and Courtray. Sends to Paris for reinforcements. Evacuates Courtray. Suburbs of that city burnt by M. Jarry. Total retreat of M. Luckner. M. Dumourier having reſigned, is appointed to the command of the camp at Maulde. Change of poſition in the armies of Luckner and La Fayette. Mallet du Pan ſent by the king of France with a meſſage to the Emperor and king of Pruſſia. Impolitic conduct of the new ſovereign in the Netherlands. His coronation, as king of Hungary, at Buda. Affection of the Hungarians. Coronation of the Emperor at Franckfort. Counter declaration of the court of Vienna. Declaration of the king of Pruſſia againſt France. War propoſed to the diet, but not voted. Aſſembling of the Pruſſian troops in the Briſgaw and electorate of Treves. Auſtrian army in the Netherlands reinforced. Surprizes and entrenches Bavay. Retires. Interview of the Emperor and king of Pruſſia at Mentz. Manifeſtoes of the duke of Brunſwick. Manifeſto of the combined ſovereigns. Situation of the French princes, with the emigrants under them. Declaration of the French princes. Concluſion.

DURING the period of the receſs, a very general attention and intereſt was excited in the Engliſh nation by the affairs of Poland, which ſeemed rapidly approaching to a final criſis. Subſcriptions were ſet on foot for the purpoſe of affording aſſiſtance to the Poles.

Poles, in their efforts to assert and maintain their independence; and these subscriptions were promoted with equal earnestness, by persons who decidedly differed in their political opinions. Those who had manifested their dislike of the proceedings in France, wished to prove, by their liberality on this occasion, that they were not in the least adverse to the principles of just and well regulated freedom, while those who held up the French revolution to applause and imitation, though they considered that of Poland as by no means perfect, gave it their sanction and support, as being a step made by that country in its "progress towards * "general liberty." But this intended succour was rendered useless by the speedy termination of the struggle which the Poles ineffectually endeavoured to sustain against the superior strength of Russia, and of which a short account remains to be given, before we turn our view again to the more interesting affairs of the South.

Although the † Russian declaration which has been mentioned in the former part of this history, could not be received by the diet without emotion, a calm and dispassionate answer to it was given, which, while it breathed the most respectful language towards the empress (terming her not only a wise and magnanimous, but an enlightened and patriotic sovereign) expressed a determined resolution to support with arms the constitution recently established. The revolution was warmly defended against the foul aspersions cast upon it, and asserted on strong grounds to have been strictly consonant with the wishes of the people fairly and fully declared. Nor were the other causes of offence, enumerated in the declaration, allowed to afford any thing like rational proofs of a hostile disposition in Poland towards the empress. The order for the evacuation of the country by the Russian troops in 1789, the seizure and condemnation of persons, who were subjects of the empress, and the arrest of the abbot of Sluck, were maintained to have been unavoidable measures on the part of Poland at a most alarming crisis, when Russians of different denominations were actively employed in exciting insurrections among the Polish peasantry. The violation, indeed, of the Greek chapel in the suburbs of Warsaw was acknowledged, at the same time that it was imputed to the inadvertence of an officer and some idle soldiers, who had been severely punished for their misconduct. But so far were the negociations at Constantinople from being considered as just causes of complaint; that they were rather alledged to have been real proofs of regard towards Russia, as they evinced the unwillingness of the republic to embrace the hostile plans of the Ottoman ministry. The misrepresentations, however, which ran through the whole composition, were not imputed to the empress herself, but treated as solely originating in the malevolence of a few Polish emigrants, who were said to have imposed a false statement on her imperial majesty.

An address from the king and diet to the Polish nation was at the same time prepared and made public, which loudly proclaimed the

* Appendix to the Chronicle, p. *133.

† See above pp. 63 and 64.

insult

insult offered by Russia, and after animating to resistance in the most energetic language, concluded with the following fervent petition to heaven: "Thou God of armies, "God of our forefathers, who seest "the innocence and justice of our "cause, who knowest the purity of "our intentions, infuse and main-"tain the spirit of union and con-"cord in the Polish nation; grant "success to those arms, the object "of which is not to shed blood for "the sake of ambition, of unjust "spoil, or dominion over others, "but solely to defend our national "laws and liberty, to defend that "country, which thy almighty "power has so often protected, and "which even now thou hast rescued "from the brink of destruction, by "the spirit of thy wisdom and "counsels. A faithful king and "nation implore thy assistance, and "will praise, in hymns of gratitude, "thy providence and mercy."

But of human means, it was not to the internal strength of Poland alone that Stanislaus Augustus trusted on this trying occasion. Past experience had taught him the weakness of such a trust. On the alliance of the neighbouring potentates his hope of effectual resistance seems principally to have been founded. His first and most pressing application was made to the court of Berlin. Prussia, in the year 1790, had entered into a treaty of defensive alliance with Poland, in which each of the contracting parties mutually stipulated to assist the other, in case of an attack, with a powerful force, and if necessary with all her troops. Notwithstanding this apparently conclusive engagement, Frederick William refused to comply with the request made to him, observing, that since the year of his alliance with Poland, the state of things was entirely changed; and that as the displeasure of Russia had been justly incurred by the establishment of the new constitution, an event which took place at a period posterior to his treaty, existing circumstances were not applicable to the stipulations, by which he held himself bound. Instead therefore of sending an army to the assistance of the republic, he gave her much cool advice; and proposed, on the condition of her retracing the rash steps which she had taken, to negociate with the Empress in her favour. The motives which seem to have directed the policy of the Prussian monarch on this occasion *, we have already hinted.

A similar application was made to the court of Vienna, and, as might have been expected from the situation in which the house of Austria stood with respect to France, with similar ill success. Instead of granting the aid requested of him, the king of Hungary declined all interference, recommending the restoration of the old constitution as the surest means of averting the miseries with which the republic was threatened.

Immediately on the delivery of the Empress's declaration to the diet, her armies invaded the Polish territory. The plan of the Russians seems to have been, to enter the kingdom in different directions on the sides of Lithuania and the Ukraine, and to press forwards from both sides towards the capital.

To dispute the entrance of the

* P. 61.

enemy into the Ukraine, prince Poniatowſki had previouſly been ſtationed in that quarter. His army was unexpectedly augmented by the arrival of 2,000 men, chiefly Coſſacks, who had been embodied by count Sizneſa Potocki for the Ruſſian ſervice, but who went over to prince Poniatowſki, with all their cannon, amounting to about thirty pieces. In ſpite, however, of the exertions made to collect a force of ſufficient magnitude to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy, and of the difficulties which the emigrated nobles found in drawing over their countrymen to their party, the Ruſſians met with but little reſiſtance in penetrating the Poliſh territory.

May 27th. The firſt action of any importance, that occurred, was fought near Winnicze, where prince Poniatowſki was at the time encamped, which, although a mere affair of poſts, appeared highly creditable to the Poliſh arms. An officer of the national cavalry, whoſe name was Golciowſki, having occupied an outpoſt with only 300 men, was ſuddenly attacked by 2,000 Ruſſians. He inſtantly returned the fire, and then charging them ſword in hand, with an impetuoſity which they were unable to reſiſt, completely broke their ranks. A general action enſued, which laſted about two hours and a half, when Golciowſki remained maſter of the field. The loſs on the Poliſh ſide, was ſaid to have been only 30 killed and 24 wounded, while that of the Ruſſians was eſtimated at full 300 left dead upon the ſpot.

The enemy, notwithſtanding this little check, having ultimately made good their ground, and obtained poſſeſſion of ſome important poſts, compelled prince Poniatowſki to fall back to Lubar. General Rochowſki, the Empreſs's principal general in this diſtrict, immediately puſhed forwards, apparently with the deſign of giving him battle, or of cutting off his retreat to the capital. It was not long before a part of the adverſe armies met. A column or two of Ruſſians appearing in ſight, June 14th. prince Poniatowſki diſpatched general Wielhorſki to reconnoitre along the river Slucz, towards Oſtropol. The prince himſelf followed; and found Wielhorſki already engaged with the enemy. Falling without delay on the flank of the Ruſſians, he quickly obliged them to retreat; but after having taken a view of Rochowſki's whole force near Oſtropol, he inſtantly returned, ordered his camp to be ſtruck, and commenced his march from Lubar at four o'clock the ſubſequent morning, retreating ſtill further from the frontiers. A body of the enemy, amounting to about 4,000, continually harraſſed his rear; but little material loſs was received, until he reached Boruſzkowee, where an unlucky accident occurred. While the troops were paſſing over a bridge made of wood, the timber unfortunately gave way with the weight of the cavalry, which threw them into ſome confuſion, as well as retarded their progreſs. The main force of the Ruſſians coming up at this moment, ſoon brought their cannon to play upon a dam, over which the Poles attempted to paſs after the deſtruction of the bridge. Two whole battalions thus became expoſed to a furious attack, and loſt, after a brave reſiſtance, about 250 men. The remainder having ſunk their cannon, threw themſelves

ſelves into the river, and ſwam over. Prince Poniatowſki continued retreating, till he arrived at Zielime, where, having received ſome reinforcements, he halted, with the reſolution of riſking an engagement. The Ruſſians appearing, an action immediately took place, which laſted from ſeven in the morning till five in the evening, when the prince compelled them to retreat; and after having reſted two hours on the field of battle, purſued his march, and encamped at Zaſlaw. His loſs in this engagement was eſtimated at 800 infantry and 300 cavalry; that of the Ruſſians at about 4,000 men. After a ſhort ſtay of a few days at Zaſlaw, he retreated to Oſtrog, and from thence towards Dubno, frequently ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, who kept cloſe at his heels. Continuing his retrograde motion, he then took a favourable poſition on the river Bug, not far from Dubienca and Wladowa. While the army was thus poſted, an attack was made by 17000 Ruſſians, on general Koſciuſko, who had with him a diviſion of only 5,000 Poles ſtrongly intrenched. Koſciuſko received them in the moſt gallant manner; and for a conſiderable time bore the whole fury of the attack, without quitting his poſition. The Ruſſian cavalry at length making a circuit round, took him in the rear, and obliged him to retreat. The loſs of the enemy was very great, amounting to about 4,000 men, among whom were ſeveral officers of diſtinction. This was the laſt engagement which took place between the Poliſh and Ruſſian armies in that quarter.

July 18th.

In Lithuania, the progreſs of the Ruſſians was equally rapid, if not more ſo. After croſſing the river Dwina, a conſiderable body of them marched to Wilna, and took poſſeſſion of that town without the leaſt oppoſition. The Poliſh army in this quarter, ſeemed leſs able to contend with the formidable forces of the Empreſs, than that in the Ukraine. The only engagement of any importance, which occurred in Lithuania, was one that took place between Mire and Swierzna, on the 10th of June, when the Poliſh army was vigorouſly attacked, but with little ſucceſs, by the enemy, who, after a conflict of ſome hours, retreated with the loſs of 150 men. A heavy fall of rain prevented the Poles from purſuing them in their retreat. On the ſubſequent day, both armies met. A warm action ſucceeded. The Poliſh cavalry, however, terrified by the bombs which ſhowered around them, firſt gave way, while the infantry ſupported a very heavy and inceſſant fire with great bravery. The Ruſſians, diſpatching a body of troops over a river, took them in flank, and at length terminated the conteſt. Retiring from the field of battle, the Poles fell back to Nieſwiez, and from thence to Grodno. Nieſwiez was afterwards taken. No further reſiſtance ſeems to have been made; but as the Ruſſians advanced, the Poles, incapable of facing them, retreated towards Warſaw. A plan was projected of forming a camp in the neighbourhood of the capital, to defend it to the laſt extremity; but little progreſs was made in it, except the encamping of the royal guards, and a few other troops on the oppoſite bank of the Viſtula, before all military operations ceaſed.

On the entrance of the Ruſſians into the Ukraine, a confederation,

in oppoſition to the new conſtitution, was formed at Targowitz, by the Poliſh nobility in the intereſt of the Empreſs. The act of this confederation, annulling all the proceedings of the diet on the celebrated 3d of May, was made public, and propagated by the Ruſſians; whoſe arguments could not well fail of producing conviction, as they gave the paper for ſignature with one hand, while they held the ſword in the other. To ſuch a confederation, when all hope of military ſucceſs had vaniſhed, when the troops of the republic, few in number, and even thoſe few ill ſupplied with arms and proviſions, were unable to withſtand their adverſaries, when the Ruſſian armies were within three marches of the capital, and when the courts of Berlin and Vienna, ſo far from ſupporting a tottering cauſe, ſeemed rather diſpoſed to arm againſt it, was the unhappy Stanilaus Auguſtus at laſt compelled to accede. Having received a diſpatch from the Empreſs, in which this mortifying ſtep was inſiſted upon as the only expedient to prevent a new partition, he immediately convened

July 23d. a meeting of his miniſters, ſubmitting himſelf wholly to their direction. They adviſed him, how ungrateful ſoever it might be, to comply with the Empreſs's wiſhes. The king's acceſſion to the confederation of Targowitz, was followed by that of the diſtricts of Warſaw, and the other diſtricts of the kingdom. As ſoon as the royal reſolution was ſignified to M. Bulgakow (who notwithſtanding the commencement of hoſtilities had ſtill continued at Warſaw) an armiſtice inſtantly ſucceeded; the Empreſs's troops encamped near the ſuburb of Warſaw, and the command of the Poliſh army was conſigned to a Ruſſian general.

Long before her invaſion of Poland, we have * ſeen that Catherine had marked, with an attentive eye, the progreſs of the French revolution; and had ſtimulated the king of Sweden to take an open part againſt it. Guſtavus, who poſſeſſed the moſt unbounded ardor for military glory, and felt a real commiſeration at the fate of the unhappy Louis, entered with avidity into the ſcheme. Early in the ſummer of 1791, ſome plan of this deſcription ſeems to have been deviſed between the two monarchs, but was poſtponed for further conſideration, and probably from a hope of additional aſſiſtance, during the remainder of the year. Spain however was ſaid to have been conſidered in the firſt inſtance, as a party to the project. The following † has been given as the outline of the plan. Guſtavus at the head of ſix-and-thirty thouſand Swedes and Ruſſians, was to have landed as near as poſſible to Paris, for the purpoſe of marching directly to that capital, and of thus creating a diverſion, while the main armies of the other powers in alliance penetrated the French frontiers; or at leaſt with the deſign of ſeizing ſome reſpectable ſea-port, and of waiting there the iſſue of a negociation, which was to be ſet on foot with the leaders of the French revolution. Beſides the cooperation of her troops, Spain was expected to furniſh, for the expences of the expedition, fifteen millions of livres Tournois.

* See above, page 57.

† Bouillé's Memoirs, page 393.

To

To collect information for this enterprize, the Swedish monarch visited Aix-la-Chapelle in the month of July, where he conversed with the marquis de Bouillé on the subject, and spared no pains to procure materials for the improvement of his project, which he proposed to execute in the subsequent spring.

When the interview took place at Pilnitz, between the Emperor and king of Prussia, the plan of Gustavus was laid before those monarchs by the marquis de Bouillé. It was far, however, from being favourably received. The king of Prussia betrayed evident signs of direct disapprobation, and the views of Leopold were too pacific to adopt so bold and hostile a measure.

Shortly after this period, the acceptance of the constitution by the king of France appeared to give a new turn to the affairs of that country. Spain began to recede from her original promises of assistance; and became principally studious of the preservation of peace.

In spite, however, of every obstacle, Gustavus persevered in his design; but before his intended departure from his kingdom convened a diet, for the purpose of re-establishing a more perfect order in his finances, which had been deranged by the late war. The diet assembled; and after having proceeded in the business of its meeting with the utmost tranquillity, passing many resolutions that strengthened the royal prerogative, peaceably terminated its sittings.

Feb. 23. 1792.

The moment for his embarking on his long projected enterprize seemed now fast approaching, and every domestic arrangement, previous to his departure, was finally adjusted, when an unexpected catastrophe occurred, which cut him off in the midst of his dreams of glory, and hurried him to an untimely grave. Among the order of the nobility, in consequence of the recent revolution, he had many daring and inveterate enemies, who secretly wished for an opportunity to revenge themselves on their too popular sovereign. The diet, which had lately met, by its firm and full adherence to the royal cause, contributed to augment the hatred of his enemies, and rouse them to some immediate and desperate act of vengeance. A person named Ankerstrom, who was a gentleman by birth, and had been an officer in the guards, offered himself as a ready instrument for their bloody purpose. Exclusive of what he termed public motives for his conduct, this man professed to feel a private and personal resentment against the king*, on account of a former prosecution for high treason. The conspirators, among whom were some persons of high rank, formed several projects to effect this design, and made several attempts without success. Suspicions of some lurking treason began to be entertained; reports of plots and conspiracies alarmed the public mind; and the king was perpetually cautioned by his friends not unnecessarily to expose his person. To every request of this kind he unfortunately turned a deaf ear, remarking, "that were "he to listen to every idle rumour "of plots, he should be afraid of "drinking even a glass of water."

* He had been convicted and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment; but had afterwards been pardoned.

On the 16th of March, while ſupping with ſome perſons of his houſehold, before he went to a maſquerade at the opera houſe, he received an anonymous letter, which although written in hoſtile language, adviſed him not to attend the maſquerade that evening, as a conſpiracy was formed for his aſſaſſination. Always confident and intrepid, he ſhewed the letter to ſome of his friends then preſent, treated its contents with ridicule, and perſiſted, in ſpite of their earneſt entreaties to the contrary, in his original intention of viſiting the opera houſe. He accordingly proceeded to the fatal ſpot, entering the room, arm in arm with the baron de Eſſen, his maſter of the horſe; but had ſcarcely taken two or three turns there, before he ſuddenly found himſelf ſurrounded by a crowd violently preſſing upon him, and was ſhot by a perſon behind him in the left ſide. A cry of fire was inſtantly raiſed; and the confuſion in the aſſembly became indeſcribable. Guſtavus was not killed on the ſpot; but, falling on a bench near him, immediately called out for all the doors to be ſhut, and every perſon to be unmaſked. He was afterwards led into an adjoining apartment. On the floor of the room were found a piſtol, and dagger, or rather a knife of a peculiar conſtruction; both of which the aſſaſſin was ſuppoſed to have dropt, after the perpetration of the horrid deed. Every perſon, as he left the room, was compelled to unmaſk, and give in his name. Ankerſtrom was the laſt perſon who left it; yet he left it without a diſcovery. He afterwards confeſſed that he had intended to have diſpatched the king, after the diſcharge of the piſtol, with his dagger; but his hand trembling, as he raiſed it, he involuntarily dropt it on the floor.

On the following morning the arms which had been found were ſubmitted to public examination, and were recognized by a gunſmith and cutler of the city; the former depoſing that he had repaired the identical piſtol for captain Ankerſtrom, and the latter, that he had made the dagger at the requeſt of the ſame perſon. The aſſaſſin was in conſequence immediately arreſted; and confeſſed the crime without heſitation, glorying in the bloody deed. At firſt indeed he denied his having any accomplices; but afterwards made a full recital of the plot, giving in the names of the ſeveral conſpirators, among whom was the author of the anonymous letter, M. de Liljehorn, a lieutenant colonel in the guards, and a man brought up and ſupported by the very prince, againſt whoſe life he had conſpired. The perſons taken into cuſtody on this occaſion, beſides lieutenant colonel Liljehorn, were count Horn, count Ribbing, baron Ehrenſward, baron Bjelike, baron Pechlin, two brothers by the name of Engeſtrom, the one counſellor of chancery, the other the royal ſecretary, and major Hartmanſdorf. Baron Bjelike previous to his arreſt had taken poiſon, and ſhortly after expired. The king himſelf named count Ribbing, in conſequence of a ſingular incident: Juſt before he ſat out for Geſle, his fortune was told by a woman named Harviſſon *; and he was adviſed to beware of the month of March, and

* M. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 493.

of

of the firſt perſon he ſhould meet on leaving the houſe. That perſon was count Ribbing.

The wound, which the king received, was not immediately declared likely to prove fatal. Although his ſufferings from it muſt have been excruciating in the extreme, (the piſtol having been loaded with ſeven nails, beſides two balls and ſome ſmall ſhot) he bore them with unexampled courage and reſignation. He ſummoned his friends around him, and even thoſe, who from their oppoſition to his meaſures, had been ranked among his enemies; the latter of whom he addreſſed with that true magnanimity of mind, for which he was ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed: "Now," ſaid he to them, "am I indeed "conſoled for my misfortune, ſince "it again brings around me my "old friends." For ſeveral days together he endured the torment of his wound with the greateſt apparent tranquillity, without the utterance of a groan or a murmur. The period however of his ſufferings at length arrived. On the 28th a mortification evidently took place; and on the following morning, ſenſible of his danger, he confeſſed himſelf, according to the uſage of his church, to his high almoner, with a ſincere, but calm and unoſtentatious devotion; after which, he obſerved to him, "I doubt whe-"ther, in the eyes of my Maker, I "have any great merit, but at "leaſt I have the conſolation to "reflect, that wilfully I never in-"jured any perſon." Having performed this ſolemn act of religion, it was his deſire to receive the ſacraments, and take leave of his queen, who had not been admitted to him, while his fate remained undecided. The better to enable his mind to ſupport with dignity and fortitude, the diſcharge of theſe important and affecting duties, he prepared to take ſome repoſe, when immediately after having bid adieu to the nobleman in waiting, he expired.

Previous to his death he ſettled the regency of the kingdom, during the minority of his ſon, appointing his brother, the duke of Sudermania, regent. To his brother he made it his dying requeſt, that all the conſpirators might be pardoned; and was with difficulty perſuaded even to except the aſſaſſin himſelf from this liberal, but undeſerved act of clemency. Ankerſtrom, however, was the only perſon executed. His ſentence was, to be expoſed on the pillory for three ſucceſſive days, in three different parts of the city, to be publicly whipt in all thoſe places, to have his right hand cut off, and afterwards to be beheaded. The ſentences of the other conſpirators were changed by the regent into thoſe of baniſhment, or impriſonment, according to the degrees of guilt attaching to each of them. When the regent declared this act of mercy, after ſtating it to have voluntarily flowed from the tender heart of the benevolent Guſtavus, he expreſſed himſelf in the following terms*, "as a chriſtian, "as a ſubject, as a brother, and "as a man, we neither can nor "ought to recede from the laſt "commands of a dying monarch. "He had full privilege to grant "pardon in what concerned him-"ſelf alone. His will was our law,

* Appendix to the Chronicle, page 88 *.

" when he was in this world; and " his brother ſhall not be ſtained " with the reproach, that he de- " ceived him in death."

Thus miſerably periſhed, in the 46th year of his age, the heroic Guſtavus the third of Sweden. After having nobly braved death in all its moſt hideous forms, both by ſea and by land, in a novel ſpecies of warfare, peculiarly marked by ferocity and blood, and glorioufly ſuſtained againſt an enemy of infinitely ſuperior ſtrength, in a courſe of the moſt obſtinate and deſperate encounters recorded in hiſtory; after having, by the moſt extraordinary exertions of courage and enterprize, though left alone, and ſhamefully deſerted by his allies, extorted a ſafe and honourable peace, from this dangerous and ſuperior enemy; after having retrieved and adorned with new glory the ancient martial character and honour of his country; after all theſe exploits, when returned home, crowned with laurels and in the arms of peace, in the center of his own capital, ſurrounded by his ſubjects, friends, and courtiers, preparing, with a generous contempt of repeated warnings, to relax in thoſe pleaſures which he had well earned by his toil, he was deſtined to experience the hard fortune of falling by the vile hands of a traiterous aſſaſſin. The French writers ſometimes called him the Agamemnon of the royal confederacy, and his fate bore ſome reſemblance to that of the Grecian monarch, though the motive of his murder was not the ſame.

We have ſo diligently traced the conduct and actions of this prince, from his firſt appearance in public buſineſs towards the cloſe of his father's reign, to the period of the preſent diſmal cataſtrophe, that, what we obſerved before, with reſpect to the Emperor Joſeph, applies equally here, and little now remains to be pointed out, which can throw any new light upon his character.

We have ſhewn the manner in which, within the ſhort ſpace of a ſingle hour, he performed the extraordinary act of overturning the conſtitution of his country, and of deſtroying that powerful ariſtocracy, which for near ſixty years had been rivetted in its government, which had ruled all things without controul, and which ſeemed ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as not to admit a probability of its being ſhaken, except by ſome violent external ſhock, which muſt amount to little leſs than abſolute conqueſt. Without entering into any examination of the queſtions of right or wrong in this ſingular revolution (queſtions which at the time we fully and freely diſcuſſed) it cannot be denied that abilities and talents of the firſt order, with the greateſt exertions of vigour, enterprize, and courage, were all diſplayed, and were all fully neceſſary in its accompliſhment. The merit was all his own *. " Revolu- " tions, in his opinion, could only " be effected by one man, and he " muſt only conſult his own heart".

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that this great and ſplendid action was accompanied by circumſtances of the deepeſt ſhade, which inſtead of ſerving as foils to augment its brilliancy, were ſpots that partially darkened and eclipſed

* See M. Bouillé's Memoirs, p. 454.

its

its luſtre. Duplicity, diſſimulation, hypocriſy, fraud, and treachery, together with a violation and contempt of the moſt ſolemn and ſacred ſanctions, were charged by his enemies, as the diſhonourable means practiſed in its progreſs and execution. The circumſtance of the king's drawing a prayer-book out of his pocket, and compelling the aſtoniſhed and terrified ſtates, ſurrounded with grenadiers and bayonets as they were, to join in ſinging a hymn, returning thanks to the Almighty for their own deſtruction, and that of the conſtitution, was a wanton if not a cruel exerciſe of power, and a moſt indefenſible mockery of things, which in all ages, and under all religions, were held ſacred.

Upon the whole, it may perhaps be juſtly ſaid, that the early years of Guſtavus's reign did no honour to any part of his character excepting his abilities, and that theſe did not appear to be of ſo ſplendid a ſort, as to be at all indicative of the illuſtrious and heroic qualities which he afterwards diſplayed.

It is, however, always to be remembered, in paſſing a judgment on this ſubject, that independent of his perſonal and family intereſts, he had a great and noble public object before his eyes in this tranſaction, which was to reſcue his country from the evil government of a venal and ruinous ariſtocracy, which had for half a century held Sweden in a ſtate of ſuch abject degradation, that foreigners conſidered the nation as not only having totally changed its character, but its very nature. He ſaw and knew that all public meaſures were under the immediate influence of foreign gold, while a mercenary adminiſtration were ever ready, ſhameleſly to ſell to the higheſt bidder, the intereſts, honour, and ſecurity of their country. Thus were ruinous wars blindly entered into, diſgracefully conducted, and concluded by treaties as diſhonourable and ruinous as the wars. Thus was the whole nation once thrown into the two great contending factions of the *Caps* and the *Hats*, both being ſold to the intereſts of different foreign powers; until France, being tired of ſuch a waſte of treaſure, and not finding the effect anſwerable to the expence, in a great meaſure dropped the conteſt, and left the market open to her rival.

Guſtavus himſelf immediately ſaw and felt, with the utmoſt grief and peculiar indignation, that by ſimilar means, with many others ariſing from nearneſs, private intercourſe, and particular connections with a numerous and venal nobility, his great, ambitious, and inſidious neighbour was become the ſole arbitreſs in his nominal kingdom, and without the name of ſovereign, ruled it nearly with as unlimited a ſway, as ſhe did Courland, or any other dependant province, which was not actually and avowedly annexed to her empire. He likewiſe could not but perceive that the preſent war in which ſhe was involved with the Ottomans, afforded an opportunity, or at leaſt ſome room for hope, which might not ſoon occur again, of his being able to ſhake off that foreign deſpotiſm, and that miſerable ſervitude to his own ſubjects, under both which he ſo grievouſly laboured.

A deep ſenſe of private injury gave a keener edge to the reſentment

ment and indignation excited by public turpitude. Guſtavus knew, well remembered, fully felt, and was himſelf a partaker in many of the injuries and inſults offered to his father, who was reduced to ſo abject and ſervile a ſtate, as to induce him to adopt the deſperate reſolution of abdicating his ſhadow of a nominal crown, rather than longer to endure the continued ſeries of wretchedneſs which he found by bitter experience to be inſeparable from it. Guſtavus ſaw, that if the preſent government continued, he muſt be condemned himſelf to a life of ſimilar diſgrace and miſery with that of his father; he ſaw there was no alternative, but a baſe ſubmiſſion to ſuch an abject condition, or the hazarding every thing, crown, life, family, and all, on a bold and great effort for their emancipation; that it was a queſtion between ſlavery and independence which did not allow any conſequences or any dangers to operate in the deciſion. He determined to periſh or to be free: fortune and his own abilities fixed the reſult.

It is not improbable, but that feeling the great internal powers which he poſſeſſed, and which were then known only to himſelf, his public political views extended much farther than to the immediate apparent objects of the revolution; and that he looked forward to ſome future favourable conjuncture of things, with a generous deſign of being able to form ſuch a powerful alliance between the ſtates immediately intereſted, as would be ſufficient to reſtore a due equilibrium in the north, and to ſecure their independence; a ſtate of things which could never take place while Sweden was in a condition of vaſſalage to Ruſſia. He well and truly comprehended, that Sweden, Denmark, Pruſſia, Poland, and the Ottomans, were all deeply intereſted in forming ſuch an arrangement, and were fully competent to the execution of the deſign; and that thus, if their mutual coincidence was firm, and the grand object of their union kept conſtantly in view, an everlaſting barrier to the domineering views of Ruſſia, on the ſide of Europe, might be happily and effectually formed. He could not poſſibly foreſee, nor even think, that one of theſe ſtates, and that the moſt immediately intereſted, ſhould be ſo blind to her own political intereſts, and to the peculiar and imminent danger of her ſituation, as to go directly counter, ſo far as her ability would admit, to the execution of ſuch a deſign; or that the views of others ſhould be ſo warped and narrowed by baſe and ſelf-intereſted motives, as to render them incapable of any thing great, comprehenſive, or generous.

Guſtavus poſſeſſed very eminent abilities, and talents not only ſplendid, but equal to the performance of the greateſt things. Among theſe, together with a moſt faſcinating addreſs, which rendered every ſtranger at firſt ſight intereſted in his favour, was a very powerful and perſuaſive eloquence, admirably ſuited to popular aſſemblies, and from which he derived the moſt ſignal benefits in many of the moſt trying exigencies of his life. Indeed he valued himſelf on his management of the diet, and obſerved, that he was the only ſovereign who had ſucceeded in convoking a public body of that deſcription. His preſence of mind, immediate

mediate recollection, and inſtant deciſion, in all ſudden caſes of difficulty or danger, were perhaps only equalled by his uncle the great Frederick; while the firmneſs and fortitude which he manifeſted in the many ſevere conflicts on governmental and public affairs which he was obliged to ſuſtain, were in no degree inferior to that exalted courage which he diſplayed in the field of battle.

In that ſcene of action, indeed, his intrepidity and contempt of danger were carried to ſuch an exceſs, as to conſtitute the great blemiſh of his military character; the duties of the commander ſeeming not unfrequently to be too much ſunk in thoſe of the private ſoldier or volunteer. He evidently had the actions of his two great predeceſſors, Guſtavus Adolphus, and Charles the XIIth. conſtantly in his view, and endeavoured alternately, not only to emulate but to exceed them both. If he failed in ſome of thoſe comprehenſive firſt rate qualities of a great commander, particularly in a cool command of temper, which ſo highly diſtinguiſhed the former, he equalled the latter in the only ſhining parts of his character, thoſe of valour and enterprize, and was infinitely his ſuperior in all other reſpects; indeed, the urbanity of his manners, his humanity, and his forgiving clemency, could not be ſhewn to greater advantage, than by oppoſing them to the unrelenting obſtinacy, and the cruel ferocity of Charles.

Some may perhaps be diſpoſed to think, that however great and amiable the virtues of humanity, clemency, and forgiveneſs of evil actions are, yet that Guſtavus, as a king, carried them to a faulty exceſs; they may ſay, that ſtrict juſtice is no leſs a virtue, and that beſides its being a virtue, its due exerciſe, in all affairs of ſtate particularly, which at all involve the fate of a nation, is a duty in the ſovereign not to be diſpenſed with; and that he is not to gratify his perſonal feelings, at the riſk or expence of the public, in matters which implicate their general intereſts or ſafety. However the queſtion may be decided, it is certain that Guſtavus's clemency, or mercy to the authors of the deepeſt crimes which could be committed againſt either his perſon or the ſtate, was nearly without example; and whether it was a fault or not, he was fatally unfortunate, in remitting the forfeit life of the traitor Ankerſtrom, which in his true character as ſuch, he returned by the murder of the benefactor from whom he received it; and that murder rendered more horrid by ſuch cool premeditated circumſtances of malice and cruelty as to be nearly unparalleled.

The greateſt and moſt dangerous political error of Guſtavus's reign, was the affront which he offered to the nobility, in bringing members of the other orders, contrary to all precedent, and without ſufficient preparation and management of conciliatory policy, into the higher departments of the ſtate. We obſerved at the time, and in our minds at leaſt lamented, the dangerous conſequence which we foreſaw muſt proceed, from ſuch an affront offered to ſo proud, numerous, and powerful a body as the nobility of Sweden; who from

from their political conſtitution of government, and the habits incident to it, as well as from the climate and ſoil of their country, were bold and brave in the extreme; and among whom from their multitude, there being neceſſarily a great number of young men very much narrowed in their circumſtances, theſe could not, in the uſual courſe of things, but be prompt to execute the moſt hazardous and deſperate enterprizes. Our reliance upon the antient native honeſty, and the magnanimous character of the Swedes, prevented us, however, from imagining any conſequence ſo deplorable, or ſo diſgraceful to the nation, as that which actually took place. But the preſent age of refinement and philoſophy, has ſeen a ſanction and countenance given to aſſaſſination, which it had never before received in the moſt barbarous times.

Though the genius of Guſtavus ſhone brighteſt when it was moſt agitated, yet, like his uncle the great Frederic, he alſo admired, patronized, and cultivated thoſe arts, which can proſper and attain perfection only under the foſtering influence of peace. An academy was inſtituted by him at Stockholm, of which the principal perſons in his court were members, and at the head of which he himſelf preſided; yet even in this oppoſite purſuit, the predominancy of his military paſſion did not fail to diſcover itſelf. A ſingle ſentiment, in the inaugural oration which he pronounced before his academy, perhaps not leſs deciſively marks his character, than all the great actions of his civil and military life, which he performed in the face of difficulty and danger. "Such in-" deed," he obſerves, "is, the nature " of man, that he can be animated " only by action, and muſt have " ſtrong motives to excite his men-" tal powers. A ſtate of tranquil-" lity, ſo eſſential to human happi-" neſs, has a wonderful tendency to " enervate the underſtanding, unleſs " mankind are impelled to utility " by the moſt powerful motives, " and are prevented, by the proſpect " of fame, from ſinking into a le-" thargic ſlumber, equally danger-" ous to individuals, and to the com-" munity at large."

Upon the whole, Guſtavus was an extraordinary man, and he did great and extraordinary things. Had he lived a century ſooner, or in any preceding period of time, he would have been univerſally deemed the firſt hero of the age in which he flouriſhed. As it was, notwithſtanding an unuſual counteraction of adverſe fortune, and in deſpite, as it would ſeem, of a train of the moſt diſaſtrous and unexpected events, he roſe ſuperior to all, performed the moſt noble and heroic exploits, and ſeemed to overrule even fortune herſelf. Surely it may be deemed a great and ſingular conqueſt, to have ſubdued, by his own virtue, the implacable animoſity, and the inſatiable pride of his mighty rival and adverſary.

The death of Guſtavus afforded a ſubject of great and indecent triumph to the French revolutioniſts; indeed, it was to them an event of no ſmall importance, as it freed them from their moſt decided and active enemy, and put an end to all intentions of hoſtility on the part of Sweden, at the very critical period when they were preparing to declare war againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

That declaration, as we are informed

formed by the * minister, upon whose report it was founded, was received with general joy throughout France; there was not a department or a district, which did not show an eager desire for the commencement of hostilities. Vulgar politicians congratulated themselves that it would cut the thread of all the intrigues, by which, as they had been malignantly taught to believe, the counsels of Vienna governed the court of Versailles from the time of the queen's arrival in France. The deeper and more systematic faction, which yet maintained their ascendency among the Jacobins, gave what popularity they could to the war, in the hope of giving effect by it to their own intrigues: it opened to them the prospect of establishing their republic. They only quarrelled with the official style of the minister's report, and the proclamation, as not being † sufficiently rhetorical and metaphysical, according to the new taste of the revolution. The subdivision of the club under Robespierre did not attempt to resist the general cry, while from their original schism they would still have a right ultimately to blame the war, if the issue should be unprosperous. The royalists hoped that the war might occupy abroad those bands of unprincipled and ferocious men, who had been the instruments for oppressing them, and that the event might restore the nobility, gentry, and clergy of France, if the combined powers should prevail, to something of their former condition. The Feuillans, or Constitutionalists alone, soon began openly to censure the measure, as an act of aggression contrary to the constitution; and some general officers who were of that party, went so far in consequence, as to send in their resignations. La Fayette, however, though he was a principal leader of the Feuillans, seems at first to have entered fully into the designs of the ministers in support of the war; pleased in all likelihood with the opportunity of playing the great part, which circumstances seemed to have devolved upon him in that theatre of glory, and flattering himself with the expectation of finding new means to gratify his ambition of every kind, when he should have led on the armies of France to cheap and easy victory.

A counter proclamation was soon issued by the government of Brussels. It was short, well-written, chiefly exculpatory, though without humiliation, and calling, in a language of energy, on the people of the Netherlands, to repel with vigour and unanimity, the unjust attack with which they were menaced. The war declared by the pretended philosophers of France, it observed, was not in truth so much against the princes of the earth, as against religion, social order, prosperity, and all the comforts which naturally flow from it. The uniform conduct which had been observed during the last year, upon one side to force, and upon the other to avoid a war, was then stated. It was asserted, that the strictest care had been taken to prevent any thing from being plotted, or even written, in the Austrian provinces, against the new French constitution; and that the measures which had been April 29th.

* Vie de Dumoriez, tom. 2. liv. 4. chap. 2.

† Ibid.

pursued

purſued to reſtrain the emigrants from aſſembling in arms, had been praiſed by the French government itſelf, as an example worthy of being imitated by the princes of the empire. On the other hand, it was ſaid, the moſt pernicious writings againſt religion, and the lawful authority of the ſovereign, had been diſperſed from France all over the Low Countries; no ſatisfaction had ever been obtained for multiplied complaints of exceſſes, committed againſt the ſubjects and upon the territories of the Houſe of Auſtria; and when ſteps of neceſſary precaution were adopted, againſt emiſſaries avowedly ſent to excite inſurrections there, they were loudly reſented as infringements on the ſafety and liberty of French travellers. The government of Bruſſels apologized for noticing the internal government of any neighbouring ſtate, but thinking it neceſſary to diſſipate the deluſion attempted to be practiſed for the ſeduction of its ſubjects, held up to them the deplorable and ruinous condition of France, as well as her unremitting and dangerous endeavours to plunge other nations into ſimilar poverty, licentiouſneſs, and anarchy.

The Auſtrian and Pruſſian miniſters ſtill continued at Paris, waiting to be recalled by their reſpective courts; during which interval, the former ſtill continued in ſome ſort to exerciſe his functions on behalf of the German empire. He delivered in an official note, with a memorial from the princes of Alſace and Lorraine, who claimed, under the ſtipulations of a convention in 1736, and a treaty in 1738, to be conſidered as foreigners, and conſequently to be exempted from the penalties of emigration. M. Mailhe propoſed to refer the queſtion to marſhal Luckner, and others called loudly for the order of the day; the aſſembly, however, got rid of the ſubject with more decency, by ſending it to ſome of their committees, where it was quietly forgotten. Indeed, at that very time, an act of unqualified aggreſſion againſt the empire had been directed and executed. General Cuſtine, with a ſtrong detachment from Luckner's army, had ſeized the important paſs of Porentru, and all the other territories of the biſhop of Baſil, a German prince, who, under a treaty of 1736, confirmed by a more recent treaty of 1780, was to be at liberty to remain neutral, in caſe of a war between France and the Empire, and that too with an expreſs recognition and reſervation of the rights of the Emperor and Empire over him. The pretence for attacking him was, that on his application ſome time previous to the war, the paſs had been garriſoned by four or five hundred Auſtrians for his protection; and this was conſtrued into a violation of his faith, though the treaty of 1780, by the third article, required no more than that, on the breaking out of a war with either of the two contracting powers, they ſhould ſettle by a convention the beſt method of ſecuring that which was in danger, by ſhutting the paſs againſt every enemy: nor had any demand been made, or negociation attempted agreeable to that ſtipulation. Louis the XIVth, indeed, had begun a war againſt the German empire by a ſimilar ſeizure of the paſs of Porentru, but it was before any ſuch treaty for the neutrality of the biſhop of Baſil exiſted.

Another act of hoſtility againſt another eccleſiaſtical prince of the German empire, had been alſo at this time ordered, with as little regard to juſtice. Leige was included in the great plan for the attack on the Netherlands, which was the favourite object of the war, and which, ſtill more to illuſtrate the queſtion of aggreſſion, it will be proper here to trace from its origin.

This ſubject had for ſome time occupied the thoughts of the miniſters. Indeed M. Dumourier, who had early foreſeen the certainty of general hoſtilities, had turned his attention that way, long before he was in office. He carried a project of that kind to M. Narbonne, when the latter was at the head of the war department; but the vanity of that miniſter was too great to ſuffer him readily to adopt the ſchemes of others. His confidence in his own abilities, is ſaid to have been ſuch, as to have induced him one day to demand an audience of the queen, for the purpoſe of reading to her a long memorial, intended to ſhew, that the king's only chance of ſafety lay in ſelecting a miniſter of talents, wiſdom, and activity; of reputation and authority, to overawe the aſſembly, and of unſhaken fidelity to the king: one, to whom the unlimited confidence of the crown might be ſecretly given, and who ſhould be maſter of the fate of his colleagues; for which ſituation he concluded by propoſing * himſelf.

Buſy-minded no leſs than ſelf-weening, M. Narbonne reſolved to ſee every thing with his own eyes. He poſted along the frontiers, inſpected the garriſon towns, reviewed the troops, and in three weeks returned to Paris with a report, that the former were perfectly ſecure, and the latter ready to take the field. He next ſummoned the three generals, Rochambeau, Luckner, and La Fayette, to Paris, and introduced them ſo early as the beginning of March to the king in his council, that they might there give an account of the internal ſtate of the armies, and conſult on a plan of operations, almoſt two months before war was declared. M. Rochambeau, repreſenting the bad condition of his army, their total want of diſcipline, and the impoſſibility of then re-eſtabliſhing it, adviſed defenſive meaſures. M. Luckner, admitted that ſomething of the ſame kind might be ſaid of his army too, but was ſatisfied that his ſoldiers would always follow wherever he led them; and declared at once † for an offenſive ſyſtem, as that which alone ſuited the national character. M. La Fayette, we are told, expreſſed himſelf in few words; he contradicted neither of his colleagues, and though their ſentiments were ‡ quite oppoſite, con-

* M. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 247-8 9. Though it cannot be ſuppoſed that this anecdote is a fiction, as the author profeſſes himſelf to have had it from the queen the next day, yet it muſt be remembered, that M. Narbonne was the decided enemy of M. Bertrand. The colouring, therefore, is a good deal ſoftened in the text.

† M. Bertrand's account of the difference in opinion between M. M. Rochambeau and Luckner, is confirmed by M. Rochambeau's letter of reſignation to the national aſſembly. See the Moniteur of May 14th.

‡ Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. chap. 18. p. 59, &c.

trived

trived to accommodate what he said to both: after which the three generals read a long memorial, and retired.

The dismission of M. Narbonne followed not long after. He had, in truth, brought up the three generals from their troops, to support his credit in the cabinet and with the country against his colleagues, and more especially against M. Bertrand. To this end he obtained letters from all three, couched in nearly the same words, making it their request that he would not resign, and intimating that if he persisted in his determination, they must lay down their respective commands. In answer, he made a merit of keeping his place, in compliance with their wishes. But he undid all, by publishing the correspondence, in consequence of which, the generals, offended, left him to his fortune. He was immediately removed, and in his stead, the remaining ministers recommended the Chevalier De Grave, a young officer from the same connexion with M. Narbonne, at the house of Madame Stael, M. Neckar's daughter, who at that time had a principal share in conducting the intrigues of the Feuillans, as Madame Roland presided at the councils of the Jacobins under Brissot. Not destitute of talents, but of an anxious mind, and with less vanity than his predecessor, the new minister of war was sensible of his own inexperience, and suffered M. Dumourier, who had seen six and thirty years of service, to direct in a great degree, the measures of his office. The plan, therefore, of the latter, which had been rejected by M. Narbonne, was now adopted.

On the side of Spain, where the mountainous and barren frontier presented no temptation to rapacity, he proposed to limit their views wholly to defence; and to enable him to estimate the force necessary for this purpose, the ambassador at Madrid was instructed to obtain, by secret enquiries and observations, a knowledge of the intentions of that court with regard to France. The answer was completely satisfactory. It declared *, that not the least apprehension could be entertained on the side of Spain, as neither the former nor present Spanish minister, had ever had the smallest idea of invading France; and the cordon of troops on the frontier, which had been represented as an object of terror, did not exceed twelve or thirteen thousand men at the utmost, dispersed over an extent of three hundred miles.

On the side of Italy, his advice was, if the king of Sardinia should become hostile, to make offensive war, for the purpose of seizing all the territories of that prince between France and the Alps; but Savoy, Piedmont, and Nice, once reduced into possession, he then meant to stand on the defensive in that quarter also. In truth, the faction with which Dumourier had connected himself, had from the † beginning cast a longing look on those countries, and from time to time filled their journals with essays and dissertations on the ancient pretensions of France to them, and the

* State Papers, p. 244-5* letter from the French ambassador, dated Aranjuez, April 5th.

† See above, p. p. 222 and 239.

means

means of recovering them. Not wiſhing, therefore, to avoid a war, if not immediately ſeeking the occaſion of one with the court of Turin, the French government directly charged that power with hoſtile deſigns, and demanded a categorical explanation of certain points, in an imperious tone, and with no ſmall degree of indecorous urgency. To this accuſation an anſwer was ſhortly after returned by the Sardinian miniſter, which affirmed, in temperate but unequivocal and convincing language *, the pacific intentions of the king his maſter; and the French chargé des affaires added alſo, in his diſpatch to M. Dumourier, that he believed his Sardinian majeſty to have been unjuſtly ſuſpected, and that he was ſolely employed in preſerving the peace of his own ſtates. But this, it will hereafter be ſeen, did not ſave Victor Amadeus; ſuſpicions and jealouſies were ſtill induſtriouſly kept alive; affronting and vexatious meaſures purſued; and no ſooner did the French ceaſe to be preſſed by the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, than they turned their arms againſt him, without any declaration † of war. In the firſt inſtance, however, fearing no moleſtation from that quarter, M. Dumourier appears to have thought it prudent, that nothing ſhould be ſuffered to divert them from their great object of the Netherlands.

Thus left at liberty on every other ſide, the whole military force of France was deſtined for the Auſtrian and German frontiers: and the Low Countries ſeemed to be a certain prey, as all the troops for their defence did not exceed ten thouſand men ‡, while the two armies of Rochambeau and La Fayette, after leaving ſufficient garriſons, could make an invaſion with between fifty and ſixty thouſand effective men. Nothing was wanting to inſure ſucceſs, in the opinion of the miniſters, but rapidity rather than method in the operations, ſo as not to leave the houſe of Auſtria time to ſend reinforcements; ſuch a direction given to the movements of the columns as that they might act in concert; and above all, ſuch a behaviour to the inhabitants as might conciliate their affections, and make them a formidable acquiſition of ſtrength.

La Fayette went over a great part of this plan with the miniſter, and ſeemed cordially to agree with him in the general outline, as well as the means of carrying it into execution. He wiſhed, however, in conſideration of M. Rochambeau's ill health, and ill humour with the project of the campaign, to be appointed commander in chief of the whole force to be employed. And he demanded for that ſervice, an army of fifty thouſand men, with which he propoſed to enter the enemy's country

* State Papers, p. p. 244-5*. Anſwer of the French chargé des affaires at Turin, communicated to the aſſembly April 5th.

† See the State Papers, p. 336*. Letter from the king of Sardinia to the Thirteen Cantons, dated October 10th, 1792.

‡ See State Papers, p. 279*. Declaration of the court of Vienna. The author of "Quelques Details" reckons them altogether at 15,000; M. Dumourier carries them up to to 30,000, but ſtill admits the French force to be much more than ſufficient.

by the way of Namur, and proceed down the Meuſe as far as Liege. That city, and the principality dependant upon it, had nothing to do with the war againſt the king of Hungary, but the poſſeſſion of it, he thought, would enſure the reduction of the Netherlands.

The miniſter did not object to the injuſtice, and approved the policy of the propoſed expedition. He did not doubt that La Fayette might have ſucceeded, but he was himſelf evidently jealous of that general's deſigns, and he dreaded the violent clamour which would have been raiſed in the aſſembly, and the deſperate extremities to which the jacobin club would have gone, againſt himſelf, his colleagues, and the king, for truſting ſo much military power in ſuch hands. He refuſed, therefore, to gratify M. La Fayette, for the preſent, with the extenſive command which he deſired, but ſuffered him to entertain hopes of it in future.

According to the arrangement, which was ſettled by inſtructions to the generals, dated on the 17th of April, the campaign was to be opened *, about the 14th of May; but new inſtructions were iſſued on the 22d of April, directing operations to commence on the 29th of the ſame month. Luckner was to occupy the defiles of Porentru with the extremity of his right wing, and with his left to form a camp of 8,000 men, under general Kellerman, at Neükirk upon the Sarre, for the purpoſe of holding Luxembourg in check. For the ſame purpoſe, as well as to cut off the communication between that important place and Namur, La Fayette was to aſſemble at Longwy, a body of 6,000 men from his right wing in the neighbourhood of Metz, and ſend them to take poſſeſſion of Arlon. With the reſt of the central army, he was to attack Namur from Givet, a peninſular point on the French frontiers, projecting towards that city, and ſurrounded by the territories of Liege, where they met, and were intermingled with thoſe of Namur, Haynaut, Luxembourg, and the barrier-towns of France. By the laſt inſtructions, however, his troops round Metz, inſtead of going to Longwy, were to join the reſt at Givet, fourteen days earlier than they had expected to be put in motion. Having made himſelf maſter of Namur, he was to proceed to Bruſſels or to Liege, as his own diſcretion might dictate to him, under the circumſtances of the moment. At the ſame period, lieutenant general Biron, with a body of ten thouſand men, detached from Rochambeau's army, was to attempt Mons, where the Auſtrian general Beaulieu was poſted, with a very inferior force. In caſe of ſucceſs, he was to puſh rapidly forward to Bruſſels, ſo as to be there, if poſſible, at the time that La Fayette was before Namur. A detachment likewiſe under a general officer, was to march from Liſle towards Tournay, where, if he found no reſiſtance, he was to place a garriſon, then join general Biron, or execute any orders which the latter might ſend, but he was not to hazard any thing in attacking Tournay. A ſmall body of troops received inſtructions to march from Dunkirk

* See M. Rochambeau's letter to the king, with copies of the inſtructions, read to the national aſſembly by M. Dumouriez, 4th May.

towards

towards Furnes, in order to found the diſpoſition of the Flemings, and either to remain in the field or return to Dunkirk, as the progreſs of the other troops might make moſt adviſable. The two firſt were intended to be real attacks; the two laſt only feints, by way of diſtracting the attention of the enemy.

As all the officers deſigned for theſe different ſervices were of a rank ſubordinate to La Fayette, when they had once entered the Netherlands, they would in effect have been under him, and he would thus have been actual commander in chief, without any direct affront being given either to Rochambeau or Luckner, by ſuperſeding them in his favour. New levies were then to have been ſucceſſively ſent to him, ſo as to put him at the head of ſixty thouſand men, in complete poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, before the court of Vienna could have marched to that quarter any army capable of taking the field againſt him.

The troops deſtined for the attack on Tournay were in number about three thouſand men, commanded by M. Theobald Dillon, who quitted Liſle upon this unfortunate expedition on the 28th of April. He met with no oppoſition until he arrived, by day-break on the following morning, within a ſhort diſtance of Tournay, where a ſmall body of the enemy, under the command of general count Happoncourt, appeared in ſight, and commenced a diſtant cannonade. Not above twelve ſhots had been fired by them, when the French cavalry exclaimed that they were betrayed, and breaking through the infantry, fled in the moſt diſorderly manner to Liſle, abandoning their artillery and baggage. The infantry followed; and ſo precipitate was their flight, that the Auſtrians were unable to overtake them, before they had reached the frontiers. Arrived at Liſle, the fugitives diſgraced themſelves ſtill further by the commiſſion of enormities not to be paralleled.—After having cruelly maſſacred three or four unfortunate Auſtrians, whom they had in their power, and trampled them under foot with the moſt barbarous ſhouts, next, under pretence that all their officers were ariſtocrats, and worthy of the lamp-poſt, they ſeized on M. Berthois, a lieutenant colonel of engineers, ſuſpended him by the heels with cords, and amuſed themſelves with repeatedly ſhooting him through the body. The lifeleſs remains of their victims were then treated with every indignity, which the worſt ſenſe of brutality could inſpire. Their fury however did not reſt here: with the moſt ſanguinary menaces againſt M. Rochambeau himſelf, and all the nobles in the army, they reſolved at leaſt to complete the triumph of the day by ſacrificing their commander. The unhappy general had ſcarcely entered the city, wounded and drawn in a cabriole, when the bayonets of his own troops, exulting in the horrid act, were thruſt into his boſom. He fell covered with wounds: yet the vengeance of the barbarians was not ſatiated. After having wearied themſelves with inſulting his dead body in every poſſible manner, they kindled a fire in the market place, threw his mutilated remains into it, and danced around it like ſavages with the moſt diabolical howlings. It

was even ſaid*, that his heart, torn from the bleeding body, was afterwards carried to a lady of the general's family, who, although ſhe had been delivered of a child the very morning of the murder, had been nevertheleſs confined for ſix and thirty hours in a damp cellar, and was preſented to her, with the dreadful alternative, either of ſatisfying her hunger on that, or of ſtarving. Such atrocious deeds admitted but of little or no palliation. The national aſſembly ſhuddered at the recital: and M. la Fayette publicly branded the perpetrators of theſe crimes with the juſt appellation of "daſtardly cannibals"; while, on the other hand, his own former conduct was daily compared by the jacobin faction to that of Jourdan at Avignon.

The expedition againſt Mons proved equally fruitleſs. M. Biron advanced to Quievrain, and, taking poſſeſſion of it, encamped in the neighbourhood. Leaving there a battalion of national guards for the preſervation of the poſt, he proceeded towards Mons, where he found general Beaulieu poſted with no more than eighteen hundred infantry, from fourteen to fifteen hundred cavalry, and ten pieces of cannon, chiefly three pounders, but in a very advantageous ſituation, with his right wing behind Jemappe, his left behind Frameries, and his center covered in front by a ravine, a quantity of brambles and bruſhwood, ſome ſcattered houſes, and the village of Quaregnon. The French marched in three columns; the two outermoſt being advanced before the center, ſo as to form a kind of half-moon: their left, at Bouſſut, drove in a picket of Auſtrian chaſſeurs, who retired fighting towards Jemappe; but different parties of horſe charging through openings in the village of Quaregnon, hindered the French from forming. Having viewed the enemy's poſition, which he deemed impregnable to his troops fatigued as they were, and expecting from general Beaulieu's manœuvres, to be attacked by the Auſtrians with a force, which he ſuppoſed to be much greater than it really was, M. Biron halted and kept upon the defenſive; when, about ſix in the evening, he heard the event of M. Dillon's enterprize againſt Tournay. On the arrival of this diſaſtrous information, he prepared to retreat; but his troops were too much exhauſted to move that night. Oppreſſed by the heat of the day, they had thrown away the contents of their knapſacks in order to lighten themſelves in the march; neither had they any forage for their horſes. About ten o'clock at night, two regiments of dragoons mounted without orders, and haſtened with ſpeed towards the frontiers. The general in vain attempted to arreſt their flight; he was hurried away among the fugitives a whole league, before he was able to prevail ſo far as to perſuade a part of them to return. The remainder continued their way with the utmoſt expedition to Valenciennes, ſpreading confuſion and

April 29.

* This circumſtance is related on the authority of a gentleman allied by blood to the general, who went to Liſle on purpoſe to inveſtigate the particulars of the tranſaction.

terror

terror as they passed, and exclaiming, that they had been betrayed by their general officers, all of whom ought to be massacred. At three in the morning, the Austrians were alarmed with attacks both on their right and left wings; but general Beaulieu having been reinforced the evening before with two fresh battalions, two six-pounders, and two howitzers, soon repulsed the assailants; and indeed these operations of the French army, which are not even mentioned in M. Biron's account of his expedition, seem to have been no more than feints to cover their retreat, unless they sprang from that want of discipline which is apt sometimes to shew itself in disorderly and dangerous courage, as well as in perplexed and ruinous panic. When day broke, the invaders retreated, or rather fled, closely pressed by the Austrians; who, after a short skirmishing at Quievrain, took possession of M. Biron's camp, baggage, and military cheft, which he in vain endeavoured to preserve. He was followed into France, and would probably have suffered still greater loss than he did, had not marshal Rochambeau himself, on the first report of his situation, hastened to his assistance, and placing eight pieces of cannon on the heights of St. Sauve, advanced under cover of that battery, with two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, to Henin*, half-way between Valenciennes and Quievrain, where he thus stopped the pursuit of the victorious enemy. M. Biron in his dispatches observed, that the whole country through which he had passed to the attack of Mons was decidedly hostile; he had not been joined by a single deserter or a single peasant, nor had received any intelligence whatever.

The small corps, which was dispatched under general Carle towards Furnes, to feel the pulse of the Flemings, marched into the country without resistance, experiencing neither friendship nor enmity on the part of the inhabitants. The failure, however, of the other expeditions made it necessary for these troops to fall back to Dunkirk.

At the same period that the northern army thus exposed the weakness of its discipline, and its incapacity to execute the operations at first expected from it, La Fayette made his attempt on Namur. He was at Metz, when, on the evening of the 24th of April, he received his final orders. To his surprise, he found a † change of time and place, which hardly left obedience in his power. His troops were in want of many necessaries; but the activity of the commanding officers and the magistrates of Metz supplied all, as well as their circumstances would allow: a train of thirty-eight pieces of cannon was got ready in twenty-four hours; horses pressed for the service; and the first division of the army arrived by the appointed time at Givet, after a difficult march of 166 miles in five days. The next morning M. Gouvion, with an advanced guard of 3,000 men, established himself at Bouvines, about half-way on the road to Namur. The main body

* Sometimes spelt *Onain*, and sometimes *Onnaing*.

† See his letter in the Moniteur, May 6th.

of this diviſion, amounting to about ſeven thouſand more, under M. la Fayette himſelf, was encamped at Rancennes behind Givet, where on the evening of that day he learned the diſaſters which had happened before Tournay and Mons. In conſequence, he judged it prudent to wait in that poſition for many articles which he much wanted, and which became the more indiſpenſable, as his efforts now were not to be aſſiſted by any co-operation. In the mean time it was known, that a reinforcement of 4000 Auſtrians, juſt arrived from Bohemia, had halted at Liege, the very day that M. Gouvion advanced to Bouvines, and the next day had proceeded to the protection of Namur, whither alſo various other troops were haſtening from different quarters of the Netherlands. Under theſe circumſtances, M. la Fayette ſeems to have abandoned the idea of attacking Namur, reſolving only to maintain out-poſts on the enemy's territory: he even called back M. Gouvion from Bouvines to a place named Onhaye, nearer to his head quarters. The bulk of his army, M. Dumourier ſays, inſtead of being ordered to follow him to his general rendezvous, as had been intended, was cantoned ninety miles diſtant, in the neighbourhood of Dun. While he continued in this ſtate of almoſt total inactivity, a knot of fugitive revolutioniſts, from Liege and Brabant, who called themſelves the Belgic Congreſs, ſat under his protection, diſperſed libels, defiances and menaces againſt their lawful ſovereigns; and when the prince biſhop ſoon after died, inſulted his memory with the moſt unfeeling indecency; but they brought no acceſſion of new recruits to their ſtandard.

Thus ended, in immediate diſcomfiture, the ſcheme of ſudden inroad, by which the French miniſters, when they precipitated the declaration of hoſtilities, hoped to over-run the Auſtrian dominions, almoſt without an effort. The loſs of the invaders in men was inconſiderable; but in their flight from Tournay and Mons, they left behind them camp equipage and baggage for 15,000 men, if not for 25,000, according to M. Dumourier; though what he relates ſeems hardly credible, that M. Biron, with only ten thouſand effective men under him, had his camp furniſhed with every thing requiſite for an army of double that magnitude. They no where found that treachery, on which they reckoned as their ſure ally: there was no deſertion but from their own armies; and while their generals were wholly intent on guarding themſelves from the ſpirit of mutiny and ſedition among their ſoldiers, and of reſtoring what little they could of diſcipline in their camps, the hulans and other light troops of the enemy made incurſions into their frontiers, collected forage in their farms and villages, and levied contributions in their open towns.

Diſguſted at the events which had taken place, differing totally from the counſels which prevailed in the cabinet, and finding himſelf to be in effect ſuperſeded by orders having been ſent to M. M. Biron and Dillon, through him indeed, but not even formally from him, marſhal Rochambeau requeſted permiſſion to reſign; a requeſt, which was urged with all the peeviſhneſs

of

of age, and with the blunt indignation of an old ſoldier. He declared, that ſince miniſters choſe to play the whole chefs-board themſelves, he would not ſubmit to be a paſſive piece in their hands. Some little ſhew was made of engaging him to ſtay; but he perſiſted, and his reſignation was accepted. The friends of La Fayette loſt no time in renewing their inſtances, that he ſhould have the joint command of both armies. But Dumourier, who thought his conduct, in a military view, not above mediocrity, and in his political capacity, factious and criminal, gave his pretenſions all poſſible oppoſition; in which he was ſupported by the king and the whole council. Luckner, therefore, was appointed to ſucceed Rochambeau, and this event fixed M. La Fayette in a decided enmity to the miniſter, by whom principally he had been defeated in the object of his ambition. That general now began to take part directly againſt the government in bitter complaints and reproaches.

The ill ſucceſs of their firſt enterprizes occaſioned the ferment, which might be expected among the different factions, eſpecially in the capital. The royaliſts too plainly exulted in every advantage of the Auſtrians as their own, and ſeemed to conſider all valour and military ſkill as departed from France, with her ancient nobility and gentry who uſed to lead her armies to victory. The Jacobins loudly attributed all their misfortunes to what they called an Auſtrian committee of royaliſts in Paris, and about the court, who were repreſented as betraying all the public councils to the enemy; it was openly preached to the ſoldiers, that they would never do well till they had maſſacred all their old officers of noble birth; it was even propoſed to deliver over the national aſſembly * itſelf to fire and ſword. The Feuillans cenſured both. They ſtill blamed the declaration of war as contrary to the conſtitution, but they profeſſed to believe the league of kings, and declared their reſolution to aſſert the independence of the nation. They took the ſide of the generals againſt the miniſters. They defended the court againſt the imputed treachery †, remarking very truly, that the plan of the campaign was publiſhed in all the democratical journals as ſoon as it had been decided in the cabinet, and thus circulating through France, paſſed into the Netherlands, at the ſame moment that it was communicated to the officers who were to carry it into execution.

In the midſt of this conflict, M. Dumourier diſplayed great ſpirit and preſence of mind. He fairly avowed himſelf the author of the plan which had been defeated; urged the wiſdom of drawing leſſons for their future conduct from paſt errors; endeavoured to inſpire freſh hope from the experience acquired by their late miſcarriages; and announced the formation of a ſecond plan, on another principle more regular and methodical. M. de Grave, however, who has declared

* Marat's Ami du Peuple. See the debate in the aſſembly, May 3d—Moniteur, May 4-5.

† See M. Rochambeau's letter of reſignation.—Moniteur, May 6th, and M. de Grave's letter, Appendix to Chronicle, p. 113*.

that he refuſed to have any concern in the former orders, reſolved no longer to make himſelf reſponſible for meaſures which he did not approve. He wiſhed to exchange his office for the foreign department; but that being denied, he reſigned. The vacancy which he had thus made in the council, was immediately filled by M. Servan, who before the revolution had diſtinguiſhed * himſelf by publicly ſpreading the new popular doctrines in the army, who for his conduct in 1790 had been diſmiſſed from a place at court, but who, enjoying † the favour of Madame Roland, had been lately introduced by Briſſot to the miniſter De Grave to be a manager of the war under him, and was now recommended by M. Roland to be his ſucceſſor.

The new plan of M. Dumourier was founded, like the former, on the aſſured hope of an inſurrection in the Netherlands. But the attack was to be made in greater force, as the power of reſiſtance on the other ſide was now greater. An Auſtrian army of conſiderable ſtrength was encamped in the neighbourhood of Mons, and threatened the oppoſite frontiers of France, ſo as to make it highly imprudent for Marſhal Luckner to attempt any operation of importance with his new army, where it ſeemed moſt likely to be ſucceſsful, in Weſt Flanders. M. La Fayette, therefore, repaired to Valenciennes before M. Rochambeau had actually given over the command to M. Luckner, that he might there conſult with thoſe two generals upon the moſt effectual mode of co-operation. And, an event occurred almoſt in his preſence, which ſhowed the neceſſity of ſome movement on his part to ſupport M. Luckner. The poſt of Bavay, between Valenciennes and Maubeuge, was ſurpriſed, and the white flag hoiſted: the town itſelf was ſaved from plunder by the exertion of the Auſtrian officers, but all the French infantry there ſtationed were made priſoners, and a quantity of forage ſeized and carried away, with little or no loſs to the ſucceſsful party. At the conference of the three generals, it was ultimately determined, that M. La Fayette ſhould change his head-quarters from Givet to Maubeuge. At the ſame time he thought it neceſſary to apply to the goverment for a reinforcement. With that view he diſpatched two of his aid-de-camps, M. La Colombe and M. Berthier, to the miniſter of war, by whom they were referred to M. Roland, the miniſter of the home department, to arrange with him the choice of the battalions then in the neighbourhood of Paris. But inſtead of giving them the troops required, M. Roland took upon himſelf to decide that the army of the center was ſtrong enough already; and when the two officers obſerved in reply, that their ſuperiority in numbers could not be too great, intimated a diſ-

* Particularly in a book called *The Citizen Soldier*. Both Madame Roland and Dumouriez praiſe it.

† Vie de Dumouriez. Lib. iv. chap. 5. tom. ii. p. 270. The author ſays, that Servan was recommended to the king by M. de Grave himſelf. Formally it may have been ſo; but Madame Roland ſays, the appointment originated with her huſband. Vol. i. p. 77. Eng. Tranſ.

truſt of the troops, and added, that they who had talked ſo loudly of ſhedding for liberty the laſt drop of their blood, had been very unwilling to ſhed the firſt; the miniſter immediately broke out into an invidious vindication of the ſoldiery, as if they had been calumniated by their officers, and heaped upon the latter the moſt injurious reproaches of treachery and cowardice. He afterwards thought proper to bring a charge on this ſubject, againſt the two aid-de-camps, in a laboured narrative addreſſed to the general. But M. La Colombe, in a language of ſtrong diſdain, denied the turn which had been given to his converſation; and at the ſame time M. La Fayette expreſſed his diſbelief that an aid-de-camp of his ſhould have gone for no other purpoſe than that of calumniating the French nation, and the army of his own general, to a man of whoſe exiſtence he was ignorant, till the gazette had announced him as a miniſter. M. Roland, in a ſtudied reply of conſiderable length, hinted, that the pupil of Waſhington, and defender of French liberty, talked like a courtier under the old government; and he held up himſelf as an "auſtere man, grown old in the "application of the principles of "philoſophy, and known in the "world of ſcience;" he ſpoke of the intrigues which had occaſioned the calamities of Mons and Tourney; to an inſinuation of unconſtitutional views in his party, he retorted, that he knew but of one faction within or without, that of the enemies of equality; and he concluded by warning the general, that he had already gone too far to recede; there was no middle path for him; he muſt be one of the heroes of the revolution, or the moſt infamous of the French name. Here ended this paper war; and M. La Fayette, who ſeemed at this time to have been more intent upon watching the Jacobins at Paris, than the Auſtrians on the frontiers, ſoon had his attention called another way.

On his departure for Valenciennes, he had ordered M. Gouvion to direct his operations towards the mixed territory (principally that of Liege) which lies between Givet and Philippeville, ſo as to be always within reach of ſhelter under the cannon of the latter place. He returned juſt in time to ſee M. Gouvion ſurpriſed by general Sztaray at Hemptinne, near Florennes, in the territory of Liege. From their vicinity to Philippeville, the loſs of the French was comparatively ſmall; but three pieces of cannon were carried away in triumph by the Auſtrians. May 23d.

In the beginning of the ſucceeding month, when marſhal Luckner was preparing to move on his enterprize, M. La Fayette gradually drew his army nearer to Maubeuge by the road of Philippeville and Beaumont, which latter place he ſummoned and took without reſiſtance in his way. His approach towards Mons, and the ſituation in which he placed his advanced guard of 4,000 men at Betigny, Bereilly, Marcieux, and Griſnelle, while M. Luckner was ſtill at Valenciennes, gave ſome diſquietude to the Auſtrians. It was reſolved therefore to diſlodge M. Gouvion, who had thrown up a little entrenchment at Griſnelle, about four miles and a half in front of Maubeuge.

Maubeuge. Accordingly that general was a second time surprised; and killed by a cannon shot at the entrance of the village. His troops, with some loss of men, tents, and a magazine of provisions, took refuge under the guns of Maubeuge, where M. La Fayette, as the Austrian accounts observe, remained all the time without making any movement for their support. He says himself, that from the wind being the other way he did not hear the firing.

June 11th.

In the mean time, M. Luckner was filing off towards Lisle for the purpose of invading Flanders from that quarter. The discipline of his army may be gathered from the circumstance that he left * six hundred men in prison to be tried for various offences, and among others for very indecent and flagitious conduct at Orchies, towards Miss Nash, an English lady †, who found no protection from the passport of the marshal himself. He established a camp of 5,000 men at Maulde, on the Scheldt, for the purpose of menacing Tournay; and still more to alarm that place, as well as to cover his real design, he formed another at Cysoing, on the road from Lisle. In this position, fixing the attention of the enemy, he waited the event of the irruption which was to be made on the coast of Flanders, by general Carle, with six thousand men from Dunkirk. At the moment when that officer, having passed through Furnes, entered Ypres, M. Luckner made himself master of Menin, without opposition, with an army of between twenty and thirty thousand men. The next morning he advanced towards Courtray. On his march he was encountered by colonel Mylius, who, though with a very inferior force, gallantly disputed the way, but was compelled, after a sharp though short engagement, to retreat with the loss of a hundred-and-twenty men, and one cannon. This little affair decided the fate of Courtray. The conquerors, the next day, pushed forward their advanced parties as far as Deynse, easily dislodging a small body of Austrians which was posted at that place. They now seemed to threaten Oudenard and Ghent, where some popular commotions were excited by the democratic faction. The whole open country between Lannoy, Bruges, and Brussels was in a manner covered by M. Luckner's army, while there was no force in the field to prevent the male-contents in that quarter from joining him ‡. But they did not flock as he had expected to his standard. Even at Courtray the acclamations of a party, when he entered that town, was succeeded by a sullen and melancholy sadness. Though he showed a distinguished attention to the emigrants from Brabant whom he had with him, trusted them with the charge of Menin, and publicly presented them with some pieces of

June 18th.

* See M. Luckner's account of his operations, in a letter from Menin, dated 29th June; in the Moniteur, 7th of July.

† See State Papers, p. 302*, and letter from M. Louis Noailles, Gazette Universale, May 29th.

‡ See M. Luckner's letter from Menin, dated 29th June.

artillery taken at Courtray, yet he never had more than from five to ſix hundred in his army, and thoſe he brought with him from France. Thus diſappointed of the numbers on which he had counted, he quickly drew back his troops from Deynſe to Harlebeck, and diſpatched an aide-de-camp to Paris for the purpoſe of ſoliciting reinforcements.

While he was waiting in uncertainty, and diſtracted one time with reports of a Pruſſian force having marched into Ghent, and another time with intelligence that the newly arrived troops of the enemy were becoming ſtrong in the electorate of Treves and the dutchy of Luxembourg, ſo as to point their columns at the French frontiers, where they were uncovered by the removal of the central army to Maubeuge; the Auſtrian generals formed a plan to drive him from Courtray, and if poſſible cut off his retreat to Liſle. With this view, general Beaulieu made a rapid march from Tournay. With his left wing he took poſt at the village of Vicht, midway between Oudenard and Courtray, while his right ſtretched towards Harlebeck. In this poſition, he ſent orders to colonel Mylius, who, having received a reinforcement, had again taken poſſeſſion of Deynſe, to advance with his whole force to Harlebeck, and drive the French from that place. This order was ſucceſsfully executed, and the Auſtrians began to re-eſtabliſh the bridge over the Lys, for the purpoſe of attacking Courtray on the ſide of Rouſſellaer and Bruges, while general Clairfait placed himſelf on the other ſide, ſo as to form a communication with general Beaulieu, and at the ſame time threaten the retreat of the French to their own borders. But the operations of colonel Mylius were not executed without conſiderable oppoſition from the French army, which made repeated but ineffectual attacks upon his poſt. In one of theſe ſkirmiſhes, the emigrant Belgians, as they were called, ſuffered very conſiderably.

Having at length made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions, general Beaulieu, on the 29th, attacked the French advanced poſts, which he drove back to the ſuburbs of Courtray, and from thence into the city, notwithſtanding a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries. The place was now untenable. Aware of this, and apprehenſive of having no retreat left but by the way of Nieuport, Furnes, and Durnkirk, in the face of a victorious army, M. Luckner directed his advanced guard to evacuate Courtray the ſame night in ſilence, and fall back to Menin, from whence the whole army marched to the neighbourhood of Liſle.

On the morning preceding this evacuation, and before he had received marſhal Luckner's orders to that effect, general Jarry, commander of the advanced guard, ordered the ſuburbs of Courtray to be burnt. In vindication of this meaſure he urged, that as it was the conſtant practice of the Auſtrian chaſſeurs and out-poſts, under cover of the night, to advance and lie in wait in the hedges and houſes of the ſuburbs, for the purpoſe of aſſaſſinating the French ſoldiers, he had been compelled to take this obnoxious ſtep in his own defence. On the other hand, the Auſtrians did not loſe the opportunity of rendering the invaders as odious as poſſible to the people of the Netherlands. They reproached the French

French with having declared an unjuſt war, entered a defenceleſs territory, where they had ſeized an untenable town, and without any ſufficient object wantonly burned the habitations of three hundred families. They alſo denied the truth of the excuſe aſſigned for this conduct. This action was, indeed, ſo direct a contradiction of the celebrated declaration, by which the French profeſſed to make war, not upon cottages but palaces, that the national aſſembly, apprehenſive of alienating from its intereſts thoſe countries which it affected to liberate, decreed an indemnification to the ſufferers, at the inſtance of marſhal Luckner.

With this termination of the ſecond plan, ceaſed all thoughts of an offenſive campaign. M. Dumourier, who, ſoon after M. Luckner ſet forward on his expedition, had changed for the war department, before the retreat of that general, retired altogether from the king's councils, and accepted the ſubordinate command of the little camp at Maulde. His ſucceſſor was M. Lajard, who, together with the other new miniſters, was taken from the party of La Fayette. With the intention, therefore, of bringing that general nearer to Paris, for the purpoſe of overawing the jacobin faction, but under the ſpecious pretext of ſtationing the commander in chief in that quarter where the enemy ſeemed moſt likely to penetrate, marſhal Luckner was ordered to take poſt in the center, and M. La Fayette towards the north; each being allowed to retain his own ſtaff, and whatever battalions he choſe to ſelect. Each did, in truth, retain all, or nearly all, his own troops. During the march to effect this alteration in their poſitions, both armies and both generals were ſaid to have met, and remained together for two entire days, at an internal ſituation not more than fifty leagues from Paris; a circumſtance which excited the indignation and jealouſy of the oppoſing factions. La Fayette afterwards eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Sedan, and Luckner at Metz.

The conſtant ſuperiority of the Auſtrians, with ſuch very unequal forces, ſeems to leave little doubt of the iſſue, had France been attacked the preceding ſummer, when her army was firſt broken in pieces, and before time had been given to the national guards and the new levies to acquire the little diſcipline which they ſubſequently had obtained. It now only ſerved to make the combined powers confident of their future ſucceſs, and proportionately ſlow in their immediate preparations for offenſive meaſures; not reflecting that every ſkirmiſh which did not effectually weaken the French, only made them better and more ſteady ſoldiers. Though both La Fayette and Luckner had rendered the emigrants of Brabant and even of Liege ſo prominent in their operations, yet on the other ſide, it was a conſiderable time after the declaration of war, before the French emigrants in Brabant were allowed to aſſemble in arms; they were put under ſevere regulations; nor did any of them actually ſerve in thoſe early engagements which have been related.

Much of this erroneous conduct, on the part of Auſtria, is, perhaps, to be attributed to the influence of Louis, who, contrary to the accuſations of his enemies, never interfered but to preſs for lenity and conciliation towards his people, and who never thought of ſilencing the clamours

clamours of the factions that were seeking his destruction, but by avoiding all just occasion for them. He looked forward with great inquietude to the event of the war, and justly feared, lest if the force and discipline of the combined armies should finally prevail, as then seemed probable, the Jacobins, in their despair, might massacre the priests and nobles who remained in France. These apprehensions he communicated to M. Bertrand, who advised the sending of a confidential person to the Emperor and king of Prussia, for the purpose of intreating them to postpone the commencement of offensive measures against France, till the very last extremity, and if that crisis should arrive, to declare, by a manifesto, "that, forced to take arms by an unjust attack, they did not impute that aggression either to the king or the French nation, but to a criminal faction which oppressed both; consequently, far from departing from the sentiments of amity which united them to France, that their intention, on the contrary, was to deliver that nation from tyranny, and restore it to legal order and tranquillity; that they had no view of interfering with the form of government, but merely to secure to the nation the right of adopting that which suited it the best; that all idea of conquest was foreign to their thoughts; that private property should be by them equally respected as national property; that their majesties took all peaceable and faithful subjects under their protection; and that they considered as their enemies those only who were the enemies of France, namely, the faction of Jacobins, and all its adherents." For the execution of this important service, M. Bertrand named M. Mallet du Pan, who, being approved by the king, was directed to proceed to Germany by the way of Geneva. He was furnished with a letter of recommendation to the marechal de Castries, and by him was to be introduced to his Imperial majesty and the king of Prussia. In addition to the points before mentioned, he was charged by the king to recommend, in the most earnest manner, to the combined sovereigns, not to place the emigrants in the foremost ranks, but rather to employ them in garrison, that they might return to France without having incurred the reproach of shedding the blood of their countrymen. Mallet du Pan himself has given a shorter and less distinct account of his negociation. The king, he says, desired that the rupture should, in no respect, lose the character of an ordinary foreign war between power and power, and that the allies should not allow themselves to derogate, in any manner, from the legislative independance of the nation. With these instructions, whatever were the precise terms of them, he repaired to Frankfort in May, where the ministers of the allied courts, as well as several other princes and states of Germany, were assembled, previous to the election of a king of the Romans. At first he was received with some distrust, as he had no authority under the king's own hand, for fear of a discovery; but that omission being supplied, the duke of Brunswick and the ministers no longer hesitated to confer with him in the most confidential manner.

Another act of impolicy in the proceedings of Austria, was more immediately her own. The counsellors of Francis did not think it

it neceſſary to adviſe ſuch a change of meaſures in the government of Bruſſels, as might conciliate the minds of his ſubjects in that quarter. His father Leopold, notwithſtanding the indemnity which he had promiſed, had diſmiſſed from the ſupreme council of Brabant, five of the leading members who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the oppoſite party during the laſt civil commotions. Theſe the eſtates of Brabant, and more eſpecially the third eſtate, wiſhed to be reſtored; upon which condition, they were ready to grant large ſubſidies, to vote the arrears which had not been received on account of the troubles, to make good the ſtores and money then conſumed and ſpent, as well as to ſettle a liberal allowance on the archduke Charles. But the court of Vienna declining that condition, the repreſentatives of the third eſtate were firm in poſtponing the ſupplies, againſt the reſolutions of the two higher orders; and they were encouraged in this reſiſtance, by popular votes and addreſſes of various cities and towns. They only yielded with reluctance, when the whole country was filled by the Auſtrian armies. It was perhaps from an unwiſe reſentment of this conduct, that their young ſovereign did not viſit them to be inaugurated in his own perſon, while in all other parts of his own dominions, he was apparently ſtudious to ſhew himſelf as early as poſſible to his ſubjects, and to catch their affections, by the ſplendour, the gaiety, the ſcenes of pleaſure, and acts of grace which attend a coronation.

This ceremony was performed at Buda, the ancient capital of Hungary, on the ſixth of June, when the king confirmed and guaranteed, before the members of the diet, the rights and privileges of that nation. On this occaſion, the fidelity and love of the noble Huns to their ſovereign was diſplayed in a manner not leſs ardent and energetic than that which had marked the days of Maria Thereſa. No ſooner had the king concluded his addreſs to the deputies, than they drew their ſabres, and with one voice ſolemnly ſwore to maintain his rights inviolable, or periſh. Nor was their loyalty confined to empty acclamations and expreſſions alone. Independent of the uſual coronation gifts to the king and queen, four millions of florins, ſix thouſand effective men, and large ſupplies for the uſe of the army during the war, were unanimouſly voted. The queen-conſort was crowned four days after the king, with the accuſtomed ceremonies, the crown being placed on the right ſhoulder inſtead of the head.

From Buda, the king haſtened back to Vienna, and on the fifth of July, the very day that the electors of the empire choſe him king of the Romans, ſet out for Frankfort, where, on the 14th of the ſame month, he was crowned emperor with more than the accuſtomed pomp and feſtivity. Here too the moſt affectionate attachment to his perſon was manifeſted by all ranks of people. They dwelt with pleaſure on the ingenuous expreſſion of his countenance, his modeſt demeanour, his gentle manners; and they beheld with pride the illuſtrious train of princes and nobles, French as well as German, who came to congratulate him on his elevation, and to court his protection.

During his ſhort ſtay at Vienna, he had given his ſanction to a ſeparate declaration againſt France, which ſoon after his departure was publiſhed

publiſhed in his name, as king of Hungary and Bohemia. There was nothing in this paper materially at variance with the deſires of Louis expreſſed through Mallet du Pan. It ſtated; that from the beginning there had been a manifeſt intention in thoſe who actually governed France, to force the court of Vienna, by a train of the moſt inſidious and offenſive meaſures, into a war, which the latter power, by repeated explanations, and a conſtant tenor of pacific conduct, had in vain endeavoured to avoid. The pretext of the aſſembling of emigrants on the frontiers, was conſidered as too groſs to need a refutation, ſince it was notorious that the French government itſelf had given its public thanks to the court of Vienna, for the ſteps it had taken on that point. The charge relative to the concert of powers was treated as equally futile. The real circumſtances of this concert, it was ſaid, were perfectly known to all Europe. It had been formed for the purpoſe of reſtoring to France her legal government, and its active exiſtence had ceaſed at the moment when that object ſeemed to be attained. Its continuance was declared to be abſolutely neceſſary to the ſafety of the ſurrounding ſtates, which was endangered by the example and the principles of France. France, it was added, might at any time have diſſolved it entirely, by reſpecting the rights of other powers, and by giving to its own government a ſafe and legal form. The claims of the German princes in Alſace, were ſaid to be grounded in the firmeſt manner upon long poſſeſſion, guaranteed by the moſt ſolemn treaties, and the conduct of the national aſſembly, in arrogating the right of being at once both judge and party, and of annulling all treaties contrary to its own pretenſions, was pointed out as one more attempt to deſtroy the public rights and the independency of nations. Yet even here the court of Vienna had ſhewn its ſincere deſire for the continuance of peace; as it had, on the invitation of the French miniſter, entirely withdrawn from its declaration the claims of the German princes, and the preſent ſovereign of Auſtria had no greater concern in that queſtion than any other member of the Germanic body. The accuſation of having armed on the frontiers was aſſerted to be totally falſe and unfounded. The court of Vienna, it was ſaid, had never accompanied its declarations by armaments in the manner of France; ſince the year 1790, it had not ſent more than four thouſand men to the Netherlands, ſo as to make up 10,000 men in that quarter, while the French army on the frontiers conſiſted of 130,000, nor had any diſpoſition been made for any further increaſe on the part of Auſtria, till after the 14th of April, when the conduct of France left no room to doubt of her intentions. The propoſal reciprocally to diſarm, at a time when France alone had armed, accompanied with a demand of quitting the concert of powers, at the very moment when it plainly became more and more neceſſary, was treated as a mere pretence for engaging the French nation in the aggreſſion. They who for ſix months, it was retorted, had been employed in preparing to attack Germany and the Low Countries, now complained of the moderate precautions taken by the court of Vienna for the ſafety of its diſtant dominions.

dominions. They who by means of every kind had endeavoured to seduce the Auſtrian troops, and who had fomented and protected the conſpiracies in the Netherlands, now preſumed, in direct contradiction of their own previous teſtimony, to charge the court of Vienna with having given ſupport to the enterprizes of the emigrants. They who attacked and vilified all ſovereigns, who endeavoured to ſubvert all governments, now pretended to declare that the ſovereignty and independency of the French nation was injured. The declaration concluded by calling upon all ſovereigns to join in repreſſing the inſolence of France, and it ſolemnly arraigned the abettors of ſo unjuſt an attack before the tribunal of the univerſe and poſterity, as being ſolely anſwerable for all the inevitable calamities of the war.

No ſooner had this ſeparate declaration from the court of Vienna reached Berlin, than another was iſſued there, which Frederic William had left behind him, when he ſet forward on his way to Coblentz, about the time that Francis arrived at Frankfort. It was a brief expoſition of the particular motives, which compelled the king to take arms againſt France. The grounds were, that he was an ally of the Emperor, againſt whom war had been unjuſtly declared, and a coeſtate of the Empire, which had been attacked without provocation, in the injuries done to the German princes of Lorraine and Alſace, in violation of the treaty of Weſtphalia, in the invaſion of the Auſtrian Netherlands, and of Baſil and Liege. He obſerved alſo, that his perfect concurrence with the court of Vienna, during the negociation that led to the war, had been officially known to the French government, and he expreſſed himſelf in a manner agreeing with the Auſtrian declaration, on the more enlarged ends and objects of the war.

Theſe reaſons applied to all the princes of the Empire. And the two courts had taken ſteps, ſo early as the 17th of May, to unite them all in their common defence, reminding them of the aſſociation for that purpoſe, which they had adopted on the propoſal of the late emperor Leopold, hoping that none would withdraw from it, and even uſing a tone of menace towards any who ſhould remain neuter. This meaſure, however, inſtead of producing the effect intended, only gave offence. The miniſters of Saxony and Hanover oppoſed it, as they afterwards did the formal declaration of war, which the new Emperor ſoon brought regularly before the diet, but which, notwithſtanding the various aggreſſions of France, was not finally ratified till many months after, when the danger was near and imminent.

While Francis remained at Frankfort, the laſt diviſions of the Pruſſian troops were daily paſſing. None of them had been put in motion till near the middle of June, when the annual reviews were over. From that period they had been conſtantly advancing in five columns, by five different lines of march, to the French frontiers. The main body proceeded to the dutchy of Luxembourg and the electorate of Treves, the duke of Brunſwick having, on the 3d of July, fixed his head quarters at Coblentz. Another body, joined to a much larger force of Auſtrians, aſſembled in the Briſgau, under prince Hohenlohe. At the ſame time, the Auſtrian

Auſtrian army in the Netherlands, which was then actually commanded by the duke of Saxe Teſchen, was reinforced, and, probably with a view of attracting the attention of the French from the real point of the principal attack, ſurpriſed Orchies, and entrenched themſelves with ten thouſand men at Bavay, Tanieres, and Malplaquet. But after occupying theſe poſts twelve days without occaſioning any movement of the central army from Sedan, they retired within their own frontiers.

Previous, however, to the commencement of operations by the main army, it was thought proper that the ſanction of the two allied monarchs ſhould be obtained to the final plan of the campaign, and the manifeſtoes which ſhould precede the army on its entry into France. For this purpoſe a meeting was appointed at the palace of the elector of Mentz. The Emperor repaired thither on the morning of the 19th from Frankfort, and the king of Pruſſia arrived on the evening of the ſame day. They remained there two days, and held various conferences, for the moſt part attended by the duke of Brunſwick, and ſometimes by other generals and miniſters.

The plan of the intended attack on France had been originally drawn up by M. Bouillé with the aſſiſtance of marſhal Broglio and marſhal Caſtries. It was at the expreſs deſire of Frederic William, preparatory to the interview at Pilnitz, that the French general undertook this taſk. He was ſoon after called upon to give ſome explanation on this ſubject to the emperor Leopold; but from the time that Louis the XVIth accepted the conſtitution it ſeems to have been wholly neglected, till after the declaration of war, when the king of Pruſſia ſent for M. Bouillé to Magdebourg, about the latter end of May. It was there particularly diſcuſſed, and in ſome points altered on re-conſideration with the duke of Brunſwick. The king of Pruſſia, who was to be the military chief of the alliance, as the Emperor was to have the political conduct of it, now perſonally communicated the plan to Francis for his approbation. The poſition of the armies ſufficiently indicated the project of the invaſion, and it will be ſtated more particularly in relating their march into France.

The project of a joint declaration, which was more immediately within the Emperor's province, had long been under conſideration. M. Mallet du Pan, while he was at Franckfort, propoſed a draft of one agreeable to his inſtructions from the French king. It was diſcuſſed, article by article, in concert with the duke of Brunſwick and the miniſters of the combined powers, and being finally ſettled, as was then ſuppoſed, the ſubſtance of it was ſecretly communicated to M. Bertrand. This being done, M. Mallet du Pan, who conſidered his miſſion as terminated, returned to Switzerland. As ſoon, however, as M. Bertrand heard of his departure, he wrote a letter in cypher, deſiring him to return to Frankfort, and in a few days after, another, which contained freſh inſtructions; but neither of them was received. In the mean time, the internal ſtate of France, on which the declaration was intended to operate, had been conſiderably changed for the worſe. The increaſed and perpetually renewed outrages againſt the name and perſon of the king, the attack on his palace, and

the attempt to aſſaſſinate him on the 20th of June, the violent ſchiſms among the Jacobins, the ſtill more violent animoſity, approaching to an inteſtine war, between them and the Feuillans, and the language which the latter now openly held, more and more favourable to the royal cauſe and the concert of powers (all which it will be neceſſary hereafter to develope in tracing the civil hiſtory of this eventful period) ſeemed to leave little or no hope from means of gentleneſs and management towards the Jacobin faction of either deſcription. Accordingly it was thought right to counteract terror with terror; and a declaration, intended to be iſſued by the duke of Brunſwick, was formed on a ſcheme of uniting both principles. With the conciliatory ſtyle which Louis had himſelf adviſed to be obſerved towards the ſound part of the nation, was blended a tone of menace towards the jacobin faction, agreeably to the plan approved the year before by Leopold *, under nearly ſimilar circumſtances; and the ſubſtance at leaſt of this new manifeſto, as well as of another, to be publiſhed on the part of the allied monarchs, was ſaid to have been ſettled on the very day of the Emperor's coronation. Of courſe it was afterwards ſubmitted to the king of Pruſſia, and received his approbation at Mentz.

Every thing being thus arranged for the campaign, and the recent amity of the two courts confirmed by this interview, Francis took his departure immediately for Prague, where he was to be crowned king of Bohemia, and Frederic William purſued his march to Coblentz, where the firſt important act done was the publication of the manifeſto, which had been agreed upon, in the name of the duke of Brunſwick.

The firſt part of this ſtate paper †, which attracted ſo much attention, was couched very nearly in the terms recommended by M. Bertrand. It declared, that the allied courts had the welfare of France alone in view, diſclaiming all pretenſions of enriching themſelves by conqueſt, and not intending in any manner to interfere with the internal government of the country, but ſimply wiſhing to deliver the royal family from captivity; and that they would protect the perſons and property of all who eſpouſed the part of the king. But in conſonance with the other principle recently adopted, it went on to denounce the moſt rigorous puniſhment, under the laws of war, againſt all who ſhould oppoſe the efforts of the combined troops in the king's favour; and the inhabitants of Paris in particular were called upon to ſubmit without delay to their ſovereign, to ſet him at full liberty, and inſure to him the reſpect due to the inviolability of princes. Apprehenſive of intervening outrages, the commander in chief further declared, that the allied monarchs would make the members of the national aſſembly, and all perſons in official ſituations, perſonally reſponſible for every event; threatening, if the leaſt violence ſhould be done or offered to the royal family, to inflict the moſt exemplary puniſhment, and to give up the city of Paris to military execution.

Shortly after the publication of this paper, a ſecond ‡ appeared, the principal purport of which was to

* See above pp. 154-5. † See State Papers, p. *283. ‡ Ibid. p. 286*.

announce,

announce, that the ſame puniſhments, with which the city of Paris had been menaced, ſhould be inflicted on all towns and places which might refuſe to reſcue the royal family, ſhould any attempts be made to carry them off from the Thuilleries by force; a ſcheme which there is reaſon to believe was then in agitation among the partizans of Briſſot, if they had found themſelves too weak to reſiſt the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies.

The great anxiety which the allies manifeſted to aſcertain the principles of their conduct, and to ſet their cauſe above the reach of calumny, induced them ſtill to iſſue in their joint names a more formal and elaborate manifeſto *. The execution of this piece is maſterly. The ſtyle is ornamented beyond what is uſual in the official kind, ſpirited and pointed, yet ſuſtained with dignity; and the aſſertions are every where ſupported by references to notorious facts and public documents. The two kings repreſent themſelves as giving to all monarchs, and all individuals, the great example of forgetting, on the appearance of common danger, their ancient diviſions and their private concerns, that they may attend only to the public good, in a criſis ſo important, of which no example is to be found in hiſtory; and they profeſs to have thought, that on this occaſion all empires and all ſtates ought to be unanimous, and that all ſovereigns could not fail to unite their efforts, in order to reſcue a numerous nation from its own fury; to preſerve Europe from the return of barbarity, and the univerſe from that ſubverſion and anarchy with which it was threatened. A ſuccinct but forcible narrative of the French revolution is next given. It is then conſidered more ſyſtematically in its principles, under four different heads; as it perſonally regarded the French monarch; as it regarded the French nation; foreign powers who had poſſeſſions in France; and more generally, all the nations in the great commonwealth of Europe. The actual ſituation of the French king is pointed out, and the meaſures which led to his virtual dethronement and captivity, as well as the more flagrant outrages againſt his perſon and family, are conciſely enumerated. The ſtate of the nation under the moſt oppreſſive and ferocious anarchy is powerfully deſcribed; the nation itſelf is abſolved from the crimes of which it is truly ſaid to have been the victim; and the allied kings, atteſting God that they had no intention of employing their forces to introduce deſpotiſm, to ſerve the cauſe of private vengeance, or to occaſion a public bankruptcy, refer for the explanation of their real views to the king's own declaration † on the 20th of June 1791, and recite at large the affecting addreſs in the cloſe to the inhabitants of Paris. In conſidering the conduct of the national aſſembly towards foreign princes who had poſſeſſions in France, the ſeizure of Avignon is ſtrongly inſiſted upon, in addition to the injuries and aggreſſions mentioned in former declarations. But the moſt important point of view is juſtly affirmed to be that which related to all nations, and the tranquillity of Europe. "The ambition of a conqueror (it is well obſerved) has "its limits, and his views, when

* See State Papers, p. *289.

† See above, p. 158-9.

" known, ceaſe to be dangerous; " but a planned ſyſtem of anarchy, " which tends to diſſolve all poli- " tical ſociety, abounds with inex- " preſſible danger;" an obſervation which is then ably developed in its application to the French revolution. The manifeſto concludes with an expreſs renunciation of all views to perſonal aggrandizement, and a ſhort but explicit avowal of the ſame intentions with regard both to protection and puniſhment, which had before been declared by the duke of Brunſwick. It deſerves to be read entire, and to be carefully weighed. No ſpecific anſwer was ever given by the French government.

The French princes alſo appeared, and now for the firſt time, as a ſort of independent power in the confederacy. Their credit with foreign courts had been long reſiſted with effect by M. Breteuil, under powers which had been formerly given to him by Louis the XVIth; but on the confidential miſſion of Mallet du Pan, who was addreſſed to Marſhal Caſtries, inſtead of M. Breteuil, it was clearly aſcertained that thoſe powers were wholly withdrawn; and ſoon after, the plan of the campaign, as far as they were concerned, underwent an eſſential alteration. The king of Pruſſia yielded to the inſtances of M. Bouillé at Magdebourg, that they ſhould enter France with the combined armies, inſtead of remaining behind, on the right bank of the Rhine, as had been originally determined. At the ſame time he ſent them a ſum of money to aſſiſt their preparations, and appeared in all things to take a warm part in their intereſts. On his arrival, he treated them, and all the unfortunate ſufferers in the royal cauſe, with diſtinguiſhed honour and reſpect *. Coldly as they had been received in ſome countries, neglected, barely tolerated, or even indirectly perſecuted in others, they were captivated by his gracious behaviour, and with the vivacity of French imaginations ſaw in his ſtature, his military air, and the dignified manner with which he preſented himſelf, the promiſe of a hero at leaſt equal to his great predeceſſor. Nor did they feel leſs enthuſiaſm for the duke of Brunſwick. His reputation as the firſt general in Europe ſeemed to give a new aſſurance of that victory which they were previouſly but too much diſpoſed to conſider as ſure, and he had endeared himſelf to them by the modeſty with which he flattered their national vanity, in alluding to a check which he had formerly met from the prince of Condé, and a defeat from marſhal Broglio. " I have juſt paſſed," ſaid he, in his firſt meeting with thoſe illuſtrious generals, " over a country covered " with your exploits."

It was not long, however, before they began to entertain diſtruſt and jealouſy of thoſe to whom they were to owe their re-eſtabliſhment in their own country. They almoſt feared their own ſucceſs with ſuch friends and protectors; and their alarms broke out into open murmurs on the appearance of the manifeſtoes. They remarked with much affliction and diſmay, that in all theſe papers no mention whatever was made of the princes and nobility of France. In conſequence, a ſeparate declaration was publiſhed by the ſeven prin-

* See Quelques Details, &c. &c. &c.

ces of the houſe of Bourbon, in a language of more animated eloquence, but with leſs official gravity; they brought forward nearly the ſame topics as the manifeſto of the combined ſovereigns, painting with lively colours the unremitting exertions and ſacrifices of the king for his people, the perpetual outrages heaped upon him by the factious, and the hideous ruin of the country under their domination. Pointedly diſavowing and deprecating as a baſe and unworthy calumny, the ſpirit of reſentment and vengeance attributed to the princes and nobles, they declared the ſentiments expreſſed in their public letter to the king, on the 10th of September * 1791, to be unchangeable; called in an affectionate manner on all true Frenchmen to unite with them in putting an end to that terrible illuſion, which under the name

* In the State Papers, p 314*, this letter is erroneouſly dated the *10th of December*. The ſource of this miſtake was in uſing Debrett's State Papers as a copy for the preſs, after the general fidelity of the tranſlation in that collection had been aſcertained. The following are the principal paſſages, in which, after noticing the calumnies then propagated againſt them, the princes explain their own views, and thoſe of the two ſovereigns who ſigned the declaration at Pilnitz. "Sire, the intentions of the powers who will give you their aſſiſtance are as direct as pure, as the zeal which has induced us to ſolicit it; they have nothing "dreadful either for the ſtate or for your people. It is not to attack them; it is "to render them the moſt ſignal of all ſervices, that they would ſnatch them from "the deſpotiſm of demagogues, and the calamities of anarchy. You are willing "to confirm more than ever the liberty of your ſubjects, when the ſeditious have "ſeized upon yours; what we may do to reſtore it to you, with the meaſure of "authority, which lawfully belongs to you, cannot be ſuſpected of any oppreſſive "wiſh. On the contrary, to repreſs licentiouſneſs is to avenge liberty; to "re-eſtabliſh the public force, without which no nation can be free, is to free the "nation. Theſe principles, Sire, are yours; the ſame ſpirit of moderation and "benevolence which characteriſes your actions, will be always the rule of our "conduct; it is the ſoul of all our meaſures at foreign courts; and as the depoſitaries of thoſe poſitive teſtimonies, of views equally generous and equitable, "we can guarantee, that they have no other deſire, than that of putting you in "poſſeſſion of the government of your ſtates, that your people may enjoy in "peace the bleſſings which you have deſtined for them. If rebels oppoſe to "this deſire a conceited and blind reſiſtance, which may force foreign armies to "enter your kingdom, they only will have brought them there; to them alone "let the guilty blood be imputed, which it may be neceſſary to ſhed; the war "will be their work; the end of the confederated powers is only to ſupport the "ſound part of the nation againſt the delirious, and to extinguiſh in the boſom "of the kingdom that volcano of fanaticiſm, the propagated eruptions of which "menace all empires."

And again, towards the concluſion of the letter, entering a formal proteſt for the king, for the people, for religion, for the fundamental maxims of the monarchy, and for all the orders of the ſtate, they ſay, "We will proteſt for you, "and in your name, againſt what can only bear its falſe impreſſion. Your voice "being ſtifled by oppreſſion, we ſhall be its neceſſary organs; and we expreſs "your real ſentiments, as they exiſt in the oath of your acceſſion to the throne, "as they have appeared in the actions of your whole life, as they have been "diſplayed in the declaration which you made at the firſt moment that you believed yourſelf free."

of liberty, had for more than three years been productive only of misery and crimes. Though they did not directly assume the regency, yet considering themselves warranted by the king's captivity to issue orders, they enjoined the troops to repair to the royal standard which they had raised, and all commanders of fortresses and garrison-towns to surrender on the first summons from them in the king's name; but they concluded by fervently praying that their great object might be attained, not by the effusion of blood, but by the returning reason and loyalty of those who had been so unhappily misled, and that the fear of the menaces denounced by the allied sovereigns against the city of Paris, if any violence or insult should be offered to the king, the queen, or the royal family, might restrain the seditious and turbulent of the capital from perpetrating that atrocity, the very thought of which made the heart recoil.

The letter here so emphatically confirmed by the French princes, is that which accompanied the copy of the convention, signed by the two sovereigns at Pilnitz, and which was known at Paris before the dissolution of the first assembly. The sentiments which it contains are in perfect unison with the tenor of the manifesto. It assures the king, on behalf of his brothers and the other Bourbons who signed it with them, that the same spirit of moderation and benevolence, which characterized his actions, would be always the rule of their conduct, as it was the soul of all their measures at foreign courts. While it solemnly protests in the king's name against the oppression which had stifled his genuine voice, it expressly acknowledges and reasserts for his, the declaration which he made (as they describe it) at the first moment when he believed himself free; and it bears testimony also to the motives of the allies, as having no other desire than that of putting Louis the XVIth again in possession of the government of his states, that his people might enjoy in peace the blessings which he had destined for them.

If we give credit to the combined powers and the French princes for having been sincere in these professions, there is certainly no justice in the reproaches with which all of the republican party throughout Europe have not ceased to load them. They engaged themselves in the face of the world, that if they should succeed, they would only endeavour to carry into effect the principles and views which the king himself had declared, when he withdrew from Paris the preceding * year; and those, it has been already observed, held forth the establishment, not of a despotism, but of a limited monarchy; the acceptance of some new constitution to be settled with the states general sitting in perfect freedom. It is true, the details of such a system as would have been approved, were never definitively laid down; perhaps too, they could not, consistently either with prudence or propriety, as circumstances must ever in such questions have overruling influence, and the whole was to be submitted to the ancient legislature of the kingdom. Something, however, of the outlines does appear: for in that paper which was to be the ground-

* See above, p. 158-9.

work

work of all, the king particularly acknowledged the right of the ſtates general to the perpetual controul of the public purſe; and the offers which he had made to his people on the 23d of June 1789, were more than once mentioned, not indeed as binding upon him in all points, but as generally conſonant to his own free judgment.

But in the very moment that the laſt declaration of the princes reached Paris, the effect which it was intended to produce was fruſtrated for ever. All the different diviſions of the Jacobin faction uniting againſt the monarchy, at length, after repeated failures of plots as often reſumed, had attacked the palace, maſſacred the guards, impriſoned the royal family, and with the throne overturned the conſtitution which had been made at the expence of ſo many crimes, and to which all had ſo repeatedly been called upon to ſwear inviolable fidelity.

CHAP. XVI.

Civil hiſtory of France reſumed. Arts of the Jacobins to blacken the character of the king. M. Narbonne negociates for the ſilence of Briſſot and Condorcet. Libel of the former againſt the king. M. Bertrand moves in the council for the proſecution of the author. Is overruled. Inſolent letter from the preſident of the national aſſembly. M. Bertrand propoſes the form of an anſwer. It is reſolved not to notice the affront. Attempts of the king to gain the affections of his people. Report of a plot to carry off the king. Contradicted by him. Negociation for forming a royaliſt party in the aſſembly. It is fruſtrated by the indiſcretion of M. Narbonne, who, on being reproached for his conduct, expreſſes his intention to reſign. His colleagues endeavour to conciliate him, but without effect. It is judged neceſſary that M. Bertrand ſhould reſign. He draws up a vindication of his conduct, in which he lays open the defects of the new conſtitution. It is circulated very extenſively, and with great effect. Diſſolution of the miniſtry. M. Dumourier choſen miniſter of the foreign department. M. Lacoſte miniſter of marine. M. Duranthon miniſter of juſtice. M. Claviere miniſter of finances, and M. Roland of the home department. Dreſs and manner of the latter. Short account of Madame Roland. The king announces the nomination of the new miniſters to the aſſembly. Plan of the Marſeilleſe. M. Wittgenſtein appointed to command in the South. Reſigns, and is replaced by M. Monteſquiou. Roland neglects to bring the banditti of Avignon to trial. Review of the ſtate of the clergy. Perſecution againſt them in the different departments. Their unexceptionable behaviour. Inſtances of fortitude and piety in the lower orders. Favourable report of M. Cayer de Gerville on the clergy. Departmental laws againſt them annulled. Roland exerts himſelf againſt them. Ambition of the lower orders, and its ill conſequences. The king appoints M. Fleurieu governor to the dauphin. His letter to the aſſembly. Debates in the aſſembly. Secret ſervice money. Petion. Louvet. State of the council. Coldneſs between Roland and Dumourier. Briſſot and his friends partly withdraw from the jacobin club. Robeſpierre. Danton. His connection with Orleans. Power of the jacobin club. Arts of the Jacobins to get rid of the king's guards,

and overawe the national guards of Paris. Pretence of an Auſtrian Committee. Momoro's ſpeech at the bar of the aſſembly. He is compelled to retire. Street orators detected picking the pockets of their auditors. M. Iſnard denounces the Auſtrian committee to the aſſembly. His inflammatory ſpeech. He propoſes an indecent remonſtrance to the king. Subject diſmiſſed by a call for the order of the day. Carra denounces M. M. Bertrand and Montmorin in his news-paper and at the jacobin club as members of the Auſtrian committee. He is proſecuted for this aſſertion by M. Bertrand. Proceedings on this occaſion. M. M. Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, named by Carra as his authors. They refer to papers in the poſſeſſion of the committee of ſuperintendence for their authority. M. la Riviere applies to the aſſembly for the neceſſary papers. Speech of M. Fauchet. Debate on M. la Riviere's application. He iſſues warrants to bring the three members before him. M. Bazire alone conſents to anſwer interrogatories. The members complain to the aſſembly. M. la Riviere ordered to the bar. His defence. His conduct is referred to the committee of legiſlation to decide upon. Tumultuous debates the next day on this ſubject. A decree of accuſation paſſed againſt M. la Riviere. He is ſent to Orleans. Three members of the aſſembly denounced as acting in concert with him. They refute the charge. The king gives orders for a proſecution on the ſubject of the Auſtrian committee. Gives notice of it to the aſſembly, and requeſts the neceſſary papers. The conſideration of his letter adjourned. Genſonnè and Briſſot denounce the king's letter, and the Auſtrian committee. Speeches of Genſonnè and Briſſot ordered to be printed. Rumour circulated of the king's intention to eſcape. Paper war between the king and Petion. Chabot's aſſertion of a plot formed to diſſolve the aſſembly. Bazire pledges himſelf to move the diſbanding of the king's guards. Sittings of the aſſembly declared permanent, and the guard of Paris doubled. Petion's ſpeech at the bar on the tranquil ſtate of Paris. Riot at the palace. M. Bazire's motion againſt the king's guards. The queſtion poſtponed till the evening. Violent debates on the ſubject. Some members ſent to the Abbaye. The decree is carried. Decree of accuſation againſt M. Briſſac. The king ſanctions the decree againſt the guards. M. M. Bertrand and Montmorin publiſh a refutation of the charges made againſt them. Their great ſucceſs. Chabot's denunciation of the Auſtrian committee. His ſpeech and papers brought in proof. He is interrupted on account of his inflammatory manner. His papers in general are referred to the committee; and thoſe reſpecting La Fayette, and the other generals, devoted to public contempt. M. Merlin brings forward a document againſt M. Duport-du-Tertre. It is univerſally reprobated. State of the royal family. Meaſures taken by the king for his own ſecurity. Feſtival in honour of Simoneau. Louis receives from M. Delceſſart a detailed account of the conſpiracy againſt him. His anſwer, declaring his determination to be faithful to the conſtitution, as the only means to defeat his enemies. Offer of La Fayette to the king not accepted.

THE temper which was early diſplayed by the majority in the national aſſembly, the conſtant efforts of the whole republican and anarchical factions through the ſections of Paris, the jacobin clubs, and all the licence of the preſs, to ridicule, vilify, and overturn the government

vernment and the monarchy itself; the first success of those efforts, and the shock which they gave to the administration of M. Duport-du-Tertre, by forcing out M. Montmorin, M. Duportail, and M. Thevenard, have been already related. Two of the ministers who succeeded, M. Cayer de Gerville and M. Narbonne, seemed for a while, by their popularity, to give some support to the tottering cabinet into which they were admitted. This, however, was not of long duration; and though some of the circumstances which contributed to impair their credit, and several of the changes which followed, have been incidentally touched before, in detailing the negociations that led to the war, and the events of the first hostilities, yet it will be necessary here, in developing the internal causes which immediately hastened the ruin of the monarchy, to take a regular and systematic view of the subject, from the period immediately preceding the fall of M. Duport-du-Tertre, and his colleagues.

The attack of the factions upon the throne, during the time of the second assembly, began by holding up the king as an enemy to the constitution; but his rigid adherence to it, and their own perpetual contempt of it, quickly compelled them to shift their ground. Accordingly, as soon as they had worked up the nation to desire war, they ventured on a more general but more heavy charge against him, and all supposed to be in his confidence, of nothing less than direct treachery to the country. In this situation M. Narbonne undertook, on behalf of the ministry, to negociate for the silence, at least, of Brissot and Condorcet. But in the midst of the treaty, there appeared in the paper conducted by the former, a libel of so much malicious virulence against the king, that M. Bertrand, who was then minister of the marine, thought himself bound in duty to bring it before the council. In his opinion it was an incendiary publication, tending to excite the populace, fermenting as their minds then were, to insurrection, pillage, and murder. And although in a season of tranquillity, and under a well-regulated government, libellers might be safely despised, yet in the then situation of France, he thought that the mode so long adopted of treating them with silent contempt, only rendered them more dangerous, and so multiplied them as to make their punishment impossible. He drew up the form of a letter from the king to the assembly on that subject. Louis approved it, but resolving to be always guided by the majority of his council, submitted it to them, and they finally determined not to take any step whatever, satisfying themselves with the constant excuse of timidity in all such cases, that so strong a measure would only give importance to the libeller. M. Bertrand admitted that to be possible, but believed it to be much more certain, that over-looking the conduct of Brissot in that instance, would render him more audacious, and encourage others to imitate his example. And from that period, the king, we are informed, was insulted in the most unqualified manner, by innumerable libels, of which the common people became the echo, and by which their minds were gradually worked up to such a degree, that crowds assembled at the Thuilleries almost every evening, and poured forth the grossest abuse against the whole royal family.

Not long after this determination of

of the miniſters, a direct affront was put upon the king, of which it ſeemed impoſſible not to take ſome notice; this was the offenſive letter, which has been mentioned in the propen* place, from M. Condorcet, as preſident of the national aſſembly: "Is it poſſible to carry inſo-"lence further?" ſaid Louis, preſenting the letter to M. Bertrand, "it is rather too much to be en-"tirely overlooked—but what mea-"ſure is to be taken?" The miniſters were aſſembled, and the letter laid before them. They examined the code of the conſtitution very narrowly, but found nothing that applied expreſsly to the caſe; ſo they agreed that it would be moſt prudent for the king only to mark his diſpleaſure by returning no anſwer. M. Bertrand proteſted againſt this deciſion, and propoſed to the king the form of a very proper, dignified, and even conſtitutional anſwer to the national aſſembly; but, as he ſays, the negative energy of ſilence was preferred. The inſult, however, being acknowledged by all to be the greateſt which the king had till that time received, new meaſures were thought neceſſary to increaſe his popularity, as a counterbalance to the deſigns of the aſſembly. He was adviſed, therefore, to ride round the ſuburbs, converſe affably with the people in the ſtreets, viſit the hoſpitals, and diſtribute alms. He was eaſily perſuaded to do what was ſo agreeable to his own diſpoſition. Theſe acts were attended with ſome immediate applauſe, but produced no laſting effect. His enemies had recourſe to an artifice which they had frequently uſed before to raiſe a public ferment, and eſpecially in the preceding November, when they wanted to intimidate him into the diſmiſſion of thoſe miniſters, who were moſt unpopular: this was, to ſpread the report of a plot for carrying him away from Paris. He wrote, however, a letter to the municipality for the purpoſe of contradicting that falſhood; and the alarm, which it had occaſioned, for the time died away.

The ſtate of the national aſſembly, divided into three parties, one of which, under the name of the Independents, voted ſometimes on the one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, ſuggeſted to the miniſters the notion of eſtabliſhing an influence there, ſuch as might give preponderance to the royal cauſe. They had actually gained over eight or ten conſiderable members from the right ſide; and theſe men had even gone the length of ſending a draft of propoſals for the formation and management of a royaliſt party in the aſſembly. The miniſters had a private conſultation to conſider and mature this ſcheme. It was neceſſarily to be kept a profound ſecret, but was incautiouſly divulged by M. Narbonne the very ſame evening: of courſe it was now rendered impracticable; the members of the aſſembly, who had ſuffered themſelves to be led into the negociation, were angry at what they thought treachery; and partly in reſentment, partly in the hope of recovering their popularity, kept more aloof than ever from all concurrence with the views of the court.

This incident occaſioned the diſſolution of the adminiſtration. The miniſter of war being upbraided by his colleagues with his indiſcretion, announced his intention to reſign.

* See above, p. 257.

Supported

Supported as he decidedly had been by the Feuillans, with La Fayette at their head, and favoured too by Briſſot, Condorcet, and others of that faction, his retreat was believed by the other miniſters likely to produce fatal conſequences to the power of all, as well as to the king's ſervice. They wiſhed, therefore, to conciliate him. He perſiſted, however, and more particularly urged, that it was impoſſible for him to act with a man of principles ſo oppoſite as thoſe of M. Bertrand. The breach in the council was ſoon made public through the journals, which eſpouſed the part of M. Narbonne. The other miniſters were attacked with increaſed violence. Complaints which appeared to have been forgotten, were again revived, and accuſations made or announced in the aſſembly, againſt M. Deleſſart, who had long been obnoxious, and even againſt M. Duport-du-Tertre, the keeper of the ſeals, whoſe original promotion had been ſo highly popular. The intrigues of M. Narbonne to retain his ſituation, and their failure, we have ſeen. His colleagues were now unanimous againſt him. But notwithſtanding that they thought his inſtant diſmiſſion indiſpenſable, and reported * favourably on the conduct of M. Bertrand, they yet judged it expedient, for their own and the king's ſafety, that the latter ſhould make himſelf a voluntary ſacrifice to the popularity of his enemy; permitting him, however, to hold his office till his ſucceſſor ſhould be actually appointed. In truth, he wiſhed only for a delay of five or ſix days, and ſo long the appointment to his place was ſuſpended. Meanwhile he employed himſelf in drawing up a ſpecific defence on a ſet of charges ſome time before preſented, and now reproduced againſt him; and he delivered it to the aſſembly in thirteen days from the date of his reſignation, which was not quite half the ſpace allowed by the conſtitution for that purpoſe. The drift of M. Bertrand was to ſhew, by an authentic record, and in a manner which could no way commit the king, all the errors of the new conſtitution, and the evils which had ariſen from them in the marine department. He laid open, without reſerve, the fatal conſequences of the unreſtrained power arrogated by the clubs, and the deſtruction of all diſcipline, which had followed from the inſtitution of juries to take cognizance of all crimes committed in the naval ſervice. To obviate any cavil, he added extracts from the proceedings in twenty-one caſes, of the more flagrant inſurrections and mutinies which had taken place in the ſea-ports, and on board the veſſels, and none of which had been puniſhed. He fully cleared the king from one of the falſehoods propagated to injure him, that he had inſtigated the naval officers to emigrate, and given them leave of abſence with that view. On the contrary, it was now proved that Louis had done every thing to recal them to their ſtations; that the total number of thoſe who were abſent had not been increaſed, and that, from various letters of reſignation, the motives of the writers appeared to have been ſolely the impracticability of doing their duty amidſt the anarchy which prevailed in all the fleets, ports, and arſenals of the kingdom. It was a triumphant defence. A large impreſſion of it was printed and circulated through all the prin-

* See M. Deleſſart's report to the king, in M. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. pages 81—8.

cipal cities and towns. The Jacobins were silent on the subject of it, but they railed more furiously than ever in general invectives against the author, whom they accused of being a chief of what they called the Austrian committee. Had his late colleagues remained, they might have taken some advantage of the impression which his spirit and vigour made for the moment; but in the interval the whole council had been changed.

On the 9th of March was the last meeting of M. Duport-du-Tertre's administration. The king's countenance on that occasion is said to have betrayed the melancholy prognostication with which he looked forward to a new set of ministers, not one of whom he could hope to have any effective share in chusing, and all of whom, from the circumstances of the times, were likely to be taken from men at best unknown to him, if not his declared enemies. M. de Grave had scarcely been ten hours in possession of his office, when he found himself in reality sole minister, and charged with the great trust of forming the future government. Like his predecessor, M. Narbonne, though he was more immediately connected with the intriguers at Madame Stael's, he kept up a good correspondence with Petion, and his faction, into whose hands the king was now resolved, principally by the advice of M. Cayer de Gerville, his late minister of the home department, to put his power and his conscience. This event formed so illustrious an epoch in the life of Brissot, that proud of his victory, and arrogating to his own exertions all the glory, he publicly styled himself* "the man of the 10th of March."

The situation first to be supplied, was that of the foreign department, vacated by the impeachment of M. Delessart; and it was an obvious if not a necessary policy, for the purpose of exonerating the council and the court from all responsibility, in the very critical negociations then going on at the court of Vienna, to fill up the place on the recommendation of the diplomatic committee. M. de Grave applied therefore to M. Gensonné, who was a leading member of that body; and he, with the concurrence of Brissot, and the rest of his friends, proposed M. Dumourier. The chief merits of the new minister in the eyes of his patrons were, his old connection with the political † school of Favier, and the memoir ‡ which he had read the year before at the jacobin club, and of which another edition was now published. His singular § speech at the club the day after his appointment has been already mentioned.

* See Avant-dernier chapitre de l'histoire des Jacobins, par M. Du Pont de Nemours, p. 17—and Histoire de la Conspiration du 10 Août 1792, par M. de Sainte-Croix, p. 151.

† This is his own account of his promotion. See Vie de Dumouriez, tom. 2. liv. 3. chap. 6. He had been a secret emissary of Louis XVth, under M. M. Broglio and Favier, for whose foreign politics, and their connection with the revolution, see above, p. 221. The elevation of M. Dumourier to the ministry for that very reason, is one more, and a most undeniable proof of the system on which the war was commenced by the French revolutionists.

‡ See above, p. 150.

§ See above, p. 278. From his wearing the red cap on that occasion, he was ridiculed, as he tells us, by the royalist writers, under the name of the minister Red Cap.

A trifling

A trifling anecdote of his reception in another quarter, deſerves alſo to be recorded, as it ſtrongly ſhews the unceaſing arts which were uſed to blacken the character of the unfortunate Louis. He had been taught to believe his royal maſter a violent and choleric man, who ſwore very much, and treated his miniſters very ill; he was ſurpriſed, therefore, to find him on the contrary always polite, gentle, affable, and of exemplary patience, even in the moſt trying ſituations.

When the four other vacancies in the cabinet were to be filled, the ſame demagogues were again conſulted: only Dumourier himſelf propoſed one of his colleagues, who was immediately accepted. This was the new miniſter of marine, M. Lacoſte, who, though a man of coarſe manners, yet poſſeſſed integrity and firmneſs, hated the cruelties of the revolution, and behaved with reſpect and fidelity to the king; notwithſtanding that, to ſeek the favour or divert the ſuſpicion of the Jacobins, he had conſtantly in the hall of his houſe a pike ſurmounted with a red cap.

Louvet, a popular writer of novels and plays, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the jacobin club, by ſiding with Briſſot againſt Robeſpierre on the queſtion of the war, was at one time* intended for the miniſter of juſtice. But Robeſpierre, ſeconded by all that party, made a furious attack upon him in the next ſitting of the ſociety, and though he extricated himſelf with ſome addreſs, yet his friends were frightened, and declined naming him to the vacant office. It was at length conferred on M. Duranthon, an advocate of Bourdeaux, unknown in Paris, but in his own country, where he reſided, of ſome reputation; particularly for a deiſtical book, which he had recently publiſhed in favour of the new Gallican church. He was ſlow and cold in his nature, but deſtitute neither of ſenſe nor information, and decorous in his behaviour to the king.

The other two, M. Claviere, the miniſter of the finances, and Roland, the miniſter of the home department, were more immediately the choice of Briſſot, and his particular cabal. The former, born in France but naturalized in Geneva, had made himſelf conſpicuous originally by his endeavours to introduce an unqualified democracy into his adopted country, and ſince the French revolution by his numerous pamphlets and eſſays in the ſame cauſe at Paris. He had been ſucceſſively connected with Mirabeau, La Fayette, and Talleyrand Perigord; and was related by blood or affinity to Briſſot, agreeably to whoſe politics he avowed his opinion †, "that the firſt "operation of finance ought to be "war againſt the combined pow-"ers." The latter has been already noticed when he firſt appeared on the ſcene at Paris. Since that period he had been a principal leader of the republicans at Lyons, and at his return to Paris had taken a very active part, with the aſſiſtance of his wife, in managing the correſpondence of the jacobin club with the affiliated ſocieties. He affected what he thought a philoſophical faſhion of dreſs; and was the firſt who appeared publicly at court with his grey hair combed ſtraight almoſt without powder, a round hat, plain ruſty black cloaths, and ſhoes tied

* See Louvet's Narrative, p. 12, 13, 14.

† See a pamphlet of Claviere's, quoted in the *Mercure François*, No. 14, April 7th, 1792, p. 68.

with

with ribbands. The conſternation * which ſuch a figure occaſioned there, after all the outrages and treaſonable attempts to which the royal family had been ſo long expoſed, ſtrongly proves how much more we are ſometimes affected by little things, which in their own nature may ſeem trifles, than by the moſt ſerious events. Nothing which is aſſociated in our minds with habitual reſpect, can ever be ſafely diſregarded.

The ſhare which Madame Roland bore in her huſband's adminiſtration, and the momentous events that followed, makes it proper to add a ſhort account of that too famous woman. She was the daughter of an engraver and enameller, named Phlipon. From nature ſhe derived powerful and verſatile talents, quick and warm affections, a reſolute and haughty ſpirit; from the occupation and connections of her father, an early taſte for the fine arts; and from his fondneſs, an education much above her condition. She read much; had a tincture of very various accompliſhments, and extenſive knowledge; but was ſo ambitious of excelling in every thing, that ſhe appears to have been miſtreſs of nothing. At nine years of age, a tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives, accidentally falling in her way, kindled in her tender mind a love of republican governments, which, on her entrance into the world, was inflamed to the higheſt degree, by her impatience of inferiority. The very condeſcenſion and civility of thoſe who had no other advantage over her than birth and riches, ſhe felt as inſult and indignity; and her pride ſought refuge in ſullen meditations on the folly and injuſtice of artificial diſtinctions, or recurred with an impaſſioned intereſt to the hiſtory of thoſe illuſtrious men in ancient times, whom ſhe diſtinguiſhed as "the reformers of inequality." About the ſame time too, that devout ſenſe of religion, which in her youth had taught her an humility foreign to her diſpoſition, and to the beneficial influence of which, long ſurviving her faith, ſhe † attributed whatever habits of morality and decency ſhe retained through life, began to be impaired by the poiſon of impiety and vanity, which ſhe imbibed from the writings of Voltaire, and the club at Holbach's. With Rouſſeau's works ſhe was not acquainted till a later period; but ſhe preferred him to all, and ſeems to have made him the model of her own ſtyle. When her father, from too great haſte to enrich, had ruined himſelf, ſhe married Roland, a man much older than herſelf, who paid his court not very attractively, as ſhe confeſſes, in algebraic equations, but whoſe little appointment at Lyons, under the government, afforded the means of ſubſiſtence and comfort, while his name as a writer in the great work of the Encyclopedie, flattered her deſire of celebrity. The aſſociate of his literary purſuits, during the firſt years of their union, ſhe created, improved, and directed the expanſion of his fortunes after the revolution. For much of his reputation he was indebted to her, as ſhe conſtantly held the pen, and from her came all the circular letters, official inſtructions, and other ſtate papers, by which he drew ſo much attention. "She infuſed into them,"

* See Dumourier and Madame Roland.

† This ſtrong evidence from an enemy, of the ſalutary effect of religion on civil ſociety, is to be found in Madame Roland's Memoirs, part 3. pp. 98 and 99.

as

as she informs us * (and it is at once their praise and their condemnation) "that mixture of energy and softness, of authoritative reason and "seducing sentiment, which are "perhaps only to be found in a "woman of a clear head and a "feeling heart."

In communicating to the assembly the nomination of the last two ministers, the king declared the motives of his whole conduct: "I "chose at first for my agents," said he, "men whom public opinion and "the probity of their principles recommended; they have quitted "the ministry; I have thought it "my duty to replace them by others "who have acquired credit for their "popular opinions. You have so "often told me, that this was the "only step which could remedy "our present ills, that I thought it "right to yield to it, for the purpose of leaving malevolence no "resource to cast a doubt upon the "constant desire which I have always felt, of doing every thing in "my power to effect the happiness "of my people." Unfortunately, however, the experiment was as fruitless as all the former; indeed, it was much more fatal. The power of government and the authority of the king's name were employed to encourage more than ever the principles of the reigning faction, to the degradation of the crown; the unfortunate monarch lost the praise of every gracious act, while he was loaded with every thing obnoxious; and when, seeing the snares laid for him, he stopped short of the last step towards his voluntary destruction, the dismissal of those ministers whom he considered as having betrayed their trust, was made one of the pretexts for precipitating his fall.

The general scheme of the new administration was publicly declared by M. de Grave. The members of it professed to found all their hopes on the most intimate union with the majority of the assembly; and they soon made it manifest that they meant to preserve that union, by adopting the line of conduct which had most disgraced the majority.

When they came into office the national guards of Marseilles were † ravaging the South, and aiming to deliver Jourdan, who with his accomplices was still in prison. The alarm spread by this republican army had reached Paris. It was confidently believed by many there, that increased as that force now was to six thousand men, they would proceed to Avignon, and after collecting all the troops of the banditti in that country, march against Lyons, and from thence to the metropolis, for the purpose of making a new ‡ revolution in favour of a more republican system, to be substituted for the existing constitution. As a security against any such project, some troops of the line had been stationed at Lyons, and M. Wittgenstein, an officer of good esteem, and supposed to be a zealous lover of the constitution, had been recently appointed to command in the South. He was determined to have proceeded with spirit and vigour against the army of Marseilles, as well as to have pushed on the prosecution against Jourdan. But he was thwarted and impeded in

* Madame Roland's Memoirs, Eng. Transl. part 2. p. 18.

† See above, p. 263.

‡ M. de Grave's speech to the national assembly, in the Moniteur of the 15th of April, p. 437.

all

all his designs. M. Roland advised the minister of war to remove the troops from Lyons; which M. de Grave did, and prevailed with the assembly to approve it, on the consideration, that to shew a confidence in the patriotism of citizens who had sworn to maintain the constitution, would be likely to do more, than the appearance of a menacing force, in restoring order, and inducing respect to the law. At the same time general Wittgenstein, having complained of the obstacles perpetually thrown in his way, and having declared, that if he was to be traversed at every step, he would resign, was instantly taken at his word, and replaced by general Montesquiou, who promised that * they should "hear no more of "Avignon, though probably the "predominant party would exer-"cise some vexations on that un-"happy country."

Till the arrival of M. Duranthon from Bourdeaux, the duties of his office were discharged by Roland. It rested with him to carry into effect a decree, which had not long before been passed by the assembly against Jourdan; but he took no step to that purpose, except that he wrote for information. He was told in answer, that all the judges had been obliged to fly; yet he did not think it necessary to communicate this important fact to the assembly, till one day appearing with M. Duranthon at the bar, he was unexpectedly called upon to give an account of his proceedings on that head. This drew from him in his own proper character, as minister of the home department †, a report on the affairs of Avignon, and on some enormities which had been committed at Arles by the army of Marseilles. He observed on the former subject, that "liberty and "the constitution had found ene-"mies in Avignon as in France. "The opposition of interests, the "conflict of passions, the heat of "personal animosities," he said, "had been more terrible there, in "proportion as the objects were "nearer: factions had convulsed "that unhappy city, and blood had "polluted it." But he endeavoured to reconcile the assembly to every thing, with the consideration, that "the empire of the laws is only esta-"blished by degrees, after shocks "so violent: the sea," he added, "continues to roar after a long "tempest, even when the sky has "recovered its serenity." In the same strain too, he excused whatever had been done at Arles. "The "army of Marseilles," according to him, "marched only in the cause "of the constitution and their coun-"try; their zeal misled them; they "did not stay to examine, whether "their line of march was traced "out by the constitution itself: they "thought only of its defence. How-"ever, such movements necessarily "gave occasion to others. Tur-"bulent men took advantage of "this, or were impelled by their "own agitation, and so disorders "ensued."

As a minister of the crown, he could not decently be present at the feast given to the soldiers of the regiment of Châteauvieux; but he indirectly patronized that disgraceful triumph of rebellion, and sent round

* See his letter of the 27th of April, in the Moniteur of May 9.

† See his report, dated the 22d of April, in the Moniteur of May 14th.

to the departments a circular letter, asserting 400,000 souls to have participated in it, and containing an insidious panegyric on the conduct of the people.

He took a more direct and decided part with the Cordeliers and Jacobins against the non-juring clergy. From the time that the king refused his sanction to the decree against these unfortunate men, though from policy the persecution had slackened very much in the capital, yet it had raged with double fury in many parts of the country. Bye-laws of great severity had even been passed against them by more than thirty directories of departments, and administrators of districts, in defiance of the public law, and the solemn declarations of the constitution. In some places * they were ordered to retire in four-and-twenty hours to their families; and a strict charge was given to the municipalities, where they should reside, to watch with the closest vigilance over their conduct; this was the case in the department of Correze. In other places they were ordered to repair to some particular city, and to appear at a roll-calling every day, under pain of losing their allowances; this was the regulation arbitrarily made by the directory of the Lower Loire. The district of Strasbourg earnestly demanded that all deprived priests, who had returned or might return to their former parishes, should be banished ninety miles from the frontiers. By their own authority, the department of Aveiron actually banished, and the department of Finisterre imprisoned them. Eighty priests, and among them, all who could be found of the sufferers † released only two months before, had been immured from the beginning of December, in the castle ‡ of Brest. They were kept four months without the means of performing the daily duties of their religion. The windows of the room in which they were confined, stood open day and night, winter as well as summer. Many contracted disorders, or lost their sight, though one only died. It was a part of the navy hospital which they inhabited, and the ward chosen for them was immediately over that which contained the patients in the worst stages of a disease not only the most noisome in itself, but the consequence of dissolute and profligate manners. They were for some time baited with the most indecent and profane language, through an aperture in the floor. But their virtue and piety at length triumphed, and softened the hearts of the wretches below not only to humanity, but to penitence for their past offences.

The effect of these persecutions was similar in various other instances, Many § were recalled to religion who had forgotten their faith; many were converted, who before had not shewn much regard even to common morality. It was not unusual to see in the parish churches

* See his report of April 23d, in the Moniteur of April 24th.

† See above, p. 199.

‡ See Barruel's Hist. of Clergy, part 2. p. 96. English translation.

§ This is the account of M. Cayer de Gerville himself, one of the new school of philosophy. See his report to the assembly, February 18th. Moniteur, February 20th.

conſtitutional prieſt, going through the ſervice amidſt files of ſoldiers with fixed bayonets, and no other congregation, while the pariſhioners were gathered together on a diſtant common or in the mountains, round the retreat of their antient paſtor. Such meetings were always treated as ſeditious by the Jacobins, who, wherever they had power and influence, ſent an armed force to diſperſe them, which was conſtantly repreſented as quelling an inſurrection. But there is every reaſon to diſbelieve theſe repreſentations. Dumourier commanded in La Vendee* till the end of January. During that time frequent denunciations were made to him, and he went with his aid-de-camps to obſerve thoſe meetings; but there never was a ſhot fired within his juriſdiction, and he never had occaſion to confine more than two prieſts on any ſuſpicion of ſeditious motives, and one of thoſe was a conſtitutional rector proſecuted by the conſtitutional biſhop.

Many of the richer ſort among the † commonalty emigrated from no other motive, but that they might worſhip God in freedom according to their conſciences. Thoſe who remained, and were faithful to their religion, were vexed and perſecuted, as well as their prieſts, in different ways. Children ‡ were torn from their parents by order of the municipal officers, that they might be carried for baptiſm to a conſtitutional church; and the parents were fined by the tribunals for not having carried their children themſelves. The peace of the tomb was violated, and dead bodies dug up to be buried in unconſecrated ground, becauſe the deceaſed, while alive, had not heard maſs from a prieſt who had taken the oaths. Sometimes, inſtead of being again interred in whatever place, the lifeleſs remains were mangled and expoſed to rot above ground. On the living ſtill more ſhocking and deteſtable cruelties were occaſionally practiſed. A young couple at Villeneuve, near Cordes, having refuſed to be § married by the new prieſt, a band of ruffians broke into the houſe on the wedding day, and, the bridegroom flying, ſeized the bride, ſubjected her by force to their brutal paſſion, and then mutilating her, and tearing off her breaſts, as the ſtory is related, with their nails, left her to expire in torments. But if theſe horrors ſhewed inſtances of depravity which was diſgraceful, they afforded alſo examples of a conſtancy which was honourable to human nature. Several laymen of inferior condition behaved with a pious fortitude which deſerves to be recorded. A labourer, whoſe name unfortunately has not been preſerved to us, having refuſed to go to the pariſh church, was forcibly dragged along by a party of national guards. At every hedge to which they came, his head was laid acroſs it, and the ſabre lifted over his neck, but he as often told them, with unſhaken reſolution, that they might ſtrike. A perſon named Feburier, who had been appointed aſſeſſor to a juſtice of peace, being preſent at a civic feaſt celebrated in the ſquare of Breſt to the honour of Mirabeau, reproached his countrymen with their

* See Vie du Dumouriez, tom. 2. liv. 3. chap. 6. towards the end.
† M. C. de Gerville's report, 6th February. Moniteur, February 7th.
‡ Ditto, 18th February. Moniteur, 20th February.
§ Barruel's Hiſt. of Clergy, Eng. tranſ. part 2. p. 43. &c. &c.

pagan

pagan idolatry. He was threatened with inſtant death, if he did not join in the ceremony. It was within ſight of his own houſe; in the view of his wife and children. He turned away his eyes from objects which might have ſoftened him, but ſtill reſiſted, till ſome of his friends aſſembling, reſcued and conducted him home in ſafety. But all was perhaps exceeded by a farmer named Chantebel, of Martigne Ferchaud, in the dioceſe of Rennes. He was detected with a catholic catechiſm in his poſſeſſion. A committee tried and ſentenced him to burn the book with his own hand. He declared that nothing ſhould force him to obey them. He was threatened in vain. One of his perſecutors then applied a flaming torch to his hand. "You may burn," ſaid the intrepid Chantebel, "not only that "hand, but my whole body, before "you ſhall make me do any thing "unworthy of my religion."

Several inquiries had taken place, and reports been made at different times to the national aſſembly. As the department of La Vendee was one of thoſe, which were ſaid to be moſt ſeditious, two commiſſioners, M. M. Genſonné and Gallois, both of them philoſophers of the new ſchool, were ſent thither, and with * general Dumourier viſited every part of that country. They found the peaſants there, an honeſt, ſimple and religious race, over whom their old paſtors, from their irreproachable morals, their virtues, their piety, and patriarchal ſimplicity of life, had acquired a ſort of paternal authority. No reprehenſible doctrines of any kind were diſcovered among the diſpoſſeſſed clergy. They preached peace. On the other ſide, their ſucceſſors are repreſented to have been generally apoſtate monks and prieſts of no characters, of profligate manners, furious and intolerant. The commiſſioners, in their report, did not venture to ſpeak quite ſo undiſguiſedly of the latter, and in the language of the day, they treated the former as ſuperſtitious fanatics; they expreſsly ſaid, however, that no guilty perſons were found among them. Dumourier, who furniſhed the materials for this report, ſtrongly recommended a modification of the decree which had occaſioned the ſchiſm in the church; but the commiſſioners did not dare to go the length of propoſing ſuch a juſt, wiſe, and humane meaſure.

The jacobin clubs, nevertheleſs, continuing their denunciations, and growing more clamorous as their general plot thickened, M. Cayer de Gerville was ordered to make an immediate report on the ſtate of the kingdom. In his opinion, the primary and direct cauſes of all the troubles were the ſcarcity of money and dearth of proviſions, though much was alſo to be attributed to political and religious diſſenſions. And in the latter, if on the one ſide he perceived what he called fanaticiſm, he ſaw alſo on the other a ſpirit of perſecution, ſo that all toleration ſeemed to be baniſhed from the realm. Every where, he ſaid, liberty of conſcience had been more or leſs violated, and vexatious bye-laws paſſed clearly contrary to the conſtitution, however the difficulty of the ſituation might have excuſed

* This is Dumourier's account, Vie, &c. &c. tom. 2. l. 3. c. 5. and it agrees with the private admiſſion of the commiſſioners, as mentioned by Barruel. Hiſt. of Clergy, Eng. tranſ. part 2. p. 20.

them. He ſpoke likewiſe, but with ſome interruption of mingled cenſure and applauſe, in language ſufficiently intelligible, though guarded, againſt the conduct of the popular ſocieties, as ſuperſeding and aſſuming all the regular authorities of the ſtate *. He obſerved, that wherever they had prevailed to keep the churches of the non-jurors ſhut, there troubles had invariably followed more or leſs violent; on the contrary, peace had been in general preſerved in the towns where thoſe churches had been kept open, particularly where was any conſiderable number of them. But what was moſt important, he bore teſtimony, that as far as his official information reached, not one of the non-juring clergy had been convicted by the tribunals as a diſturber of the public peace, though legal charges had been brought againſt ſeveral.

He wrote alſo in the king's name, agreeably to powers veſted in the crown by the conſtitution, for the purpoſe of annulling the illegal bye-laws of the departments. Some obeyed; but others openly perſiſted in diſobedience to the law. When M. de Gerville was on the point of quitting his poſt, he again made a report on the diſturbances in the country, which he then ſingly aſcribed to the price of all neceſſaries, in conſequence of the depreciation of their new paper-money. At the ſame time he called the attention of the aſſembly to his former report in all its branches.

Such was the ſituation of this queſtion, when M. Roland came into office. No reſolution of the aſſembly, no addreſs or petition of any public body, no diſaſtrous event of magnitude, preſſed him to take any ſtep whatever. Yet within a fortnight, in his temporary character as miniſter of juſtice during the abſence of M Duranthon, he diſpatched to the preſidents, judges, and king's commiſſioners in all the criminal tribunals, a circular letter, contrary to all the facts and opinions ſtated by his predeceſſor, indecent and unwarrantable in any adminiſtration of penal law, and in the immediate inſtance rekindling the flame of a conſuming perſecution. "The diſputes of the prieſthood," (ſaid M. Roland) "deſolate the "realm; religious opinions ſerve "as a pretext to every diſturbance; "but avarice, ambition, and the "hatred of a conſtitution founded "on the baſis of equality, are the "true motives. Factious and hy-"pocritical prieſts, covering their "deſigns and their paſſions under "the ſacred veil of religion, do not "ſcruple to excite fanaticiſm, and "to arm the deluded citizens with "the ſword of intolerance. The "too credulous peaſants yield to "perfidious ſuggeſtions: the prieſts "who have conformed, are perſe-"cuted, ill-treated, and driven "from their pariſhes." He went on to make an inſidious uſe of the king's name, turning againſt the known ſentiments of his heart, the wiſhes which he certainly felt, that all offences againſt the public peace, and eſpecially all crimes perpetrated in the name of Heaven, ſhould be

* Down to this paſſage, the ſketch of M. de Gerville's report of the 18th of February, is taken from the Moniteur; but that paper has in truth only a ſhort abſtract. There is no trace of what follows: That is quoted, much more at large, by Abbé Barruel, from the authentic copy printed by the aſſembly. See Hiſt. of Clergy, Eng. tranſ. part 2. pages 32 and 33.

effectually

effectually repreſſed. The royal negative to the decree of November 1791, was then explained away, as conveying no opinion on the merits of the queſtion, but merely intended to prove to Europe, the king's perfect freedom of action. The culpable tenderneſs of the tribunals in ſuffering religious troubles to multiply, was next very ſeverely reprimanded; impartiality at the ſame time was recommended in maintaining liberty of conſcience; but in concluſion, all judges were heavily threatened, if by criminal colluſion, or even by neglect, they ſhould ſuffer the ſeditious prieſts, who publicly or privately preached rebellion, any longer to endanger the ſafety of France. This letter, whether from accident or in the wanton triumph of impiety, was written on the eve of the crucifixion, and ſent on the very day when the Chriſtian churches of every denomination commemorate the ſufferings of their divine founder. Copies of it were alſo encloſed in another letter to the directories of the ſeveral departments, urging them to exerciſe the ſtricteſt vigilance over the judges, and to inform againſt them, if they ſhould prevaricate in their functions. The miniſter, ſhortly after this, read to the aſſembly a long report *, plainly calculated to prepare the way for a decree of baniſhment againſt the nonjuring clergy; and when the order of the day for taking it into conſideration was paſſed over, he wrote a moſt preſſing demand † for the meaſure, as eſſential to peace at home, and ſucceſs abroad.

M. Claviere, in his department, had not ſo many opportunities of manifeſting his ſentiments. He did, however, ſhew them as far as he could, by ſending his circular letters on the taxes, to the jacobin clubs as well as the adminiſtrative bodies, to which the law ordered them to be addreſſed.

But it was not only the new ſyſtem of politics which the miniſters brought into the cabinet with them, that made them dangerous: they were ſtill more ſo from the characters of thoſe by whom they were ſurrounded, and with whom they neceſſarily ſhared their power. The profuſion of new appointments under the conſtitution, and the continual vacancies from the rapid changes in the government, had excited the ambition, increaſed the confidence, and inflamed the hopes of men without a ſingle ſolid pretenſion. Every one thought himſelf capable of every thing, ſince the law laid all public ſituations open to capacity alone. The ſoldier dreamed only of diſplacing his officer; the officer of becoming a general; the clerk of ſupplanting the miniſter; the advocate of ſeating himſelf on the bench; and every ſciolift in literature of exhibiting his talents as a legiſlator. And under a miniſtry recommended and directed by the leaders of the jacobin club, after two ſucceſſive ſchiſms had carried off from that body every man of moderate views, the merit of former violence and audacity was of courſe the ſtrongeſt claim to preſent favour. This could have but one tendency; and it was early ſo felt by the great authors of the evil. Such of them as poſſeſſed any ac-

* See his report, in the Moniteur of April 24th.

† See his letter to the preſident, on the 9th of May, in the Moniteur of the 16th of May.

cidental superiority of talents and information, soon began to be disgusted with the universal * meanness of mind, which they discovered in every rank of those, who were employed in the most important affairs. They found the fallacy of their own declamations in praise of equality, and the injustice of the cry which they had raised for their own purposes against all the artificial distinctions of society. They lamented that "the revolution having "driven away all whose birth, for-"tune, education, and circum-"stances had rendered them supe-"rior to the mass of the people by "a higher degree of cultivation, "the country must fall gradually "into the hands of the grossest ig-"norance, and the most shameful "incapacity." A story † related by Madame Roland affords a very lively picture of the arrogant applications to which the ministers were at this time exposed, and the motives on which their patronage was exercised. M. Robert, already mentioned as having, with the aid of his wife, drawn up the seditious and treasonable petition in the ‡ Champ de Mars, was also, jointly with her, the editor of a democratical newspaper. These were his only titles to preferment, and on the credit of these he did not lose a single day in applying, through Madame Robert, to Roland, Dumourier, and Brissot. The latter thought that the man should have a place: "the reign of liberty," he said, "ought to be be-"neficial to its friends." Roland could only propose a clerkship in his office; that was not to be heard. Dumourier offered a more honourable station, though not of the first rank, and with a salary of no more than a thousand crowns; but he was informed, that M. Robert expected to be sent ambassador to Constantinople. Such a demand was thought extravagant by all. The result was, that M. Robert became the bitter enemy of Brissot and his faction, wrote libels against them, and attached himself to Danton, whose clerk he was afterwards contented to become.

One appointment which was known to be in contemplation, occasioned the greatest anxiety to the king and queen: it was that of governor to the dauphin, who had now completed his seventh year. They naturally feared, lest Condorcet, Syeyes, or some other candidate from the list prepared by the former assembly, might be obtruded upon them. Condorcet was their first terror, especially as he was known to be then busied with the project of a decree on that subject; and he had long before published his notion of a proper education for the future king, who in his opinion "should § above all things be "taught to receive with submission "the dangerous burden of a crown, "and to resign it with pleasure; "regarding the acceleration of that "moment when he should be only "a common citizen, as his duty "and glory." It was resolved, therefore, with the advice of M. Bertrand, at once to nominate M. Fleurieu, formerly minister of the

* See Madame Roland's Appeal, Eng. transf. part 2. pages 29, 30.

† Ibid. part 1. page 157, &c.

‡ See above, p. 173.

§ There is a considerable extract from this paper of Condorcet's, in the late Mr. Burke's Three Memorials, 54. 55.

marine;

marine; which measure, the day before it was to be notified to the council, was communicated to M. Dumourier. That minister strongly disapproved it, inveighed against the secret advisers of the crown, but offered to manage the affair himself, if the king would subscribe two millions as a patriotic gift to the approaching war, and give time to prepare the minds of the Girondists and Jacobins. The monarch, who was most afraid of any interposition from that quarter, persisted in his own opinion; assembled the council at an unusual hour the next morning in his own apartment, where they found the queen with him; and after a short address to them from her, as a mother, anxious only for her child, commanded them to go in a body to the assembly with a letter which he then drew from his pocket. They obeyed. The minister of justice, Duranthon, presented it, with a short and dry speech, making the step, as it certainly was, the immediate act of the royal parents. In the letter, after a reference to the well-known qualifications of M. Fleurieu, the king pointed out what sort of education he intended for his son. "I shall "unceasingly recommend to the go- "vernor," said he, "to inspire the "prince-royal with a principle of "honouring and respecting justice, "with a love of humanity, and all "the virtues that become the king "of a free people; to teach him "that a king exists only for the "happiness of all, and that, called "to maintain the execution of the "laws, his most effectual power to "enforce the obedience of others, "is the example which he gives "himself." But this education did not meet the notions of the assembly. M. Lasource immediately reminded his colleagues of the list of candidates made, and the right of nomination asserted, by the former assembly; proposing, that the committees of public instruction and legislation, should be "directed without delay to present the project of a decree on the education of the presumptive heir, being a minor;" "be- "cause," he observed, "it is of infi- "nite importance that he should re- "ceive an education conformable to "our wishes, to our sentiments, and "those of the French people." He added also, that one part of the decree should go to the consideration, whether the governor ought to be chosen by the king, or by the assembly. This motion was carried, with an amendment made by M. Rouyer, that the king's letter, which he thought unconstitutional, should be referred to the committees. There the question dropped. No report was ever made, and M. Fleurieu never took the office upon him.

This important point so personally touching the king himself, was the only one in which he overruled his ministers. On all other occasions, though taking a part in their discussions, and sometimes suspending his decision, he ultimately resigned himself to their advice. A striking instance of his facility in this respect, even against his own better judgment, and of the manner in which his confidence was abused to his ruin, occurred not long after. Immediately on the declaration of war, M. Dumourier applied to the assembly for six millions, or about 250,000 l. sterling, to answer the exigencies of secret services. This was violently opposed by the Feuillants, but supported by the Jacobins, and the sum required was put at his

diſpoſal without account. The object and price of the ſupport, which he received in this inſtance, ſoon appeared. M. Petion, in concert with M. Roland, deſired to have thirty thouſand livres, or about twelve hundred and fifty pounds a month, under pretence of employing it in counteracting the agitators of the people, diſcovering the plots of foreign emiſſaries, and ſecuring the tranquillity of Paris, but in reality for the purpoſe of keeping in pay a number of people who were his ſpies upon the court. When M. Dumourier mentioned the affair to the king, he was anſwered, "I "know M. Petion to be my ene"my; you will ſee that he will em"ploy the money in getting libels "written againſt me; but if you "think it uſeful let him have it:" and the miniſter has ſince confeſſed, that the king knew the mayor of Paris better than himſelf. In truth, part of this money was ſoon after appropriated, under the ſuperintendance of M. Roland, to the eſtabliſhing of a new publication, called The Sentinel, which was paſted up at every corner of the ſtreets, and of which more than twenty thouſand were frequently printed. It was conducted by Louvet, with the aſſiſtance of a miſtreſs or his, who had left her huſband for him, and whom, from a fancied reſemblance to the heroine in one of his own romances, he called Lodoiſka. The object of their joint labours, he ſays himſelf, was, to open the eyes of the people to the alledged treachery of the court in concert with Auſtria.

The king all this while endeavoured, by the moſt condeſcending behaviour, to ingratiate himſelf with thoſe, who, under the deſcription of his ſervants, were in truth the maſters of him and of his kingdom. He aſked queſtions of each reſpecting his particular concerns, and the favourite purſuits of his paſt life; talked pleaſantly and frankly on general topics, and frequently renewed the aſſurances of his determination to maintain the conſtitution. He even made ſome progreſs in ſoftening the auſterity of Roland, who was, however, perpetually reproached by his * wife, for the eaſineſs with which he allowed himſelf to be duped, and told by her, that "no faith ſhould ever be placed "in the conſtitutional vocation of a "king, born and bred up to deſpot"iſm, and accuſtomed to exerciſe "it." Thus urged and ſtimulated, the miniſter of the home department perſevered more ſteadily than his colleagues, in the principles and views of the republican faction. Claviere, though not ſo decided, yet generally went with Roland. Duranthon, from his natural diſpoſition, rather approved moderate counſels, and commonly made a majority by falling in with the remaining three, among whom M. Dumourier, from his ancient habits as a veteran ſoldier, and a member of the diplomatic body, his more accommodating manners, and his connection with ſome old and reſpectable courtiers, ſeems to have gained the principal place in the confidence of the king and queen.

In ſuch a cabinet the ſeeds of jealouſy were largely ſown. M. de Grave ſoon became diſſatisfied from various cauſes, but ſtayed ſome time againſt his own inclination, at the

* See Madame Roland's Appeal, Eng. tranſ. part 1. p. 67.

king's

king's desire. M. Servan succeeding him, gave to Roland three sure voices in the council, while Dumourier had but two, as he could not reckon with certainty upon Duranthon, liable as that minister must sometimes be to the influence of his original connections. Nor was it long before a breach ensued between the ministers of the foreign and the home departments. The cause of quarrel between them is differently related. However, it clearly arose from something that passed at the cabinet dinners given every Friday by the latter. Dumourier says, that Roland, having introduced his wife, and the leaders of his party, to those meetings, it appeared to him highly improper to discuss official business in their presence; wherefore he and M. Lacoste agreed not to carry their boxes on these occasions to Roland's house. On the other side, Madame Roland tells a story not quite so creditable to Dumourier. A report, it seems, had gone abroad, that the sale of some considerable employment in his gift had been negociated by Bonne-Carrere, a gamester, a man of pleasure and loose morals, whom, in a new arrangement of his office, he had made director general. The sum to be received was upwards of 4,000 l. sterling, a part of which, it was added, was promised to Madame Beauvart, then publicly living with the minister. The scandal of the tale, whether true or false, produced a complaint from Gensonné and Brissot, and a reproof from Roland, whose manner so much offended his colleague, that he grew angry, and took his leave with an air of discontent. Madame Roland then told her husband, that he must ruin Dumourier, or would be ruined by him: * the man, she observed, who once thinks fit to preach, and preaches to no purpose, must punish, or expect to suffer himself. Some interviews which Dumourier soon after had with the queen, made him much suspected by the other party in the council. That unhappy princess had been informed that he was her enemy. She desired to see him; she expostulated with him on the subject; threw out some vague menaces, as he relates; but on his protestations of fidelity was immediately appeased, and coincided in his opinions, that the king and his family could only be saved by the most intimate union with the majority of the national assembly.

Brissot and the Girondists, desirous of favouring the administration which had been formed by themselves, and the power of which was in effect their own, began now to shew more tenderness, than they had hitherto done, for the authority of government †. At the same time, more than ever occupied by their duty in the national assembly, and their private consultations with the ministers, they in a great degree withdrew themselves from the jacobin club. They even ventured to attack the Cordeliers under Robespierre and Danton.

The former of these demagogues, on the dissolution of the first assembly, had become president of the tribunal of Versailles; but having soon left that station, to be nearer the great theatre of action at Paris, he had been elected public accuser to the tribunal of the metropolis. Whether it was,

* See Madame Roland's Appeal, Eng. transl. part 2. p. 23. The anecdote is related with considerable difference of colouring in her 1st part, p. 73.

† See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 110. Note on M. de Grave's Letter.

that,

that, intent only on politics, he wanted either leisure or inclination to apply himself with zeal to the duties of his office, or that he was not in his own nature so ferocious and sanguinary as he afterwards, from his situation or his connections, appeared to be, the fact is admitted on all hands *, that he exercised his functions with very commendable moderation. But the schism of the Jacobins growing daily wider, that he might be more at liberty to attend the club, he resigned his post, in which M. Duport-du-Tertre, late minister of justice, thought it an object of ambition to succeed him. Thus enabled to dedicate himself wholly to the business of the society, he was night after night haranguing from the tribune; his perseverance made up for his want of eloquence, in which qualification he was certainly inferior to Brissot; and he had justly acquired some weight with the multitude, for his character of being incorruptible; a conspicuous praise, when so many of the popular leaders, and Brissot among the rest, are confidently said to have been bought at different times, and some of them by opposite parties at the same time. Of him nothing of the sort was ever insinuated.

Danton was by no means so unimpeached. He obtained from M. Montmorin, and afterwards from M. Delessart, considerable sums for occasional services in making and supporting motions agreeable to the views of the court, at the meetings of his section, and the different popular societies to which he belonged: he only stipulated that he should be at liberty to season his speeches as much as he pleased with declamations and invectives against the court. But M. Bertrand, being now privately entrusted with the superintendence of that sort of influence, and disapproving both the policy and expence of such corruption, struck off the whole establishment of a principal agent by whom these transactions had been conducted. In consequence, Danton was thrown entirely upon the duke of Orleans, in whose pay he was believed to have been from the beginning; and that prince, having been more honestly than prudently treated with every kind of scorn and contumely by the courtiers, and even by the attendants of the palace, when he had gone to make his acknowledgments to the king on his promotion to the rank of admiral in the close of the year 1791, was now more than ever bent at any risk to gratify at once his ambition and revenge. The Orleanists, therefore, with Danton at their head, came in aid of Robespierre against Brissot, the duke having long found that the latter had no affection to his person, and no concurrence with his designs. It is true, that he had very little, if any, command over Robespierre, and had reason to distrust him also, but the other was at this juncture the more formidable.

The Cordeliers, and all the other Jacobins in the same interest, were heated and animated by the success of those who had ascended to power from among them, and through them. The court was subdued; the clergy, the nobility, the ancient magistracy, had long been crushed. Four or five different sets of the better-born and better-educated men, who had become eminent in different stages

* Monjoye's Conjuration de Robespierre, and Bertrand's Memoirs.

of

of the revolution, had been ſucceſſively ſtripped of their popularity, and degraded never to riſe again. Their chief conteſt now lay with thoſe, whom having made, they imagined themſelves the more eaſily able to deſtroy. They were ſtrengthened alſo by many, like M. Robert, whoſe avarice or vanity could not be ſatisfied by the ruling party. To ſpeeches in the clubs and ſections, ſucceeded pamphlets, eſſays, and paragraphs, from one diviſion of the Jacobins againſt the other: Camille, Deſmoulins, and Freron particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the Girondiſts; and the journals conducted by Chaumette and Hebert, which were eſpecially calculated to ſpread blaſphemy as well as anarchy, gained ground perceptibly on thoſe of Briſſot and Condorcet: but though opponents in other reſpects, they were only rivals in every popular cry that might tend to injure the king.

The guard of twelve hundred foot and ſix hundred horſe, which the conſtitution allowed for the protection of the royal perſon, having been filled up and placed under the command of the duke of Briſſac, came upon duty about the ſame time that the new miniſtry had been appointed. The deſtruction * of this body was immediately reſolved, as a neceſſary meaſure for taking all means of defence from the king, whenever the deciſive day of attack upon his perſon ſhould arrive. Every ſort of obloquy was heaped upon them; their officers were openly inſulted, and provocations were repeatedly given, to ſurpriſe them into ſome act, which might be called an aggreſſion upon the people. They ſometimes were under the neceſſity of driving the runners of ſedition from the palace, and in conſequence were ſoon denounced by M. Kerſaint. He objected alſo that the old Swiſs guards remained, who, together with the new guards, made up a formidable force, againſt which he cautioned the aſſembly: "Anticipate," ſaid he, "the dangerous efforts of a power, the nature of which is to invade every thing." Some national guards were in the detachment of which he complained; but it only alarmed him the more that they ſhould be under the command of the duke of Briſſac. In the irregular diſcuſſion which aroſe, it was remarked by a member, that under a decree of the firſt aſſembly, the Swiſs guards were to continue till they ſhould be re-engaged on new terms. But the whole affair was referred to the military committee, from which M. Carnot made a report juſtifying the conduct of the detachment, yet adviſing, that

* The ſecret treaſonable deſign of the Jacobins to get rid of the king's guard, is ſtated on the authority of M. Petion, who, in one of his ſubſequent pamphlets, enumerates the final diſſolution of that body as one of the revolutionary meaſures by which the aſſembly prepared the way for the 10th of Auguſt. The whole paſſage is curious and important; it is as follows:—"L'aſſemblee ne pouvoit pas faire ce que le peuple a fait; elle ne pouvoit pas commander la journée du 10 Août, mais elle *l'a preparée par des meſures révolutionnaires.* L'envoi qu'elle a fait aux departmens, de la ſuperbe lettre de Roland au roi, d'une adreſſe pleine d'energie de la ville de Marſeille, ont été de vrais appels au peuple. *Elle a caſſé la maiſon du roi*; *elle a renvoyé de Paris des troupes de ligne*, qui portoient ombrage à la liberté, et enfin quand le jour immortel eſt venu, elle s'eſt elevée au niveau des circonſtances." Obſervations de Jerôme Petion ſur la lettre de Maximilian Robeſpierre, page 10.

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in future the Swiſs regiments ſhould be employed, like other regiments, within the kingdom, and not about the perſon of the king. The conſideration of this report was adjourned, and there, for the preſent, the queſtion reſted.

It was another eſſential part of the plot to gain or divide, and, if that was not practicable, to have the means of oppoſing, perhaps of overpowering, the national guards of Paris. But in ſpite of the different arts long employed to ſeduce them, they were, very many of them, ſtill attached to M. La Fayette, and the officers of his recommendation. Bodies of pikemen, therefore, were formed to overawe them; and when this new force was united with, and made dependent upon them, though not mingled in their ranks, the red-cap band, as they were called, and petticoat troops of men diſguiſed in the dreſs of women, were ſubſtituted. There was alſo a ſort of regiment of picked men, chiefly deſerters, and ſoldiers who had been drummed out by their comrades, which, as early as March, was between ſeven and eight hundred ſtrong, and received daily augmentations. Theſe were paid, at firſt, five livres a day; afterwards, as their numbers increaſed, only forty ſous. They were commanded by a knight of St. Louis, to whom they were obliged to take, on their admiſſion, an oath of unlimited obedience, and who himſelf received his orders from the ſecret committee of the Jacobins. The great object was now to get admiſſion for theſe, and as many more as could be collected of the ſame deſcription, into the very body of the national guards, by compoſing new battalions of them, ſo as that they might take their turn of duty in the city and at the palace, which would have made them, in a great degree, maſters of both. With this view, an addreſs, in the name of ten thouſand Frenchmen, to the national aſſembly, was poſted up all over the capital by Petion, as it was believed, and probably with the king's own money; demanding that all the workmen, labourers, and people of every ſort, ſhould be armed and incorporated with the national guards. The pretence for this demand was, "to oppoſe a ſufficient reſiſtance to "the tyrants * leagued againſt li-"berty;" and that it was a mere pretence, not a real alarm, ſeems clear, from the anſwer which Roland, who acted in cloſe concert with Petion, gave to the aid de camps of M. la Fayette, when they applied for reinforcements, that the armies on the frontiers were ſtrong enough for every purpoſe, both of defenſive and offenſive operations.

In truth, the firſt diſgraces of the French arms were not unexpected by the faction, which had forced on hoſtilities. They had looked † forward with confidence to theſe events,

as

* Petion's placard is preſerved in Dugour's Defence, &c. tom. i. p. 190. For the reſt of the facts, ſee Avant-dernier Chapitre, &c. p. 15 and 16; and an official account, communicated by Buob, one of the police juſtices of Paris, to M. Bertrand, Mem. vol. ii. p. 251 and 252.

† Louvet expreſsly declares their reliance upon theſe events, to *purge at once the ſenate, the armies, and the throne.* He expreſſes himſelf with equal plainneſs

on

as occaſions of enflaming the populace againſt the king. Neither were they ſlow in uſing them according to their original plot for his deſtruction; in which they had the perfect accord and co-operation of the other faction under Roberſpierre. Every calamity, therefore, was aſcribed, in the moſt unqualified and furious language, to the treachery of the court. The meetings of the ſections, clubs, coffee-houſes, and ſtreets reſounded with nothing but invectives againſt the Auſtrian committee.

The Cordeliers, indeed, made an early attempt to turn this engine againſt the actual miniſtry, as well as the court. Momoro, a daring leader of that club, and afterwards well known for his ſhare in the maſſacres of September, appeared with ſome petitioners at the bar of the aſſembly. He compared the death of the three hundred men, whom they had loſt, to that of the three hundred Spartans at Thermopylæ; but proceeding to aver that the public voice, more faithful than miniſterial reports, aſcribed their fate to a treaſon; he was interrupted there by a loud cry from the majority. Fauchet, Albitte, Lecointre, and ſome other members of their ſtamp, endeavoured to maintain the right of all petitioners to be heard, and the neceſſity of obtaining information,

on the origin and object of the war; *that it was intended to deſtroy royalty itſelf for ever, firſt in France, and afterwards throughout the world.* "Nous voulions la guerre, nous, purs jacobins, parce qu'à coup ſur la paix tuoit la republique, puiſque dans la ſuppoſition la plus favorable elle nous conduiſoit tout a plus à un changement de tyran. *Nous la voulions*, parce que, ſi elle avoit actuellement ſes perils, plus tard elle en auroit de plus certains; *parce qu'enterpriſe à tems, ſes premiers revers, ſans doute inévitables, pouvoient du moins ſe reparer, et purger à la fois le ſenat, les armées et le trone; parce qu'au milieu des prompts ſuccès qui devoient ſuivre, le plus profond reſſentiment d'une trahiſon mieux prouvée, plus inexcuſable, plus eclatante, forçoit néceſſairement* UNE VERITABLE REVOLUTION, *d'un prix auquel on ne pouvoit rien comparer.* Vous vous retranchez ſur la paix, vous ambitieux qui ne ſongez qu'a deplacer un roi. Ils appelloient la guerre à grands cris, les hommes d'un cœur généreux, d'un ame vraiment libre, trop forts pour cèder aux petites ſuggeſtions d'un vil interêt perſonnel; trop grands pour ne ſe conſiderer que dans la paſſage de cette vie. Ils appelloient la guerre les republicains dignes de l'etre. Ils oſoient aſpirer à la gloire ſolide, a l'immortel honneur *de tuer la royauté même, de la tuer à jamais, d'abord en France et puis dans l'univers.*

See "A Maximilien Roberſpierre et à ſes Royaliſtes, Jean Baptiſte Louvet," page 18. Another teſtimony of the ſame kind, and perhaps ſtill more worthy of notice, as it was given at a time when he had little reaſon to exult in the ſucceſs of his ſchemes, is to be found in his "Narrative of his Perils, Eng. tr. p. 11." It is dated from the caverns of Mount Jura, where, after the moſt imminent dangers and eſcapes, he had concealed himſelf from his enemies. After giving a ſhort ſketch of the different parties in France in the beginning of 1792, and referring on that head to the pamphlet quoted above, he ſays, "Under theſe circumſtances was moved at "the Jacobins the grand queſtion, whether war ought to be declared againſt "Auſtria? The Cordeliers were againſt it, becauſe it would give too much power "to La Fayette, the greateſt enemy of Orleans; the Jacobins were for it, becauſe "a peace of ſix months would have fixed a deſpotic crown on the head of Louis, "or put an uſurped ſceptre into the hands of Orleans; whilſt *war alone, ſpeedy "war, could give us a republic.* On this occaſion burſt forth the grand ſchiſm "between the faction of Roberſpierre and the party of Briſſot."

wherever

wherever they could, in their then ſituation. Some called out to the ſpokeſman to go on, others to withdraw; at laſt, finding his ſupporters too weak, he and his attendants retired amidſt a tumult of mingled altercation, hiſſes, and applauſes. His failure in the aſſembly was followed by ſome little diſgrace thrown upon the topic among the populace, in conſequence of a miſadventure which befel* two ſtreet-orators at the palais-royal. In the midſt of the moſt indignant declamations againſt court-fraud, they were detected in picking the pockets of their admiring auditors, and upon their examination were found to have been old offenders in this way, and certificated patriots of the jacobin club.

Notwithſtanding theſe checks, M. Iſnard, on the 15th of May, brought the ſubject directly before the aſſembly. He propoſed a remonſtrance to the king in the name of the nation. It was couched in the moſt offenſive and irritating ſtyle, directly charging Louis with having ſigned an order for maſſacring the inhabitants of Paris in the year 1789, upbraiding him with abuſing the lenity of the people, who had replaced him on the throne, when any other people would have depoſed him, and the Engliſh, as it was aſſerted, would have tried and condemned him for perjury; admitting his language to have been always conſtitutional, but deſcribing his actions as invariably in contradiction to his declarations; and ſtrongly intimating, that all the plans of the war had been betrayed by him to the Auſtrian generals.

This was introduced by a laboured ſpeech of conſiderable length, in which M. Iſnard profeſſed to aſcend to the true cauſe of all their evils. He found it in the errors of the firſt aſſembly, "which, able to do every "thing, had done only half; which "had exalted the will of one man to "a level with the will of all; which "to the very hands that had kept "the nation enſlaved, had truſted "the protection of liberty, and put "into them at the ſame time the two "weapons that are moſt fatal to it, "the ſword that aſſaſſinates, and the "gold that poiſons; and which, having poſſeſſed an opportunity of "knowing and the means of repairing theſe faults at the epoch of the "21ſt of June 1791, had not only "neglected theſe advantages, but "had even receded ſtill further "from true principles." He declaimed againſt the king, nobles, prieſts, rich proprietors, weak men who loved peace more than liberty, all timid minds, all imitators and credulous believers; and with them he contraſted thoſe to whom alone he allowed the character of true ſtateſmen, "thoſe whoſe cold reaſon "and inexorable policy, he ſaid, are "deaf to the promiſes of proſtrate "tyrants, and inſenſible to the call "of ſelf-intereſt, becauſe they know "that the freedom of a day always "coſts too much, but durable free-"dom never enough; that *ſlight "bleedings are not perceived in the "veins of the body politic; that they "are nothing when the public ſafety "is at ſtake.*" The king, he profeſſed to believe, did undoubtedly deſire his own individual quiet, and the good of his people; but upon the court, and the ſecret committee, which he ſuppoſed to aim at a counter-revolution without the privity of the king himſelf, he charged

* Their names were Genthon and Degout. The ſtory is told in M. Bertrand's Denunciation et Plainte contre le Sieur Carra, as well as in his Memoirs.

all

all the inteſtine calamities of the kingdom, down to the incendiary writings of Marat. In regard to the foreign war, having traced out what he imagined to be the plan of the combined powers; he repreſented it as a madneſs not to be credited by poſterity, as a ſingular inſtance of the exceſs of national blindneſs, to truſt the head of the Bourbon family with the management of a war againſt a confederacy, the purpoſe of which was to re-eſtabliſh his family and himſelf in the exerciſe of abſolute power. To remedy all their maladies, he recommended the ſuppreſſion of anarchy, which had ever been found to be a bloody road conducting to deſpotiſm; the baniſhment of all the prieſts ſummarily convicted of diſturbing the public peace; a more uſeful direction to be given to the clubs, which, from their affiliations and correſpondencies, he regarded as electrical conductors, capable of ſaving the ſtate by their communications and impulſes; proclamations and expoſitions to be publiſhed by the aſſembly itſelf every week; frequent meetings of the members in ſecret and confidential committees; and finally, the remonſtrance which he in concluſion moved, "as a ſerious "and definitive explanation with "the king; the *ultimatum* of the "ſovereign will of the people; which "ſhould thoroughly impreſs the latter with a ſenſe of their own dignity, and the former with a conviction of his nullity." Should it be diſregarded, he hoped that the eyes of the inſulted nation would be opened; that ſome orator, burning with the love of his country, would unfold the long treaſons of the Thuilleries, and ſucceſsfully animate the aſſembly to ſome extraordinary meaſure, ſuch as could alone work the public ſafety.

This ſpeech and motion were uſhered in by ſeveral of thoſe theatrical exhibitions at the bar, which were commonly uſed on ſuch occaſions; and the galleries were filled with auditors who were loud in their applauſe of all the ſtronger paſſages, and particularly of that which ſo directly encouraged bloodſhed and maſſacre. Yet many murmurs and ſome laughter were heard in the aſſembly. The ſeaſon was not yet come; and the ſubject was for the preſent diſmiſſed by a call for the order of the day.

An incident, however, ſoon forced Briſſot and the Girondiſts openly to avow themſelves before they were ready. M. Carra, in a news-paper publiſhed by him, had talked very confidently of the ſuppoſed Auſtrian committee, and in one of the ſittings of the jacobin club, publicly denounced M. Montmorin and M. Bertrand by name, as leading members of it. He had aſſerted alſo in his journal, that there was a plot for a ſecond eſcape of the king, and a new St. Bartholomew's day in Paris; he adviſed all the citizens, therefore, to be armed, and to keep themſelves on their guard; the clubs to hold their ſittings day and night, the beacons to be kindled, and the alarm bells to be rung on the firſt ſignal. Theſe endeavours to excite public ferments, partly as the means and partly as the excuſe of violence, had always forerun the former attacks on the king's perſon. He was now in greater danger than ever from the compoſition of his miniſtry. Theſe conſiderations inclined M. Bertrand to meet this cry as ſoon as poſſible; eſpecially ſince the opportunity now offered for him and M. Montmorin

to

to do this without involving the king. He was the more steady in this opinion, as he had accidentally learned a circumstance, which seemed calculated, if it should get abroad first from the other side, to lend a colour of truth to the fiction of the Austrian committee. M. Regnaud, of St. Jean d'Angely, who had been a popular member of the first assembly, called one day on M. Malouet, and expressed his pleasure in the thought of meeting him more frequently, and on more intimate terms in future. Being desired to explain himself, he said, that he had received a summons to attend a secret committee at the princess de Lamballe's, where he was told, that he would find M. Montmorin, M. Bertrand, and M. Malouet; and it was with great difficulty he could be persuaded, that M. Malouet belonged to no committee whatever, had never been in the princess de Lamballe's house, and hardly knew her by sight.

With this clue, and having taken the precaution to ascertain from Madame de Lamballe, that she knew nothing of any secret committee, M. Bertrand solicited M. Montmorin to join him in prosecuting Carra and the other journalists, particularly Brissot and Condorcet, who had published similar calumnies on the same subject. The latter still adhered to his old policy of despising all libels. The former, however, was as fixed in his persuasion, that in such cases there is no wisdom but in vigour. But as the king and queen were so much implicated, he thought it proper to consult them, who, approving his spirit, and the motive of it, dissuaded him only on account of the personal risk which he would incur. He carried his complaint before M. a Riviere, one of the justices sitting at what was called the tribunal of correctional police. He swore to the falsehood of the charge in lodging his information, and he was corroborated by M. Montmorin, who now also brought his complaint, and by Madame de Lamballe. M. Regnaud was then examined. Search was made for Richer de Serisy, the young man who had brought the pretended invitation from the princess to M. Regnaud, but he absconded. Carra himself, agreeably to the practice of the French law, was interrogated, when he named, as his authors, three members of the assembly, Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot. They being next called upon to declare what they knew, avowed that they had sanctioned the article published by Carra, and said, that the existence of the Austrian committee appeared in papers, which came to their possession as members of the committee of superintendence, one of the committees of the national assembly. A new information was in consequence lodged against them soon after by M. M. Bertrand and Montmorin.

In this stage of the proceeding, M. la Riviere believed himself warranted to apply for a communication of the papers, as necessary to the purposes of justice. He went, attended by a deputation of his brother magistrates, to the bar. A very singular scene was then displayed. M. Fauchet, the new bishop of Calvados, thought it essential to explain the nature of the committee, of which he was himself a member. Their informers, he said, desired to remain concealed, as many of them had offices about the palace, which they would not only lose, but hazard their lives, by being known; and they gave their intelligence under an oath of secrecy from the committee. The use which was made of the tales thus communicated,

communicated, was to give public notice of plots, when the committee believed them; and several, in the opinion of M. Fauchet, had been thus defeated. In these doctrines he was supported by M. Guadet, who also observed, that there was certainly no legal evidence to prove the existence of an Austrian committee, though no man could have a moral doubt of the fact: he wished, therefore, the whole affair to be left to the zeal of the committee, the members of which, as soon as they had any proofs, would hasten to bring them forward, and put the legislative body in a situation of doing a great act of severity. M. Bazire, on the same side, admitted, that he and his colleagues had no legal proofs; complained that they did not possess sufficient power and other means to be so useful as they wished, not being authorized to make domiciliary visits, or send for witnesses and papers, and having no funds at their disposal to pay their spies; confirmed what had been said by M. Fauchet of the method taken by them to defeat plots through the news-papers, which he considered "as a very innocent and "most humane expedient;" and trusted that the assembly would never have the immorality to think of violating the promise of secresy, which had been sworn to the informers. On the opposite side, some proposed to comply with the address of the justices; others were for ordering the committee to make a report the next day. M. Quatremere expressed himself with becoming indignation at an institution, such as this committee was represented, though he could never believe it to be; "an impenetrable den, where "calumny lay in wait for ever ready "to spring upon her prey:" he ridiculed the notion of that being kept a secret from the assembly, which had been entrusted to Carra, a libeller by trade, who would spread it all over Europe; and he demanded, that either the papers should be communicated for the purposes of justice, or be read and discussed in a committee of the whole assembly. The order of the day was however voted, on the motion of M. Dumolard, who truly remarked, that the committee of superintendence had nothing to do with the question. It lay between M. M. Bertrand and Montmorin on the one side, and on the other, M. Carra and the three members, who must support as they could before the tribunal, the public assertions, which they had made. If the former were criminal, they ought to be severely punished; if not, he left the assembly to settle on what head the punishment ought to fall. He had been himself named on the committee, and could not suppose that his colleagues meant to make it a tribunal of inquisition terrible to all France. He demanded that justice should be done to all, and a free course allowed to the law. These sentiments were applauded, and seemed to have influenced the decision which immediately followed.

Fortified, as he vainly imagined, by the sense of the assembly, and believing himself to be justified by the letter * of the new constitution, M.

* The following is the article of the constitution, which he afterwards alledged in his defence. "They (the members of the legislative body) may, for a criminal "act, be seized in *flagrante delicto*, or in virtue of a warrant of arrest, but "notice shall be given of it, without delay, to the legislative body, and the pro-"secution cannot be continued, till after the legislative body shall have decided "that there is ground of accusation." Part iii. chap. 1. tit. viii.

la Riviere iſſued warrants to have the three members brought before him. This was done by three ſoldiers of the police, between five and ſix the next morning. He afterwards ſaid, that he directed this proceſs to be ſerved upon them at ſo early an hour, for the purpoſe of accommodation, ſo as to enable them, after being examined, to attend their duty at the opening of the aſſembly. On the other hand, they conſidered this circumſtance as an aggravated inſult, and the whole tranſaction as a breach of privilege. M. Bazire alone, on the explanation which was given, and a reference to the conſtitution, which was produced to him, conſented to anſwer the queſtions that were put to him. The others refuſed; proteſted againſt the whole procedure as eſſentially null and void; were diſmiſſed, and repaired to the aſſembly. The galleries received them with indecent plaudits at their entrance, and at every pauſe in their ſpeeches. Their complaint was ſtrongly taken up by the majority. It was decided that M. la Riviere ſhould not be heard on his own petition, which had been preſented ſoon after the arrival of the three members, but ſhould be ordered to the bar to explain his conduct. M. Guadet and ſome others even contended, that he ſhould be reſtrained to anſwer on interrogatories. He was heard, however, with no other interruption than occaſional laughter and cries from the galleries. His addreſs was reſpectful, but firm and dignified. He gave it the turn and air of a report rather than a defence, ſtating what he had done, declaring that he had fully diſcharged his duty in the informations which he had taken, and leaving the aſſembly to decide, whether there was ground for directing a regular charge to be exhibited, and a proſecution to be inſtituted, againſt the three members. He obſerved too, in his exculpation, that the miniſter of juſtice had lately written to the tribunals, exciting them to uſe all the ſeverity of the law in repreſſing ſlander, which the letter denominated a moral aſſaſſination. On his withdrawing, a motion was made by M. Lemontey to refer the whole queſtion to the committee of legiſlation. This was reſiſted by M. Guadet, who thought it highly indecent to deliberate whether their three colleagues ſhould be put on their trial. He was for determining immediately on the conduct of the magiſtrates. If juſtices of peace were ſuffered to proceed in that manner, he was afraid there might not remain an hundred members for the diſpatch of public buſineſs. Long and ſharp debates enſued till after midnight, when the motion of M. Lemontey was carried.

The next morning the galleries were filled with the hired emiſſaries of the Cordeliers, Jacobins, and Girondiſts. The report of the committee was demanded. It was not ready; no time had been fixed for it. Amidſt confuſion, agitation, and uproar, aſſiſted by the galleries, the vote of the laſt ſitting was in effect reſcinded, and the diſcuſſion opened on the ſpot without any report. The conſtitution was quoted on all ſides in the moſt contradictory ſenſes. It was urged, that, although the members might be legally apprehended on a warrant to arreſt them, they could not on a warrant to carry them before a magiſtrate; the greater, it was ſaid, did not include the leſs; and what M. la Riviere had repreſented as a mitigated uſe of the powers veſted

veſted in him, was treated as an act of criminal uſurpation againſt the dignity of the aſſembly. It was aſſerted, that in the new code of law, defamation was not a crime for which a member of the aſſembly could be puniſhed; it was even argued not to be a crime at all, becauſe it did not lead to a capital ſentence in any caſe; but in anſwer, a paſſage * was cited from the conſtitutional act, which expreſsly gave both a civil and criminal ſuit, at the option of the party, in caſes of defamation. It was triumphantly pointed out, that in ſuch caſes at leaſt no ſentence could be paſſed without the previous declaration of a jury, both that the words charged as a libel were criminal, and that the perſon accuſed was guilty; and it was added, that no jury had been impannelled in this caſe: but it was truly obſerved on the other ſide, that no ſentence had been paſſed, or intended to be paſſed; the magiſtrate had only taken preparatory informations, and then, as his duty directed him, ſubmitted the affair to the aſſembly. Neither of the three members had complained of any actual violence; they ſeem all, from their own accounts, to have obeyed the warrants voluntarily; yet the conſtitution was adduced to ſhew, that when a voluntary obedience was declared, no violence was to be uſed. On behalf of M. Riviere it was urged, that the independence of the judicial on the legiſlative power was a fundamental maxim of their conſtitution; and to that end it had been expreſsly provided, that the acts of a juſtice who had exceeded his powers, muſt be examined and annulled by the proper tribunal of appeal, before the aſſembly could ſend him as a criminal to Orleans. It was anſwered, however, that there was a decree of the 23d of June 1789, not yet repealed, which declared the right of the aſſembly to puniſh thoſe who ſhould proſecute, arreſt, or detain any deputy on account of his opinions, or his conduct in the ſtates general: But the majority did not countenance the application of that decree. Their principal reliance ſeemed to be placed on the violent declamations which were poured forth upon the obnoxious magiſtrate, as an agent of the Auſtrian committee. All that was ſaid againſt him was tumultuouſly cheered; the voices of thoſe who were diſpoſed to defend him, were drowned in murmurs and cries; many left the hall in diſguſt; and a vote of accuſation was finally paſſed amidſt the plaudits and ſhouts of the galleries. M. la Riviere was ſent to Orleans, whence he was only brought to be murdered with the other victims of the following September.

Three members of the minority, M. Vaublanc, M. Dumolard, and M. Cheron, were inſtantly denounced, as having paſſed a great part of the night, preceding the execution of the warrants, in conſultation with M. la Riviere. But the firſt had never ſeen or heard that magiſtrate, having been accidentally abſent when he appeared at the bar; the ſecond was wholly unacquainted with him, nor had ever paſſed any part of a night in company with M. Vaublanc, and the third denied the fact alledged againſt him. The tale was traced from one to another, till it ſtopped with the new biſhop of Limoges, who only pretended, that he ſaw M. Cheron accoſt M. la Riviere in the

* Part iii. ch. v. tit. xviii.

ſtreet, not one day, but two days before the warrants, and at parting aſk, if they were to ſee each other that night with ſome of their common friends. Even this was not remembered by M. Cheron; yet it was propoſed, that the denunciation ſhould be referred to the committee of ſuperintendence, to be examined by their ſecret inquiſition; but M. Genſonné moved and carried the order of the day, becauſe the inviolability of members could only be infringed where they were corrupted by money, which was not pretended in the caſe before them.

The king, thinking that the falſehoods which he had before deſpiſed, now aſſumed a graver aſpect, from the firſt debates of the aſſembly on the affair of the three members, and willing as far as poſſible to ſhelter M. la Riviere from the conſequences of his loyal but indiſcreet zeal, had directed the miniſter of juſtice to give the neceſſary inſtructions to the public accuſer for commencing an inſtant proſecution on the ſubject of the Auſtrian committee. This ſtep had been ſignified without loſs of time to the aſſembly, and a communication of the papers poſſeſſed by the committee of ſuperintendence requeſted in the king's name. But the conſideration of this letter was adjourned till after the deciſion on the conduct of M. la Riviere, when Genſonné undertook to denounce it as contrary to the conſtitution. Briſſot, at the ſame time, pledged himſelf with Genſonné to denounce the Auſtrian committee.

When the appointed day came, all was expectation and anxiety. For the greater ſolemnity, the preſident, at the motion of a member, opened the buſineſs by reading to the galleries the law, which forbade every mark of approbation or diſapprobation. M. Genſonné then began. The firſt part of his ſpeech related to the king's letter. He deſcribed it as injurious to the legiſlative body, dangerous to the public ſafety, an uſurpation on the conſtitution, and a new proof of the exiſtence of an Auſtrian committee. He did not make the ſlighteſt alluſion to the miniſter Duranthon, who had counterſigned it, and by law was reſponſible for it, but attributed every thing to the ſecret adviſers about the throne. Thence he paſſed to the denunciation of the ſuppoſed Auſtrian committee. Three queſtions, he ſaid, preſented themſelves: Did ſuch a committee exiſt? Was there ſufficient proof againſt any of the leaders? And what would be the beſt method of diſcovering the accomplices, and diſconcerting all their plots? He referred generally to heaps of letters, and ſome depoſitions which remained in the cuſtody of the committee of ſuperintendence, and to clouds of witneſſes, who could be brought to the bar; but he produced neither the one nor the other. The reſt was vague declamation, on the aſſerted deſigns of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to ſurround the king, on the concert of foreign powers in the royal cauſe, the arrival of many nobles in the capital, and their ſudden departure, the employment of perſons related to emigrants, the bad compoſition of the new guard, the late denunciations by M. M. Bertrand and Montmorin, and the warrants iſſued by M. la Riviere againſt the three members; after which he ended by moving a decree of accuſation againſt M. Montmorin; an order for M. Bertrand to deliver up all his correſpondence with the colonies, that it might be examined and reported

to

to the assembly; and finally, a direction to the committee of superintendence, to report the evidence which they had, or could obtain, of the conspiracy carried on by the Austrian committee.

Brissot followed, and was more explicit. He described the Austrian committee to be a faction of enemies to liberty, who sometimes governing in the name of the king, whom they deceived, and sometimes directing his ministers, had constantly betrayed the people, and sacrificed the interests of the nation to those of a single family. The subserviency of this committee to the house of Austria was its principal characteristic, and under that relation it was only one branch of the party which domineered in France. The intrigues of that party, he said, bore date from the fatal treaty of 1756, the perfidious work of the minister Kaunitz. Slaves of that Austrian system, the Montmorins and Delessarts were in their several turns no more than puppets, the strings of which were at Vienna. It was M. Mercy who directed the cabinet of France when the people destroyed the Bastile; it was he who still directed it at that very moment. This, he added, is what we call the Austrian committee. The peculiar features of this conspiracy according to him were, an absolute devotion to the royal prerogative, and the interests of Austria; an aversion to any alliance, however easy, with Prussia or England; a tenderness for the emigrants, though without adhering to all their views; a dislike of the war with Austria, after having brought it on; and finally, the project of establishing an assembly that should consist of two chambers.

This treason, such as he charged it, he undertook to prove by documents, which he had obtained from the foreign office. They were mutilated extracts of M. Montmorin's correspondence. The first, and in his estimation the most important, on which he bestowed a very laboured comment, was a passage in a letter from the minister to the French ambassador at Vienna, dated on the 3d of August 1791, during the confinement and suspension of the king. It announced the favourable change which had taken place in the majority of the assembly; and the manifest intention of the writer was to pacify the Emperor with the hope, that the revolution would quietly settle itself without injury to the royal family. "The better "disposed minds in the assembly," said M. Montmorin, "they who "have hitherto had the greatest influence there, are united, and act "in concert with the king's true "servants, to support the monarchy "and restore to his majesty the "power and authority necessary to "carry on the government of the "country. Within fifteen days the "present afflicting situation of the "royal family will be at an end." Lower down, continued the orator, he writes; "since these deputies "have joined us, we have perceived the necessity of using "some managements with them, to "keep them on the side which "they have lately taken. Severe "measures have been adopted in "conjunction with them for the "purpose of repressing the factious "against whom we have to combat." Who, asked Brissot, does not see, who does not recognize the *well-disposed minds* of whom M. Montmorin speaks? Who cannot

name the intriguers, whose conduct and language changed at that very epoch, and who, after having defended the people, coalesced with a ministry against which they had never ceased to declaim? Analyse this letter, and at every word you will find the corruption of the Austrian committee. He then launched into a violent invective against the phrase of "*the king's servants*," which he said was the most eloquent abridgment of M. Montmorin's principles, and an expression fit only for a Turkish visir on his knees to the sultan, or a slave licking the dust at the feet of the visir. The next document was a similar assurance, given by M. Montmorin in the preceding April, of the disposition which he supposed to be then prevalent among the leaders of the assembly, to maintain the alliance with Austria. This the accuser regarded as one of the greatest crimes, in all the members of the coalition. He particularly inveighed against the minister for representing the nation as wishing to strengthen that alliance, after the Emperor's circular letter from Padua, exciting all the sovereigns of Europe against them, and the treaty of Pilnitz, connecting Austria with Prussia, which he pronounced to be the most palpable violation of the treaties, that bound the former power to France. "Abject minister," exclaimed Brissot, "we did not wish it. No, the "French did not wish to strengthen "the ties, that connected them "with tyrants. They did wish to "treat with the German nation; "but never shall their money and "their blood be spent for the men "who lord it over their brethren." Other passages were produced from other letters, to prove that M. Montmorin had been acquainted with the versatility of Leopold, who was described, in one of the dispatches, as a man, that if he followed his own dispositions, would send 10,000 troops to fight on the one side, and 10,000 on the other; and yet, it was observed, the minister had so far trusted such a man as not to apply for any armament, not to negociate for an alliance with Prussia, nor even for the neutrality of England. Great stress was laid on another head of charge, founded on a letter of much older date. It was from the French envoy at Geneva, in August 1790. It announced that he had gone into the service of the count d'Artois, a step which was stated to be contrary to the declared intentions of M. Montmorin, but which the writer hoped might not be disagreeable to him. This was a discovery, in the opinion of Brissot, to make his hearers shudder; a manifest treason. He then passed to the characters of the French ambassadors and envoys under M. Montmorin, all of whom were asserted to be enemies to the revolution, except Genet, a true republican, who was left neglected at Petersburgh. He adverted again in his peroration to the tenets of the Austrian committee, and gave, in a shorter compass than before, what he called their profession of faith. It was "to take all op-"portunities of advancing the royal "authority, because they entertained hopes of placing it some "day or other on a level with that "of the English crown, and to "strengthen it with the system of "the two chambers, because that "system would give the king greater

"means

" means of influence in disposing of " the lives and fortunes of the ci- " tizens, and in confirming the " treaty of 1756, which was the " end of all the Austrian intrigues." This was the utmost length, to which he believed the designs of the court, and the councils of the Emperor to extend, and the plot, to which he attributed all the late occurrences, that had agitated the people. He differed from M. Gensonné, in urging the prosecution of M. Duport du Tertre also, and in thinking the committee of superintendence not ready yet to report; instead of which, he proposed that a register should be opened for information from every quarter.

The effect of these denunciations was in no measure answerable to the curiosity which they had raised. M. Kersaint instantly moved the vote of impeachment, but could find none to second him. An order was made for the two speeches to be printed, and it was added, on the suggestion of another member, that they should be accompanied by authentic and complete copies of all the papers quoted in them. M. Rouyer was desirous of supplying one omission of M. Gensonné, by denouncing the minister of justice who had countersigned the king's letter, and moved that the following Friday should be appointed for that discussion; but this did not suit the views of the majority, and they stopped it at once, by passing to the order of the day.

Among other arts to work up the passions of the multitude, previous to the business of this day, the falsehood of the king's intention to escape was re-asserted, and diffused with malignant activity. To give the greater credit to the tale, M. Petion, the evening before, wrote to the commanding officer of the national guards, acquainting him that many had expressed their apprehensions of the king's departure that night; that there also were rumours of intended disturbances and commotions; and that all was accompanied by probabilities and circumstances of presumption: wherefore he desired every measure of observation and precaution to be taken without a moment's delay, and the patroles to be reinforced and multiplied. The king, hearing of this step, the next day addressed a letter on the subject to the municipality, complaining of the mayor's conduct to him, notwithstanding the declaration which he had made on a similar report the February before; informing them that he knew all the machinations employed to influence the people, raise an insurrection, and force him to quit the capital; but assuring them that while France had enemies to combat within and without, the capital was his post, and that he put unreserved confidence in the national guards of Paris. A copy of this letter was inclosed to the directory of the department, observing that they would readily see the wickedness of spreading such a report in the actual situation of the metropolis. To make it as public as possible, it was printed and stuck up in all the streets. But the following day it appeared covered with mud and filth of every kind, and over it was placed an address of M. Petion to his fellow citizens, which was an answer to the king, couched in the most disrespectful style of pert superiority. His purpose was to degrade

the unfortunate monarch *. He ſucceeded but too well, and exulted in his ſucceſs. The council-general of the commune, where the Jacobins and Cordeliers had a deciſive majority againſt the Feuillans, approved what the mayor had done.

In this ſtate of the public mind, came an account from the municipality of Neuilly, that twelve Swiſs ſoldiers getting drunk at a public houſe, had hoiſted the white cockade, and wounded ſome perſons who gathered round them, but were ſeized by the national guards, and delivered to their own officers, by whom they were confined. Merlin brought forward the ſubject in the aſſembly, and it was referred to the king and miniſters to proceed againſt the priſoners, and in three days inform the legiſlative body of the meaſures taken in conſequence. This was done on the motion of M. Guadet, who connected this ſtory with information received of white cockades in great numbers having been got ready in Paris.

M. Merlin then produced an account, which had been ſent to the committee of ſuperintendence by the municipality of St Cloud, containing intelligence, that at the Royal Porcelain manufactory at Sêve, fifty two ſquare packages of paper were burnt by M. La Porte, the ſuperintendent of the civil liſt; that only three of the workmen were allowed to be preſent, and nobody could tell what the packages contained. M. Merlin intimated that they muſt be the archives of the Auſtrian committee. M. La Porte was ſummoned to the bar. He explained the myſtery. There were, he ſaid, thirty, not fifty-two packages, and they contained an edition of the Memoirs of Madame La Motte, which had been bought up by the king and deſtroyed, to prevent their circulation. But as every perſon about the court was ſuſpected, it was thought neceſſary to enquire further, and examine all the workmen and others preſent at the tranſaction.

Chabot having obſerved in the debate that they were upon a volcano, and that he would prove, by undeniable evidence, the exiſtence of a plot for diſſolving the aſſembly and making a counter-revolution, was now called upon to produce his proofs. This, however, he wiſhed to poſtpone, but at the ſame time aſſerted that he had no leſs than one hundred and eighty-four documents, that went fully to the point. He declared that he did not chuſe to give notice to thoſe who might be criminated, that they might eſcape; and on the authority of a diſpatch from the municipality of Boulogne-ſur-Mer, which M. Petion had tranſmitted to the committee of ſuperintendence, he announced that M. Montmorin, with the princeſs de Lamballe, had fled to England. M. Bazire, however, to ſatisfy in ſome degree the calls made on the committee, undertook the next day to bring forward the queſtion of caſhiering the king's new guards, and to prove that there had been a plot to carry off the king, on the day that the entertainment was given to the ſoldiers of the regiment of Chateau-vieux. Foreſeeing or pretending to foreſee the probability

* Cette guerre polemique, entre un roi et un ſimple maire, étoit un exemple nouveau : il ne fut pas inutile, et fit plus d'impreſſion chez l'etranger qu'en France même. See Le Compte rendu à ſes concitoyens par Jerôme Pètion.

of

of some fermentation in consequence of his engagement for the next day, he moved and carried a resolution that the guard throughout Paris should be doubled, and the mayor attend every morning to report the state of the capital. M. Carnot went further, and proposed that the sitting should be declared permanent, according to the form used by the constituent assembly at the epoch of the king's departure in June 1791. The application of the precedent was felt, and its adoption decreed, while the hall resounded with applause.

This extraordinary sitting did not open very auspiciously for the views of the majority. What had been said by M. La Porte, was corroborated by all the other persons who were examined to the same point, with the important addition, that the books had been bought up by M. La Porte at the desire of M. La Motte himself, expressed through his counsel. M. Montmorin wrote to the president, that he had no intention whatever of leaving France, had not been out of Paris, for the last two months, and should not stir from it till he had cleared up the charges made upon him, to which he was then printing, and hoped soon to send the president, a complete answer. Chabot in consequence produced the letter from Boulogne; but was under the necessity of owning a little mistake as to the princess de Lamballe; it was in truth the princess Lambesc who was said to have gone for England, and whose emigration at that period had nothing peculiar in it. The date too, of the supposed embarkation, appeared to be the 8th of the month, several days anterior to the time when both M. Montmorin and Madame Lamballe were notoriously in Paris, making their several depositions before M. La Riviere.

The next morning the mayor appeared at the bar. He praised the care and wisdom of the late decree, represented the dangerous state of the capital which made it necessary, but affirmed that the mass of the citizens of Paris was excellent. "They love liberty and the constitution," said he, "and will "defend them till death: the men "of the 14th of July still exist. "How imprudent are the cowards "who conspire against our repose! "They perceive some divisions "among the men, who, though not "always taking the same road, "yet wish to arrive at the same "end; and they immediately be"lieve that the moment is arrived "to realize their odious chimeras. "The fools; they do not see that "if the tempest bursts, it is upon "them that the bolt will fall." He told the assembly, however, with a boast of his exact intelligence, that the night had been calm, and nothing indicated a stormy day. If they would shew themselves constantly elevated to the height of their sublime functions; if they would display the august character wherewith the nation had invested them; they might be assured of the tranquillity, not only of Paris, but of all France. Yet the mayor, as the royalist writers have remarked, was well acquainted, that, the evening before, the chapel of the Invalids had been broken open, the sacred vessels stolen, and the holy wafer irreverently thrown out upon the altar; and at the very time that he was speaking there was a serious riot at the palace. A considerable body

body of men, armed with pikes, clubs, and other ſuch weapons, marched thither in the morning, inſulted the guards in the groſſeſt manner, and placed over the gate a tricoloured flag and a red cap. The air reſounded with horrible cries and imprecations againſt the royal family, and regicide was openly preached. Another detachment of the ſame kind, men, women, and children, about two thouſand ſtrong, with drums beating, and the red cap diſplayed for a ſtandard, filed through the aſſembly as ſoon as M. Petion retired. They ranged themſelves round the hall, and then the preſident called upon M. Bazire to bring forward his motion againſt the king's guard.

He firſt inſiſted on the vicious and unconſtitutional compoſition of the new guards, who had not, as he ſaid, the qualifications required by law. He aſſerted, that they conſiſted almoſt entirely of the king's old guards, men who had quitted the eccleſiaſtical habit for the uniform, nobles juſt returned from foreign countries, ſons of nobles juſt come from college, and members of a royaliſt ſociety at Arles; but he ventured to name only ſeven ſpecific inſtances, two of perſons who had formerly been intended for the church, two youths from college, ſons of Count Beranger, and three natives of Arles. Neither was evidence of any kind produced to ſhew, that all theſe had not ſerved a year in the national guards, and taken the civic oath, which were the only demands of the law. The next head of charge related to the means, which were alledged to have been employed for corrupting the good patriots. A ſevere ſatire on the new conſtitution, it ſeems, had been found upon the ſoldiers beds, without any perſon knowing who laid it there; the device on the pummel of their ſabres was a cock crowned; and the men were kept as much as poſſible from mingling with the national guards. Theſe three trifling facts, ſtated in the declarations of three witneſſes, formed all the proof on this head. Dangerous deſigns were imputed to this body on little better evidence. A ſerjeant named Nercis, who had been in the old guards, was mentioned as having reflected on the memories of the three hundred, who fell in the affair of Mons, calling them ſcoundrels, and adding, that there were many ſtill to be knocked on the head. One of the anonymous informers related ſome expreſſions of ſatisfaction at the ſuppoſed ſucceſs of the combined forces, but from whom in particular they proceeded was not even intimated. The moſt important fact which M. Bazire had engaged to prove beyond a doubt, was the plot to carry off the king on the evening of the entertainment given to the Swiſs of the regiment of Chateau-vieux, or as he ſtyled it, the feſtival of liberty. And to this point he cited a joint declaration of ſeven of the guards, whoſe names, however, he did not diſcloſe, nor explain whether they ſpoke from their own knowledge. They ſtated that the officers of the horſe-guards that day gave an entertainment to their men, at which the healths of Artois, Condé, Bouillé, Lambeſc, and other emigrants were drunk; that a young man of the name of Cabrol, giving the health of the prince-royal, was almoſt ſtrangled by his neighbours for not uſing the title of dauphin, but was reſcued by others

others of his comrades; and that M. Sombreuil, an officer, on some occasion or other, exclaimed, "We "ought to have been more than "thirty leagues from hence with "the king; if we had not wanted "relays of horses, the great stroke "would have been struck." Several other declarations were also said to confirm this last principal circumstance, but none of them were distinctly stated. After assuming every thing which he had advanced to be fully proved, and inveighing against the guards, he concluded by asserting that the old body-guards, "whose aristocratical sallies in a "moment of debauch had rouzed "the people, and provoked the fa-"mous day of the 6th of October, "had in truth less abused the pa-"tience of all good citizens." His motion was, that they should be cashiered, re-modelled, and their duty done in the mean time by the Swiss regiments and the national guard.

The reading of the papers was twice interrupted (the last time because they were tedious) to begin the discussion; but on account of the thin attendance of members, the question was postponed till the evening. A most tempestuous debate then took place. It was insisted on the other side, that an enquiry easily might, and in common justice certainly should, be made into the qualifications of the guards, whether they were such as to satisfy the demands of the law; that the other facts, more specially charged, ought to be fairly examined, by taking evidence on behalf of the parties accused, as well as of their accusers, and, above all, that nothing should be rested on letters or declarations of men, who would not sign their communications; the perpetual recurrence of blanks instead of names throwing, as it was observed, an air of ridicule over the reading of the papers, very inconsistent with the gravity of such a proceeding. M. Carnot, who was a leading member of the military committee, denied the right of the assembly, under the constitution, to cashier the king's guards. These arguments, however, were overborne by declamation, invective, murmurs, cries, and the applauses or hisses of the galleries. One member of the minority, M. Foudrieres, was sent to prison; and others prevented from delivering their sentiments. At length a motion, made by M. Guadet, was carried, similar in effect with that of M. Bazire, except that instead of mentioning the Swiss regiments, it merely directed the duty to be done by the national guards, in the same manner as before the formation of the new guard. Immediately on passing that decree, M. Merlin demanded that they should not separate before they had come to a vote respecting the conduct of the duke of Brissac, the commanding officer. It was proposed in opposition by M. Becquet to adjourn that question till the next morning, and in the mean time to have the papers read, on which any crimination of that nobleman was intended to be founded, especially as M. Bazire had not even mentioned him in his denunciation. But they immediately proceeded to the discussion. It was in every respect the sequel of the former scene; another member of the minority, M. Calvet, was voted to the Abbey; and M. Jaucourt narrowly escaped the same punishment, for whispering in Chabot's ear

ear the promiſe of a ſound caning, in return for threatening him privately with the committee. When the diſgraceful altercation, which this laſt circumſtance occaſioned, had ſubſided, the vote on the principal queſtion was put and carried againſt M. Briſſac. The permanent ſitting was then adjourned till the ordinary hour of meeting the next morning.

The king's miniſters had ſeveral times remonſtrated with him on the impolicy of retaining this guard, in defiance of the popular cry. Dumourier, in particular, expreſſed ſome ſurpriſe that he ſhould be ſo unwilling to part with men of whom he knew ſo little, when he had before, with leſs reluctance, and unwiſely in the miniſter's opinion, given up the old body-guards. It was thus that the unfortunate monarch was for ever puſhed from one falſe ſtep to another. But he ſaw the danger now more nearly approach his perſon, and little as was the reliance which he could comparatively place upon them, he for ſome time heſitated, and wiſhed to ſave them. At length the decree having been paſſed by the aſſembly, was brought to him the ſame evening, and early the next morning being preſſed by his miniſters (who, reminding him of October 1789, declared that they could not anſwer for his ſafety if he refuſed) he acquieſced, and gave it his ſanction. When M. Bertrand ſoon after wrote his advice, urging his royal maſter at all events to reſiſt, and ſuggeſting a mode of proceeding, even if his miniſters ſhould abandon him on that point: "You "know," anſwered Louis, "I can"not undo what is done; my ſoul "is full of ſorrow. What can I do, "ſurrounded as I am, and with no "perſon near me in whom I can "truſt?" What he could, he did. In diſbanding the guards, he praiſed their good conduct; allowing them, for the preſent, to retain their pay wherever they might chuſe to retire; and a great part of them prudently quitted Paris. The duke of Briſſac was importuned by his family and friends to ſave himſelf by flight, which he might have done, but he ſcorned to conſult his ſafety at the hazard of his honour. He ſubmitted with heroic fortitude to his fate; requeſting only that he might be allowed to take with him to his priſon, the ſword of Henry IV. which that prince had preſented to his anceſtor, and which had ever ſince been carefully kept as the moſt precious poſſeſſion of the family. It was refuſed. Priſoners, he was told, muſt not have arms.

This firſt meaſure of preparation for the deſtruction of the monarch and the monarchy being effected, the agitation which had been artificially created and continued, was ſuffered to ſettle, the daily reports of the mayor on the ſtate of the capital were ordered to ceaſe, and the aſſembly reſumed its regular meetings. M. M. Bertrand and Montmorin now publiſhed their refutations of the charges made againſt them by Briſſot, and expoſed the unfair arts of their accuſer, who, notwithſtanding the poſitive reſolution of the aſſembly that he ſhould print entire the papers which he quoted, had given only his own partial extracts, and who, in reading the application from the French envoy at Geneva to M. Montmorin, had ſuppreſſed a marginal note, in the hand-writing of the latter, which would have ſhewn, that no anſwer was ever ſent, and the place remain-

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ed vacant. It was obſerved alſo by M. Montmorin, that the general charge of withholding intelligence was falſe, as all the diſpatches had been communicated to the diplomatic committee, and, ſuch as they thought right, to the aſſembly; and that he could not have withdrawn, as Briſſot alledged, thoſe documents which might have been unfavourable to him, becauſe all were numbered in the office; and if any had been taken away, the chaſm in the numbers would have diſcovered the fraud. Theſe defences effaced every impreſſion of the accuſation, and in a great meaſure ſilenced the cry of the Auſtrian committee. Nevertheleſs, Chabot once more undertook to revive it, and to prove the exiſtence of the pretended conſpiracy.

On the 4th of June he made his motion. It was uſhered in by the uſual prelude of men, women, and children, with all ſorts of arms, marching through the hall to the ſound of republican tunes. His ſpeech was very methodically divided under many different heads; but the evidence of which he had ſo greatly boaſted, was of the moſt frivolous kind; anonymous reports of converſations with perſons not named, of little credit, and no means of knowledge; inſignificant facts aggravated and diſtorted; ſuſpicions, conjectures, and ſpeculations. A letter from ſome violent partizan of the revolution in England was introduced with conſiderable ſolemnity, to evince that a plot of the Feuillans, for the overthrow of their ſucceſſors, was well known in this country, though in truth the paper only contained the melancholy apprehenſions of ſome zealot, who feared for the cauſe which he admired; and another grave proof which had been tranſmitted with great care by the jacobin club of Rochefort, was a letter from M. St. Hilaire, a lieutenant in the navy, who wrote to ſome of his creditors, promiſing to pay them after the counter-revolution; and foreſeeing that they might be a little diſtruſtful of ſuch ſecurity, told them not to anſwer him with any doubt of the event, for it was certain. At length, under the head of treaſons, he was reading a letter from ſome perſon whoſe credit he held high, in the ſervice of the emigrants at Fribourg, containing the moſt direct accuſations againſt all the generals, and eſpecially againſt La Fayette, who was ſaid to have written more than twenty letters to the king's brothers;—but here his report was ſtopped by a ſudden murmur of diſpleaſure: he was upbraided with preaching the diſſolution of the army, which, it was ſaid, would be diſbanded in three days, if he were ſuffered to proceed in that ſtyle; one moved that a cenſure ſhould be paſſed upon him; a ſecond, that he ſhould be ſent to the abbey; ſome demanded, whether he acted for himſelf only, or for the committee, in bringing forward ſuch a libel; others produced advices from their ſeveral departments, of the confuſion occaſioned in the country by ſimilar tales ſpread there at that very moment. It was not without the utmoſt difficulty, that after an apology, or rather a diſavowal, which nobody ſeemed to believe, of any intention unfavourable to La Fayette, that he was allowed to go on with the remainder of his report. When he could obtain an audience, he complained of a printed addreſs from ſix members of the aſſembly

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to their conſtituents, which repreſented their debates as mere combats of gladiators, and painted in ſtrong colours the tyranny of the galleries, the abuſe of falſe eloquence fit only for the clubs, and the deſpotiſm that ſprang from the diſregard of the royal negative. After much more of the ſame nature, he concluded, that all who would take the civic oath before their municipality, ſhould be armed with muſquets, ſwords, and pikes, all others diſarmed, Paris proclaimed in a ſtate of war, and the chiefs of the conſpirators arreſted. The debate on this reſolve was ſhort: the Girondiſts did not chuſe to break ſo deciſively with the generals, or to have the clamours in which they had themſelves joined, brought ſo accurately to the teſt on ſuch evidence. They reſiſted therefore the eager deſire of the minority to have all the papers read, and the charges of plots examined to the bottom; and on a motion of M. Guadet, the aſſembly reſolved, that the committee of ſuperintendence, aſſiſted by the diplomatic committee and the committee of twelve (a new committee appointed from among the majority, to examine and report upon the ſtate of the nation) ſhould reconſider the papers cited by Chabot, with the exception of thoſe relating to the generals and other officers of the army, which were declared to be devoted to the contempt which they merited.

The next day M. M. Coupe and Le Roi de Fargis roſe to defend the addreſs which had been circulated by themſelves and their colleagues, M. M. Goſſeran, Sancerre, Eſpèrons, and Laroque-Labecede. But the order of the day was moved and carried, on the expreſs ground, that no juſtification was neceſſary againſt charges made in a report, which had been formally conſigned to public contempt. In the ſame ſitting too, the credit of the committee of ſuperintendence ſuffered another ſevere blow. Briſſot's impeachment of M. Duport du Tertre was under conſideration, when Merlin brought forward againſt the accuſed a new document from the committee, an information, ſigned with the names of ſeveral witneſſes. But he could hardly get through the reading for murmurs, hiſſes, and interruptions. The ſtory was declared to be improbable, incredible, and impoſſible. The paper was examined; it was aſſerted to be in the hand-writing of Merlin himſelf; he was called upon to anſwer to that fact, but refuſed; the cries and hootings redoubled; when at length he averred the ſignatures to be authentic, and offered proof at the bar. The date was then noticed, and it was aſked what muſt be thought of a man, who had kept ſuch a paper five weeks in his poſſeſſion, and produced it only at the very moment when the queſtion was going to be put on a criminal accuſation. The order of the day was carried, without a debate or diſſent. M. Ducos then enquiring whether, as M. Merlin had ſpoken in favour of the late miniſter of juſtice, any member had any thing to offer againſt him; M. Beugnot made a long diſcourſe in his praiſe; immediately after which it was voted by a majority, little ſhort of unanimity, that there was no ſufficient cauſe for impeaching or even cenſuring him.

The great leaders of the Jacobins, by thus giving way, when they could not mould the temper of the aſſembly to their own views, ſaved themſelves

themſelves from the ſhame of a defeat, which would have much weakened their influence over public opinion. They were obliged, however, to ſuſpend, for the preſent, their clamours about plots, conſpiracies, and eſpecially the Auſtrian committee. At the ſame time they did not abandon any one of their deſigns for the deſtruction of the monarchy. On the other hand the Feuillans became more than ever convinced that their own perſonal ſafety, as well as their only chance of political power, depended on their rallying round the king. They ſaw that every ſpeaker who had clearly deſcribed what he meant by the Auſtrian committee, had diſtinctly and eſſentially connected it with that coalition in June 1791, which was the origin of their club. It was no longer left to conjecture, that the men whoſe projects againſt royalty they had found it neceſſary to repreſs the year before by force and the terror of military law, having now gained the aſcendancy, would endeavour to cruſh them under the ruins of the throne.

In the mean time, after the diſbanding of the new guards, the ſituation of the monarch and his family grew from day to day more diſtreſſing and alarming. If they approached the windows, they beheld in one part of the garden a man mounted on a ſtool, and reading aloud the moſt incendiary writings againſt them; in another part, an old officer, or a prieſt, whom the croud was dragging to one of the baſons of water, loading him with outrages and blows, while in every part, ſome were walking, and others amuſing themſelves with different ſports, in the greateſt tranquillity. "It was "but yeſterday evening," ſaid the queen one day to M. Dumourier, "that on my going to the window, "for the ſake of breathing the freſh "air for a few moments, a cano-"neer of the national guard ad-"dreſſed me in language of the "groſſeſt outrage, adding, what "pleaſure would it give me to have "your head ſtuck on the point of "my bayonet. Alas," exclaimed ſhe, "what an abode! what a "people!" Within the palace they knew that they had, among their domeſtics, many ſpies bribed by their own money to betray them to their enemies *, to whom the moſt trifling occurrences were immediately carried, and to gratify whoſe malevolence, falſehoods were invented when facts could not be diſcovered: yet they could not diſmiſs, or even reproach thoſe whom they ſuſpected or found to be guilty of ſuch mingled ingratitude and treachery. Thoſe perſons among their former miniſters or courtiers whom they believed in any manner attached to them, they could ſee but ſeldom, unleſs by ſtealth, and in general could only conſult them by letter in a ſecret correſpondence; while the leaſt trace of any intercourſe whatever was immediately diſtorted into evidence of the blackeſt conſpiracy. Under theſe circumſtances, the chief conſolation of the king and queen was in their children. A little anecdote which happened while M. Bertrand was in office, finely ſhews the maternal feelings of the queen. On the dauphin's ſkipping out of the room, where he had been playing during a converſation between her and the miniſter, "is he not very

* See Vie de Dumouriez, tom. iii. liv. iii. chap. vi.

"pretty?"

"pretty?" said she; "he is happy "too, in being so young; for," added she with a sigh, "he does "not feel our * sorrows, and his "gaiety does us good."

Dumourier intimates that this unhappy princess, goaded by the insults and outrages to which she was perpetually subjected by the emissaries of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, had some vague purpose of attempting the deliverance of herself, the king, and the royal family: But he states nothing with the least precision; only that he heard the queen had ordered money to be given to some of the old body guards who emigrated. However, on mentioning this both to M. la Porte and to the king, he was assured, that none had received any thing but the arrears of their former pay, and if any of them had since emigrated, they had kept their intention a secret when they got the money. M. Bertrand †, who had better opportunities of knowing confidentially the sentiments of his royal mistress, censures her on the other hand, for allowing herself to be for ever deluded by hopes, that the king's affairs would, of themselves, take a more favourable turn; and using all her influence to prevent any counsel of exertion and vigour from being adopted.

The principal measure which the king took for his security, was the employment of thirty-five persons, under the name of observers, whose duty it was to mix in the crowd at every public place, and make daily reports of all which they had heard or seen, to mark the state of popular opinion in the capital. Their leaders also combated as they could, every seditious motion made in the various societies; and the others were occasionally employed in sticking up placards during the night. This establishment was originally formed and directed by M. Alexander Lameth. It was then put under the care of M. Delessart, and after the decree against him, transferred to M. Bertrand. The expence was between three and four hundred pounds a month; and had the king been disposed to act with spirit, he might have derived adequate advantages from the operation; but averse as he was from such a line of conduct, the intelligence which he thus obtained only served to fill him with apprehension and solicitude. M. Bertrand, however, conceived a project of converting these persons to more utility, by employing them to lodge informations against the most turbulent emissaries of the opposite parties. These were taken up, and carried before M. Buob, a man of integrity, sense, and courage, who had been a banker before the revolution, but was now a very active justice of peace, and a colleague of M. la Riviere at the tribunal of correctional police. He was not wholly let into the secret at first, but merely told that a society of opulent persons, who felt their property and lives to be at stake, had subscribed a fund, out of which a reward of 100 livres would be paid on the legal conviction of every offender found guilty of riot or sedition. Afterwards he was trusted and consulted.

It was on the suggestion of this magistrate, that a festival was proposed in honour of M. Simoneau, the mayor of Etampes, who had been murdered in the execution of

* Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. page 40. † Ibid. page 308.

his

his duty, while he was endeavouring to enforce obedience to the law. The king approved the notion, and ordered 10,000 livres to be furniſhed anonymouſly by M. Bertrand toward the expences of the ceremony. He even gave ſome hints calculated to make the ſpectacle more ſolemn and ſtriking. Buob undertook to have the motion made in the ſections and council of the commune by means of his adherents, and he ſucceeded, in ſpite of all the machinations of the Jacobins and Cordeliers to prevent it. The object was to take off the impreſſion of the feaſt given to the Swiſs ſoldiers of the regiment of Chateau-vieux; and nothing was omitted to make the celebration ſplendid and affecting; the hymns, emblems, and inſcriptions were adapted to the occaſion with great judgment; and numerous pamphlets were diſtributed, execrating the plots and crimes of the factious. But ſuch reſources only produced a momentary effect. They were but weak meaſures, as M. Bertrand remarks, to oppoſe againſt ferocious monſters.

In this ſituation of things Louis received direct teſtimony of thoſe deſigns againſt him, which his enemies can hardly be ſaid ever to have concealed. A * perſon who had formerly received ſome obligations from M. Deleſſart, was at this time ſecretary to Condorcet. Paſſing through Orleans, he was led by gratitude to viſit his old benefactor in his priſon; and in the courſe of a long converſation laid open without diſguiſe the plans of the faction, which he then ſerved. He ſaid that "an inſurrection for attacking the Thuilleries was to "be formed (ſimilar, as he deſcribed it, to that of the 5th "of October 1789 at Verſailles) "in the hope of puſhing the king "to abdicate the crown or to fly; in "either of which caſes, the ſucceſsful party would name a council "of regency, compoſed of their "principal chiefs and ſupporters. "If the king ſhould eſcape this "firſt inſurrection, without either "abdicating or leaving the kingdom, it was then their determination to find ſome pretext for "exciting another, with the view "of terrifying the aſſembly into a "vote pronouncing his depoſition, "and the ſucceſſion of the prince "royal with a council of regency. "All this was to pave the way to "what was the great and ultimate "object of the Girondiſts, the eſtabliſhment of a republic, for which "they thought the nation was not "then ſufficiently prepared, but "which it might gradually be "brought to reliſh, and finally to "adopt without a ſtruggle."

This diſcovery was communicated by Deleſſart, through M. Bertrand, to his royal maſter, who returning the letter, only obſerved, that "ſuch might be the ſcheme of "the Jacobins; but all that he could "do, was to endeavour, if poſſible, "to evade their machinations, by "remaining faithful to the conſtitution." And in conſonance with theſe ſentiments he declined an offer †, which was made him about this time from La Fayette, to declare himſelf openly againſt the Jacobins, and attempt the deliverance of the royal family, if neceſſary, at the head of the national guards, or even of his whole army.

* M. Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. page 288-9-90-91. † Ibid. p. 329.

CHAP. XVII.

Diſſenſion among the miniſtry. Guadet propoſes an inſolent letter to the king. It is rejected by the miniſters. Roland and his faction demand the appointment of a ſecretary to the council, and the regiſtering of the debates. The king engages Dumourier to oppoſe it. The decree againſt the prieſts, and that for the camp of 20,000, brought before the council. Their object and principle. Oppoſite petitions to the aſſembly reſpecting the two decrees, and different reception of the petitioners. Roland's letter to the king. Dumourier ordered to propoſe three new miniſters in the place of Roland, Serwan, and Clavière. Himſelf appointed miniſter of war. Roland ſends his letter to the aſſembly. It is printed, and ſent to the departments. Spirited conduct of Dumourier towards the aſſembly. He reſigns. New miniſtry. Feuillans begin to act with ſome degree of deciſion. Letter of the directory of the department of Paris, againſt the Jacobins. Letter of M. La Fayette. His public orders to his troops. Union of the factions againſt the king. Meaſures taken by the Jacobins. Aſſiſted by Petion. Debate in the aſſembly upon the letter of M. La Fayette. It is referred to the committee of twelve. Violent reſolutions of the jacobin club, againſt M. La Fayette. Civic feaſt given by the Jacobins. The king's refuſal to ſanction the two decrees notified to the aſſembly. Inſolent addreſs of the Marſeilleſe applauded, and ordered to be printed. The leaders of the populace incite them to inſurrection. The directory of the department addreſs the aſſembly on the danger to be apprehended from the movements of the populace. Violent behaviour of the galleries. Armed citizens allowed to file through the aſſembly. Inflammatory ſpeech of the orator of the deputation. Meaſures taken at the Thuilleries. The mob arrive there. Break open the doors of the apartments, and drag cannon into them. The king ſhews himſelf to them. His life attempted. Deputation from the aſſembly. Second deputation. Petion harangues the rabble, and perſuades them to depart. His majeſty retires. The queen's life threatened. Her dignified conduct. The mob quit the Thuilleries. Fortitude of the king during his dangerous ſituation. His perſuaſion that his death was inevitable. Conduct of the aſſembly. Decree paſſed againſt armed aſſemblages. Evaded by the aſſembly. Impertinent behaviour of Petion to the king. Proclamation publiſhed by the king. He gives orders to apply to the aſſembly for forty-two new battalions to be ſtationed at Soiſſons. Plans of leaving Paris preſented to the king, and rejected. Scheme for gaining the tribunes diſapproved. Private committee formed to adviſe his majeſty. The miniſters ordered to make a report on the meaſures taken for the public ſafety. Their report. They denounce ſeveral libels againſt the king. The ſubject referred to the committee of twelve. M. Duranthon's favourable report on the religious troubles. Diſſatisfaction of the majority on theſe reports. M. La Fayette appears at the bar with a petition. His reception. New report of the miniſters. Addreſs from Rouen in ſupport of M. La Fayette. Departure of La Fayette from Paris. Report of the committee of twelve on the ſtate of the nation. Report on the camp at Soiſſons. Decree to diſband the ſtaff of the Pariſian national

guards, and of cities containing more than 50,000 perſons. Reſignation of Duranthon. Meſſage from the king on the federation. Speech and motion of Vergniaud. The aſſembly take a voluntary oath, abjuring a republic and two chambers. Speech of the king on that occaſion. His reception at the aſſembly. Violent ſpeech of Briſſot. New report of the Miniſters. Another demanded. They produce it, and declare their intention of reſigning. Federates. Addreſs from Marſeilles. Speech of M. Martin. Plan of La Fayette to ſet the king at liberty: —rejected. Suſpenſion of Petion and Manuel. Conduct of the aſſembly and king on that occaſion. Petion reinſtated. Federation. Attempt to aſſaſſinate the queen:—prevented. Decree for ſending the troops of the line from Paris. Extreme inſolence of the federates. Their addreſs to the departments and to the aſſembly. Their ſtay in Paris prolonged. Arts of the Jacobins in the provinces. Deportation of the prieſts at Breſt. Murders at Bourdeaux, Limoges, Alais and Marſeilles. Proceedings at the latter place againſt the king:—murders in conſequence at Toulon. Petition from Pui. Behaviour and ſituation of the king. Reſignation of the directory of the department. Diſmiſſion of the miniſters. Intelligence received by the court of an intended inſurrection. Two loyal aſſociations inſtituted. The king conſents to a project of removing from Paris. Cabals and meetings of the Jacobins. Letter from Vergniaud and Genſonné to the king, offering to ſtop the inſurrection on his reſtoring the three miniſters. Offer rejected. Civic feaſt on the 26th. Sections declared permanent. Attempt at an inſurrection that night. Prevented by Petion, from motives of prudence. New offer from the Girondiſts, through M. Maleſherbes:—rejected. Inſurrection intended for the 29th, but poſtponed. Arrival of the Marſeilleſe. Some national guards murdered by them. Sections vote the depoſition of the king. Petion carries their petition to the aſſembly. Inſurrection again intended, but delayed. The king refuſes to quit Paris. Impeachment of M. La Fayette debated. Negatived. Members of the majority inſulted. Plan of the factions. Defenſive meaſures at the Thuilleries. Petion viſits the Thuilleries. Gives an account of the ſtate of Paris to the aſſembly. Is guarded at his own houſe by the people. New municipality formed by the Jacobins. Mandat murdered. The arſenal pillaged by the inſurgents. The national aſſembly requeſted to ſend a deputation to the Thuilleries. State of the royal family. King and queen viſit the troops. Loyalty of the nobility and gentry. They are joined by ſome of the national guards. Directory of the department viſit the Thuilleries. Rœderer propoſes to the king to go to the national aſſembly. Prevails. Speech of Vergniaud to the king. Arreſt and maſſacre of ſeveral individuals. March of the inſurgents to the Thuilleries. They force a paſſage into the court yard. Diſarm ſome of the Swiſs guards, and murder them. Attack the palace. Rout of the inſurgents. M. d'Hervilly prevails on a party of the Swiſs to leave the Thuilleries. The inſurgents rally. The ammunition of the Swiſs fails. Several noblemen and gentlemen force a paſſage through the inſurgents. The place taken. Maſſacre. Plunder. Number ſlain. King committed to cuſtody. The aſſembling of a convention decreed. A proviſional executive council choſen. Fayette is impeached, attempts to reſiſt, flies, and is taken by the Auſtrians. Concluſion.

SOON after the king had received this unqueſtionable teſtimony of the ſcheme deliberately ſettled for his ruin by the faction, with which three of his council, Roland, Servan, and Claviere acted in cloſe concert, the behaviour of thoſe miniſters was ſuch, as to compel him to take ſome deciſive ſtep. And there were circumſtances, beſides the late diſgrace of the democratical party in the total defeat of their denunciations, and the increaſing loyalty of the Feuillans, which ſeemed at the time to favour the royal cauſe. The former breach between Dumourier and Roland, had been widened, about the latter end of May, by new diſſenſions. Guadet, at one of Roland's dinners, produced a long, inſolent, and harſh letter, which he urged all the miniſters to ſign and ſend to the king. The object of it was to inſiſt that Louis ſhould diſmiſs his confeſſor, and take another, who was a conformiſt. This was ſtrongly oppoſed by Dumourier, and, after his example, by Lacoſte. Duranthon thought it at leaſt of no utility, and even Vergniaud and Genſonné gave their opinions againſt it. Guadet is ſaid to have been very angry, and a violent diſpute enſued. The next day, an attack was opened againſt Dumourier and Lacoſte, in the girondiſt and jacobin papers, as countenancing their royal maſter in reſiſting ſome of the moſt eſſential articles of the conſtitution. Louis, learning the cauſe, thanked the two miniſters for the part which they had taken; and took that opportunity of telling them, that he ſhould know how to ſupport any thing except what concerned his conſcience, but if matters were puſhed to that extremity, he ſhould know how to die. Another cauſe of quarrel, was the nomination of a governor and commiſſioners to St. Domingo. For the latter, the Girondiſts had choſen the moſt violent of their adherents, diſtinguiſhed by their writings againſt the king; for the former (probably in the hope of compromiſing with the Orleaniſts) they deſigned Sillery. But objections being made to him (he was in truth excluded by the letter of the law, as having been a member of the firſt aſſembly) general d'Eſparbes was named inſtead, and accepted by Lacoſte: the commiſſioners were abſolutely rejected. Dumourier ſupported his friend. There was much heat and animoſity on all ſides; a complete rupture took place; the cabinet * dinners ceaſed, and the diviſion in the king's council became notorious.

An arrangement, which the miniſter of foreign affairs made in his department, was believed alſo by him to have irritated Briſſot and his connection. He had originally

* Madame Roland dates at this time the ſtory which has been given in page 441, relative to Bonnecarrere and Madame de Beauvart. We have ſtated the fact before, becauſe Madame Roland declares it to have happened previous to Dumourier's interviews with the queen, which he himſelf places at an earlier period, and becauſe it clearly appears from Madame Roland's account, part 2. p. 23. that after the diſpute about Bonnecarrere, Dumourier continued his attendance at the cabinet dinners, and ſaw the deputies at her houſe, though leſs frequently than before. It is ſometimes rather difficult to aſcertain the preciſe time of the facts narrated, as neither Dumourier or Madame Roland are by any means accurate in their chronology.

agreed

agreed to lodge the ſum granted him for ſecret ſervices, with a banker of their recommendation; but he afterwards thought it better to leave the money in the public treaſury, and draw it out in ſmall ſums, which he paid himſelf to his agents without the intervention of a third perſon; a mode of proceeding, which deprived the Girondiſts of all means of knowing the diſpoſal of that fund. Guadet therefore menaced him with a public examination of his accounts. The miniſter, being told of this by ſome members of the aſſembly, turned to the decree, read it, and to his aſtoniſhment found, that the clauſe, which had paſſed to exempt him, was not there. He complained loudly of this fraud, threatened to reſign, if it were not immediately rectified in a manner the moſt honourable to him, and gave Petion and the three miniſters, who, afraid of breaking up the whole adminiſtration, ſtrove to appeaſe him, only two days to uſe their influence with Guadet. His ſpirit carried the point. The omiſſion of the clauſe was noticed the next day in the aſſembly, and ſupplied by the ſubſtitution of a new decree. But from that period, Dumourier and Lacoſte reſolved upon the firſt fair occaſion to get rid of their three colleagues, whom, ſince theſe attacks upon themſelves, they conſidered as inſupportably factious.

Such was the ſtate of the council in the beginning of June. The meetings for conſulting on the moſt important affairs of the ſtate, were changed to ſcenes of perſonal altercation. The three miniſters, we are told, preſerved no moderation, even with the king. Hardly * a day paſſed that they did not ſtudy ſomething new to mortify him, abuſe his gentleneſs with all kinds of petty croſſes and vexations, and, as Dumourier emphatically expreſſes it, prick him to death with pins. In the mean time, Roland, with the aſſiſtance of his wife, kept different news-papers in his pay and under his management, to ſupport the politics of his party, and his own perſonal reputation; through one of which, called the *Thermometer*, he regularly detailed in his own way, whatever paſſed in the confidence of the cabinet, miſrepreſenting every thing to the injury of his colleagues who differed from him, and above all, of the king himſelf. This conduct was reſented by the other three members of the adminiſtration, who frequently remonſtrated upon it with warmth and aſperity: Dumourier in particular.

Roland and his party now preſſed, in a very arrogant and abſolute tone, for the appointment of a ſecretary to the council, and a regular entry of their debates, agreeably to a law which had paſſed in the beginning of their adminiſtration. The king perceiving, from the manner and ſeaſon of the demand, that their real drift was to put all the deliberations of the cabinet in an authentic form into the hands of their faction, and probably thinking that they would only make the regiſter of the proceedings there, a new and more miſchievous vehicle for libels, and incendiary propoſitions hoſtile to his perſon and authority, engaged Dumourier and Lacoſte to oppoſe the meaſure. At

* Madame Roland ſays (part 1. p. 70.) of her huſband and Servan at this period, that "they uttered the moſt ſtriking truths with great energy." This ſeems ſufficiently to confirm Dumourier's account in the text.

the ſame time he promiſed, if the two miniſters would aſſiſt in delivering him out of the hands of their colleagues, that he would inſtantly nominate whatever ſecretary they would recommend; convinced, as he declared himſelf to be, that ſuch an officer was neceſſary and proper, whenever the regiſter would not be liable to be abuſed to the purpoſes, which he now had too much reaſon to ſuſpect.

While this ſubject of diſcord was in ſuſpenſe, two decrees, which were * intended by the girondiſt part of the adminiſtration to bring the queſtion to a direct iſſue with the king, came under the conſideration of the council.

The firſt of theſe was a penal law, which the miniſter of the home department had long in vain ſolicited againſt the non-juring clergy. It paſſed the aſſembly on the 25th of May. Theſe perſecuted men were condemned to baniſhment, in every caſe, where it ſhould be demanded from the directory of the department by twenty active citizens, and ratified by the directory of the diſtrict: if the laſt-mentioned body ſhould report in favour of the ſuppoſed offender, then commiſſioners were to be named by the former body, and their deciſion was to be final. Originally it was ſo worded as ſimply to *empower* the directory of the department to inflict the penalty of baniſhment; but Guadet, fearing that in ſome quarters the clergy might thus eſcape, changed the phraſe, ſo as to bind down the ſuperior authority, contrary to all the principles of the conſtitution, to be merely miniſterial in carrying into effect the ſentence of the inferior, and, as contrary to all the principles of natural juſtice and equity, never to allow the accuſed perſon an appeal, but always to enforce one againſt him, where he was acquitted in the firſt inſtance.

The king had long unfeignedly repented of the handle which, by his ſanction of the original decree againſt the clergy, he had afforded to the perſecution of that religion, which he devoutly believed; and he ſeems withal to have been ſteadily reſolved never to participate in any ulterior meaſure of injuſtice, ſuch as that now obtruded upon him. The other decree which followed, he did not feel the ſame determination to negative at every riſk; though he neceſſarily viewed it with very great repugnance, as it ſtruck directly at his ſafety. It gave authority to the miniſter of war, to form a camp of 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris, for the purpoſe of maintaining, as was pretended, the peace of the capital, while all the troops † of the line, who were in general the leaſt ill-diſpoſed to the king, were to be ſent to the frontiers. The real object was to keep together, and at hand, a large force, choſen in effect by the jacobin clubs, from the national guards of the different departments, diſtricts, and towns. The occaſion of aſſembling them,

* "It is true (ſays Madame Roland, part 2. p. 15.) that theſe two decrees, one "for the formation of a camp of 20,000 men near Paris, the other concerning the "prieſts, were altogether deciſive."

† The ſending away the troops of the line, was one of the revolutionary meaſures by which (as Petion ſays) the aſſembly prepared the way for the 10th of Auguſt.

was

was to be the anniverſary of the federation, on the 14th of July. Servan took the meaſure on himſelf, and without the privity of his colleagues, or the king, wrote to the aſſembly ſoliciting the decree. No ſooner had this letter been made public, than it gave riſe in the council to a diſcuſſion ſo violent as to have ended in bloodſhed, had it not been for the preſence of the king. This quarrel, as uſual, ſoon got abroad. In conſequence, the buſineſs was puſhed on with ſo much more vigour by the majority in the aſſembly, and, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the Feuillans, who clearly ſaw that the deſign of this jacobin army was to put their party, as well as the monarch, at the mercy of his and their mortal enemies, the decree was paſſed on the 8th of June.

Two days after, Santerre, at the head of ſome pikemen and national guards of the ſuburb of Saint Antoine, came to the bar, and felicitated the legiſlative body on the plan of the intended federation. His ſpeech was full of democratical language, beſtowing on kings no other appellation than that of "crowned aſſaſſins," and holding up to all glory the men of the 14th of July. He was received with the greateſt honour. But very different was the fortune of M. Vaſſelin, who followed with an addreſs of a contrary deſcription from ſome of the national guards, denouncing the miniſter of war for a violation of the conſtitution, which poſitively ordained, that the firſt propoſition for any augmentation to the public force, ſhould excluſively come from the king; an authority notoriouſly wanting to the late decree. He was hiſſed and hooted, furiouſly attacked by the popular members, and at laſt turned diſgracefully out of the hall. However, this did not prevent another deputation of the national guards from bringing, the ſame day, a petition for the repeal of the decree, ſigned by eight thouſand names. Their ſpokeſman contradicted, what ſome of the more republican ſections of Paris had previouſly told the aſſembly, that the paper was ſigned by the orders of the ſuperior officers. He declared alſo, that it was only a deſire to preſent the petition immediately, which had hindered the ſignatures from being much more numerous. The late decree he conſidered as injurious to the honour of the national guards of the capital, and, on their behalf, ſwore union, ſtrength, vigilance, reſpect for the law, aſſiſtance to the conſtituted authorities, protection to property, and war againſt the factious of every denomination. Vergniaud moved and carried, that this petition, as well as the counter-petitions which had attempted to throw a diſcredit upon it, ſhould be referred all together to the committees of legiſlation and of ſuperintendence. The deputation at the bar was admitted to the honours of the ſitting; but the aſſembly inſtantly broke up in confuſion and uproar. For ſeveral ſucceeding days, various petitions were from time to time ſent with a view of derogating from this, which ſeemed to ſtrike conſternation into the king's enemies; while another in ſupport of it, and ſtill more numerouſly ſigned, was preparing on the other ſide.

When the king laid the decree * before

* It is ſtated by Dumourier, that the king kept this decree *four council days*; Madame Roland (part 2. p. 15.) ſays, *more than a fortnight*, but her intention in

before the council for their advice, Dumourier inveighed ſtrongly againſt the motives of the miniſter of war, and pointed out the danger of the meaſure to the nation, to the king, to the aſſembly, and, above all, to the authors and promoters of it, who he ſaid, would find in it their own chaſtiſement: it would, in his opinion, enable the more numerous and turbulent faction of the Cordeliers and violent Jacobins, utterly to annihilate the two ſuperior factions of the Girondiſts and the Feuillans, which were then ſtriving for the maſtery. He thought, however, that the king, circumſtanced as he then was, muſt ſanction it; but he undertook to ſubmit a plan which ſhould render it harmleſs at leaſt, if not uſeful in the execution. If we may believe his own narrative, he ſtaggered Servan himſelf, and frightened the Girondiſts ſo, that they ran eagerly to know, what expedient could be ſuggeſted to ſave them from the conſequences of their own imprudence. But Madame Roland, on the other ſide, does not drop the ſlighteſt hint of any doubt or heſitation on the ſubject among her party.

In taking their ſenſe on the other decree, the king is repreſented as having ſet out in a language of more than common deciſion againſt it. In concluſion, however *, he is ſaid to have deſired the ſentiments of all his miniſters in writing, that he might give the ſubject his fulleſt conſideration. Roland had then in his pocket his celebrated letter, which had been drawn up by his wife in the perſuaſion, that "the "queſtion was no longer to reſign †, "but to deſerve to be diſmiſſed." And undoubtedly it was a compoſition of great ability for that purpoſe, as well as for ſubſequently enflaming the multitude againſt the king. Under a profeſſion of ſpeaking the whole truth, it compriſed and embodied, in forcible and elegant language, very little managed, and hardly decent, the ſubſtance of all the ſuſpicions and accuſations which had been ever ſpread, to make the monarch, the court, and the higher orders odious. It affected a very great attachment to the conſtitution, the nature of which at the ſame time it very dexterouſly declined to examine. The majority of the nation, it ſaid, beheld with joy the war, which offered them one great mean of ſecuring that conſtitution; but the minority united all their efforts to turn it to their own advantage. With an appearance of candid allowance for the king's conduct, an incurable and eternal diſtruſt of him was inculcated, by declaring that the deſire of recovering thoſe prerogatives of which he had been ſtripped, was as natural, as that he ſhould have ſeen their annihilation with regret: "Theſe ſentiments, congenial to the "human heart (it was invidiouſly "added) could not but be taken into

this is manifeſtly to give ſome ſanction to the proceedings of her own party. The falſehood of both ſtatements evidently appears on conſulting the dates: the decree paſſed the aſſembly on the 8th of June, it was debated in the council on the 10th, and on the 12th Servan was diſmiſſed.

* Madame Roland mentions this, but there is no trace of it in Dumourier's narrative.

† Memoirs of Madame Roland, Eng. tranſ. part 2, page 17.

" account by the enemies of the " revolution." The true queſtion, however, was repreſented to be, whether, ſituated as the country then was, the king could league himſelf with thoſe, who pretended to reform the conſtitution, or whether he ought generouſly to devote himſelf as a ſacrifice for the purpoſe of enſuring its triumph? As to the conſideration, whether the French were ripe for liberty, it was at once diſmiſſed as very metaphyſical, and nothing at all to the purpoſe. All the early crimes of the revolution were charged, as uſual, on the provocations of the nobility and clergy; and the robberies and murders, committed on their property and perſons, were deſcribed as meritorious acts of juſtice: " The zeal of the people (it " was ſaid) for their political goſ- " pel of the rights of man, and " their religion of the conſtitution, " had ſupplied the deficiencies of " the law; and when that was not " coercive enough, the citizens had " allowed themſelves to take into " their own hands the puniſhment " of thoſe, who diſturbed the public " peace." The king's life was diſtinctly menaced, under the colour of prediction, if he did not inſtantly ſign the two decrees. If that againſt the prieſts were not rigorouſly enforced, the departments, it was aſſerted, would be compelled to ſubſtitute violent meaſures againſt law, and "the people, exaſperated, would " ſupply all by exceſſes." As to the other, it was fairly avowed, that the real ſcope and deſign of the meaſure, did not ſo much regard the movements of the enemy on the frontiers, as the agitations of the capital, and the extreme inquietude ſaid to have been excited by the behaviour of the late guards, and to be ſtill prolonged by the king's public expreſſion of his ſatisfaction in their ſervices. The attempts of the Pariſian ſtaff againſt the meaſure, and the declamations of the more furious Jacobins and Cordeliers on the other ſide, were alike ſuggeſted to ariſe from the influence of the court; and Louis was plainly told, that if he delayed his ſanction a moment longer, " the people would believe their " king the friend and accomplice " of conſpirators." The application for the appointment of a ſecretary to the council was then reiterated, and the uſe intended to be made of the regiſter illuſtrated: " Had that exiſted," ſays Madame Roland, in the perſon of her huſband, " I ſhould not now addreſs " myſelf in this manner to your " majeſty." All theſe topics were touched with conſummate art, and every where adorned with ſpecious ſentiments of an elevated tone, but diſguſting in the extreme to a ſound and truly moral judgment, when we conſider them as coming from the pen of a woman, and applied to encourage, by commending, the moſt ſavage atrocities, to frighten a prince of the moſt benevolent heart into a ſubmiſſion to his certain deſtruction, or, in the other alternative, to juſtify his ſubſequent depoſition and murder by open violence.

This letter the miniſter of the home-department had intended to read aloud to his colleagues, and then put into the king's hands. But whatever reſtrained him, he did not produce it. On his return to his own houſe, his wife determined him to ſend it to the palace. He did ſo the next morning, accompanying it with two or three introductory lines, in which, as we

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are informed *, he promiſed that it ſhould be buried in eternal ſilence between the king and himſelf; and at the next meeting of the council he read it at the board. Louis, who was preſent, heard the whole with admirable patience, and coldly remarked, that as it had been before communicated to him, it could not have been neceſſary to read it there, eſpecially as it was to remain a profound ſecret.

Early the next morning Dumourier was ſummoned to the king and queen, and was commanded to propoſe three other miniſters in the room of Roland, Servan, and Claviere. Upon his part, he aſſures us that he demanded, as conditions, the ſanction of the two decrees, and the appointment of a ſecretary to the council, on the day that the three new miniſters ſhould be announced. About the ſecretaryſhip there ſeems to have been no difficulty. The other two points, we are told, the king at firſt refuſed. However, on the miniſter's engaging to have the camp of 20,000 men fixed as far off as Soiſſons, and to keep there only ſmall detachments at a time, juſt to be diſciplined, and then ſent to the frontiers, it is ſaid to have been ſo ſettled; in conſequence of which Dumourier, to enſure the execution of it in that mode, was to exchange his own department for the war office. Againſt the other decree, Louis is repreſented as having declared himſelf more peremptorily. Yet, if we may credit the miniſter's own narrative, on his urging, that the preſent decree againſt the prieſts was but a neceſſary ſequel of the former, which he ſeverely condemned, and that an acquieſcence in the meaſure, however harſh, was indiſpenſable to the ſafety of the very victims themſelves, who would otherwiſe be murdered, the queen gave not only her aſſent, but her ſupport, to theſe arguments, and finally the king yielded, though with great reluctance. On the other hand, M. Bertrand has ſtrongly reprehended the notorious † falſehood of this account; and has given an extract from a confidential letter written at the time by the king, who aſſerted that Dumourier had always adviſed him to put his negative on the two decrees, till after the three miniſters had been actually diſmiſſed, for inſiſting on the royal ſanction.

Servan was turned out rather abruptly the next morning, and Dumourier took poſſeſſion of his new office. Roland on this event aſſembled Claviere, Duranthon, and Lacoſte; wiſhing, but in vain, to make common cauſe with them againſt Dumourier. The next day the miniſters of the home-department, and of the finances, received their reſpective diſmiſſions alſo, by the hands of Duranthon. Madame Roland immediately urged her huſband to ſend the preſident of the aſſembly a copy of the letter to the king, that, "if Louis had not profited by the leſſons which it contained, it might be made uſeful to the public;" and ſhe prevailed upon him to do this without delay, before the late changes, and the cauſes of them, could be offi-

* Vie de Dumouriez.

† Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 284; and there is, in p. 267, another letter of the king's, when he was better pleaſed with Dumourier, which corroborates that which is quoted above.

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cially notified. The three miniſters were received by the aſſembly, as ſufferers for their integrity and purity of principle; they were declared to have carried with them the regret of the nation; and Roland's letter was ordered to be printed, and ſent to the departments.

Dumourier now entered the hall, where his late colleagues, in whoſe diſmiſſion he had been ſo inſtrumental, were ſeated in a ſort of triumph. He came to announce the defeat and death of M. Gouvion near Florennes, and to report the miſerable ſtate of his new department of the war office. He did not diſſemble the weakneſs and vices of their military force, and took, incidentally, ſome notice of the factious oppoſition, which was perpetually given in every way to the meaſures of government. An attempt was inſtantly made, by ſome members of the majority, to confound and daunt him; but he behaved with a ſpirit, coolneſs, and promptitude, which ſeemed in the end to give him an advantage over his adverſaries. When he returned to his own houſe, he was ſurrounded by the Feuillans, who conſidered him as their own. He judged, however, and apparently on very ſufficient grounds, from all which had paſſed between himſelf and La Fayette, that he could never be cordially truſted by their leaders: he therefore treated thoſe who came to him as weak intriguers, and refuſed to have any connection with their party. On the other hand, he was acquainted with the ſtrength of the Jacobins; and unable directly to controul them, thought of ſilencing or dividing them, by getting the king to appoint a ſecretary to the council, and to ſanction the two decrees without delay. Louis, who, on the change made in the miniſtry, had at * firſt expreſſed great ſatisfaction in the conduct of Dumourier †, now complained of the ſtrange inconſiſtency of the man in abandoning him only for perſevering in a line of conduct, which he had himſelf urged. He reſiſted, therefore, the demands of that miniſter. M. Bertrand indeed has intimated, that his objection was only inſuperable with regard to the decree againſt the prieſts; and the ‡ writers on the ſide of the court certainly prepared the people, during the ſhort aſcendency of Dumourier, to expect an immediate meſſage agreeing to the formation of the new camp. The truth appears to have been, that the king was not unwilling to have another army raiſed, and poſted in reſerve between Paris and the frontiers, where Dumourier had propoſed, in the neighbourhood of Soiſſons; but he judged (and ſome of his other miniſters thought with him) that the moſt correct and only dignified mode of proceeding would be, to put his negative on the decree obtained by Servan, as informal and illegal in

* Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 267.

† Ibid. p. 284.

‡ The Nouvelle Correſpondance Politique of Peltier, for the 16th of June (which muſt have been written on the 15th) has the form of the intended meſſage. And this was then ſuppoſed to have been all which Dumourier required; but his change of purpoſe is afterwards attributed, in the ſame work, to an interview with one party of the Jacobins on the night between the 15th and 16th.

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its origin, and then regularly to take up afreſh, whatever was in it, that was capable of being turned to public utility. The miniſter of war inſiſted on the contrary, that the decree ſhould be ſanctioned, as it was, though he engaged afterwards to defeat the intended operation of it by art and management in the execution. He refuſed alſo to abate any thing of an unqualified aſſent to the other decree. Which terms not being granted, he gladly reſigned, to avoid the ſtorm, which he knew to be approaching. Having thus regained in ſome degree the good opinion of the Jacobins, he retired to the command of the little camp at Maulde, where he waited for ſuch opportunities as might aſſiſt his ambition once more to come forward, and play a more conſpicuous part on the theatre of the revolution. Lacoſte and Duranthon ſtill retained their offices at the particular intreaty, as we are told, of the king himſelf. M. Chambonas, a man of amiable character, and who commanded the troops of the line within the diſtrict of Paris, was made miniſter of foreign affairs inſtead of M. Naillac, whom Dumourier had recommended; and inſtead of M. Morgues, whoſe appointment han been ſettled through the ſame intereſt, M. Terrier de Monciel, a man of talents, and conſpicuous among the Feuillans, ſucceeded Roland; M. Beaulieu, of the ſame party, was promoted to the poſt of Claviere; and M. Lajarre, who had been, under La Fayette, adjutant general of the Pariſian guards, took charge of the war office from M. Dumourier.

The Feuillans, animated by the overthrow of the girondiſt miniſtry, came forward with all their force. The directory of the department of Paris openly attacked the jacobin club in a letter, which they had addreſſed to M. Roland, during the laſt days of his adminiſtration, and which they now publiſhed. It pointed out various paſſages in the journal of that ſociety, ſyſtematically degrading and calumniating the king, the tribunals, the adminiſtrators, the commanders in chief of the armies, and in ſhort every thing in France veſted with any portion of lawful authority. In one debate the generals Fayette and Narbonne were called "traitors," and "perfidious villains, deſerving "the ſcaffold, and ready to deſert "to the enemy;" in another, it was obſerved that the decree, giving the king a negative, was not more difficult to overturn than the Baſtile; and in a third, the recital of an atrocious murder, accompanied with the moſt cruel circumſtances, was received with horrible applauſe as an atchievement of glory. The members of the directory remarked too, that the moſt violent agitators of the capital were men totally unknown in all the former ſtages of the revolution. At the ſame time they bore their teſtimony, that all their vigilance and reſearches had not been able to diſcover a ſingle poſitive fact, which could afford a reaſonable preſumption of any conſpiracy whatever on the part of the court. To add weight to their authority, that of La Fayette was called in. The diſmiſſion of the three miniſters, and the probable downfal of Dumourier, being communicated to him at Maubeuge, ſenſible as he then was, from all which had recently paſſed, that

that his was a deadly feud with the Jacobins, he drew up a ſtrong * letter againſt them, which he addreſſed to the aſſembly, and of which he ſent a copy to the king. But as the allegiance of his party was always directed more towards their own creature, the conſtitution, than the perſon of the monarch, or the genuine principles of monarchy, he, the next day, celebrated with his army the anniverſary of the 17th of June, when the ſtates-general at Verſailles formed themſelves for the firſt time into a national aſſembly. This he deſcribed in public orders as a day for ever memorable in the calendar of liberty; he affected to call his army by no other appellation than "the ſoldiers of their country;" and ſinking all mention of the king, propoſed to them only, that they ſhould promiſe one another to defend the national ſovereignty againſt all its enemies, and obey the conſtitutional authorities, which that ſovereignty had eſtabliſhed.

On the other ſide, the Girondiſts, Jacobins, and Cordeliers, now ſuſpending their own diſſenſions, and again aſſembling together, for the purpoſe of uniting againſt the Feuillans, diſplayed all the evil energy of their character. They determined, immediately after the diſmiſſion of the three miniſters, to carry into effect the inſurrection which had long been meditated, in imitation of the attack on the palace of Verſailles in 1789. The twentieth of June was fixed upon for this enterprize, as that day was the anniverſary of the celebrated ſeſſion of the Tennis court; and they were ſtudious, in all their ſeditions, to connect their cauſe, as much as they could, with the conduct of the firſt aſſembly, and the original actors in the revolution.

In purſuance of this plan, they made the moſt active preparations for aſſembling perſons of all deſcriptions in their intereſt. Dumourier received intelligence of their motions, and acquainted the king with it, as early as † the evening of the 13th; but the firſt public notice of their deſigns occurred on the 16th, when the council-general of the commune received an application to permit perſons, calling themſelves the citizens of the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marcel, to appear in arms on the following Wedneſday, before the national aſſembly and the king, in order to preſent certain petitions relative to exiſting circumſtances. The council, perceiving the illegality of the propoſal (as the conſtitution expreſsly prohibited all armed aſſemblages, except thoſe which formed a part of the public force) immediately paſſed to the order of the day, and directed that their proceeding on the ſubject ſhould be tranſmitted to the municipal body,

* See Appendix to Chronicle, p. 106. M. Dumourier ſays at the end of the 4th chapter of the 4th book, vol. ii. that this letter was three days in Paris before it made its appearance; and in the 9th chapter of the ſame book he intimates that it was the cauſe of his reſignation. But it is dated at Maubeuge, 160 miles from Paris, on the 16th, the very day that M. Dumourier reſigned; and it was read to the aſſembly in the morning ſitting of the 18th.

† Robeſpierre too ſays, the inſurrection was determined eight days before the 20th, that is, the 13th, if he ſpeaks incluſively; the day that the diſmiſſion of the miniſters was known. Lettres de M. Robeſpierre a ſes Commettans, No. x. pp. 444 & 445.

to the board of police, and to the directory of the department. This oppoſition, however, did not deter the Jacobins from openly declaring that they would aſſemble, as they had propoſed, in defiance of the authority, which attempted to thwart their purpoſes.

In all their proceedings on this occaſion, they were ſecretly abetted by the mayor, and the adminiſtrators of the police. In order to give time for their preparations, Petion took care that the reſolution of the council-general of the commune ſhould not be tranſmitted to the directory of the department until the 18th. The directory, however, when the communication was made, loſt no time in taking the ſubject of it under conſideration, but decreed, on the ſubſequent day, that the mayor, the municipality, and the commander in chief, ſhould, without delay, make diſpoſitions to prevent the intended violation of the law, and to ſuppreſs the diſturbers of the public tranquillity.

Inſtead of executing the orders thus received from a ſuperior authority, the mayor, about midnight, addreſſed the directory by letter, propoſing to legalize the meeting of the people on the following morning, by authorizing the commanders of battalions to unite under their ſtandards armed citizens of every deſcription. The members of the directory refuſed to make any compromiſe with the law. The mayor addreſſed them a ſecond time, preſſing the ſame propoſition. A ſecond time the propoſition was rejected by them with equal firmneſs. Unable to ſhake their reſolution, Petion at length reſolved to diſregard them altogether; and, effecting a meeting of the municipal body early on the next morning, he there ſucceeded in getting his own meaſure adopted. In conſequence of which, the commander in chief received orders to permit the aſſemblage of armed citizens, with every kind of uniform, and every kind of arms, under the national ſtandard.

Nor did the national aſſembly, agreeably to the policy which it had long purſued, ſhew leſs favour to the deſigns of the Jacobins. This appeared on the 18th, when the letter of M. la Fayette, from Maubeuge, was read. It was generally received with loud applauſes, and almoſt unanimouſly ordered to be printed; but on its being propoſed that it ſhould be ſent to the departments, a violent ſtruggle took place between the Feuillans and Girondiſts. Many of the latter party ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to be heard againſt it. After repeated efforts, M. Vergniaud ſucceeded. He pointed out the danger which muſt ariſe to liberty and the conſtitution, if a general, at the head of an army, were permitted to give advice to the aſſembly; as in that caſe, his repreſentations muſt inevitably appear to be nothing leſs than laws. Upon this ground, though he profeſſed not to entertain the leaſt doubt with reſpect to the purity of M. la Fayette's intentions, he moved, that they ſhould paſs to the order of the day, on the propoſition of ſending the letter to the departments. This was vehemently oppoſed on one ſide, and ſupported on the other; and the queſtion being put, was negatived by a great majority. Several members now roſe, and exclaimed, that the ſignature of La Fayette was a forgery. This aſſertion was warmly maintained by M. Guadet,

Guadet, who declared too, that the letter contained ſentiments more worthy of Cromwel than the emulator of Waſhington. He was interrupted here by ſeveral members, who termed his language abominable. The tumult increaſed, and the preſident, calling the aſſembly to order, was himſelf called to order by ſome of the members, who contended, that he went beyond the bounds of his authority. Tranquillity being at laſt, in a degree, reſtored, M. Guadet reſumed his ſpeech: he affected to give to his mention of Cromwel, a turn of compliment to M. la Fayette, and in concluſion demanded that the letter ſhould be ſent to the committee of twelve. After a very confuſed and tumultuous debate, his propoſition was adopted.

Irritated to a ſtill higher pitch by this letter, and by the ſtand which the Feuillans had on this occaſion made in the aſſembly, the jacobin club, the ſame evening, declared its ſittings permanent, and paſſed ſeveral violent reſolutions againſt M. la Fayette. The moſt moderate were for ſending that general to Orleans as a traitor; others propoſed inviting all good citizens to bring him alive or dead to Paris; and M. Laſource, in a ſpirit very little ſuited to his eccleſiaſtical character, required, that any perſon might be allowed to aſſaſſinate him with impunity.

To increaſe and ſpread the ferment, which theſe proceedings excited among the people, a civic feaſt was the next morning publicly given, at which ſome of the moſt furious members of the jacobin club preſided; while the miniſters on their ſide, truſting to the avowed ſupport of M. la Fayette and his army, imagined, that they might now announce to the aſſembly the king's refuſal to ſanction the two decrees. This was accordingly done, by a letter from the miniſter of juſtice. The aſſembly ſeemed to receive the intelligence with the moſt perfect indifference. No obſervation was made upon it, except by M. Lacroix, who merely remarked, that the notification ought to have been ſigned by the king: it was, nevertheleſs, ordered to be depoſited in the national archives.

The principle of not permitting the deliberations of an armed force, on which the aſſembly had decided againſt M. la Fayette's letter, was certainly juſt; but the majority now ſhewed how little they ſeriouſly regarded it, in the reception which they gave to an addreſs from an armed force of another deſcription. In the evening-ſitting of this day, a letter was read from a part of the army, which had long been deſolating the ſouth. It was ſigned, "the citizens of Marſeilles;" and directly aſſerted, "that the "people were riſing to defend liber-"ty, and that the day of their wrath "was arrived." "Legiſlators," continued the addreſs, "favour "the warlike movement: the po-"pular force conſtitutes the whole "of your force; you have it in your "hands; employ it. No quarter; "ſince you have none to expect. "The people of France demand "of you a decree, which may au-"thorize them to march with forces "more impoſing than thoſe, which "you have decreed. Give the word, "and we will march *towards the* "*capital*, and the frontiers. The "people wiſh to complete a revo-"lution, which ought to enſure their "happineſs, their ſafety, and their "glory: they would ſave them-"ſelves, and ſave you. Refuſe not "the authority of the law to thoſe "who

"who would die to defend it." So pleaſed was the majority of the aſſembly with the contents of this letter, that, after * honourable mention of it was decreed, it was ordered to be printed, and ſent to the 83 departments. This was meant and underſtood as a call upon the Jacobins in every part of France.

During the ſame ſitting, M. Terrier de Monciel officially tranſmitted to the aſſembly, the arrêt of the directory of the department for the preſervation of the public tranquillity, which has been already noticed. An oppoſition was at firſt made to the reading of it, but ſoon withdrawn. Notwithſtanding, however, the importance of the events which it announced, the aſſembly, after having heard it read, immediately paſſed to the order of the day, without adopting a ſingle reſolution on the ſubject. Emboldened by this conduct of the aſſembly, with the addreſs from Marſeilles, and another of a ſimilar import from Blois in his hand, Chabot went to a public meeting of the ſuburb of St. Antoine, and made an inflammatory harangue of three hours, which laſted till midnight. He was ſeconded by Santerre, who in a manner governed that ſection; while other leaders were at the ſame time equally buſy in putting the ſuburb of St. Marcel, and the reſt of the diſtricts of Paris, over which they had any influence, into a ſtate of inſurrection.

Under theſe auſpices, broke the morning of the twentieth. The national aſſembly had not long met, when it was informed by the directory of the department, that much danger was to be apprehended from the movements of the populace. In the debate that followed, on one ſide nothing was perceived in thoſe movements, but what was called *civiſm*. On the other ſide, indeed, a few deputies argued againſt the illegality of the proceeding, adding, that neither the aſſembly nor the king, if the populace were permitted to ſurround them with arms in their hand, could be conſidered as free; but their voices were overwhelmed by the hiſſes of the galleries. Before any deciſion was formed on the ſubject, a letter from M. Santerre, commandant of the battalion of the Foundlings, was read, which announced, that the citizens of the ſuburb of St. Antoine were at the door, and requeſted the honour of defiling through the aſſembly. M. Vergniaud remarked, amidſt loud applauſes, that if a rigorous execution of the law was decreed, the bloody ſcene of the Champ de Mars would be renewed. "Could I ſuppoſe," ſaid he, "that there exiſted any real "danger to-day, I ſhould demand "a decree to-morrow, not to tole-"rate ſuch admiſſions in future." After a ſlight oppoſition it was ordered, that the petitioners ſhould be admitted. The orator of the crowd then entering the hall, addreſſed the aſſembly in a long harangue, replete with the ſevereſt reproaches againſt the conduct of the king. Among other ſtrong things he aſſerted, that the people had riſen, and were ready to avenge their outraged majeſty; adding, that blood muſt flow, before the tree of liberty would flouriſh in peace.

June 20.

The preſident in his anſwer obſerved, that the aſſembly always

* This is another of the revolutionary meaſures of the aſſembly, which, M. Petion ſays, prepared the way for the 10th of Auguſt. See above, p. 443.

beheld

beheld with pleaſure the citizens of Paris, becauſe it was aſſured of their patriotiſm, and knew, that nothing, but the dangers of the country, could excite their inquietude.

Having obtained permiſſion to file through the aſſembly, an immenſe crowd of men, women, and children in various habits, preſſed forwards with St. Huruge and Santerre at their head. The ridiculous atrocity of this exhibition much exceeded that of all, to which, illegal as they were, the aſſembly had lately been familiarized. The individuals compoſing it, were armed with all ſorts of weapons for offence; while every enſign of revolt and inſurrection, every device and emblem expreſſive of flattery to the populace, and of hatred againſt thoſe who preſerved their fidelity to their king, was collected together and diſplayed in triumph. One man waved a ſcroll of paper, on which was written, "advice to Louis the XVIth. The "people are tired of ſuffering;" another bore the words, "tremble "tyrant, thy hour is come;" and a third (who indeed was driven out of the hall) carried a reeking heart, ſtuck upon a pike, and inſcribed as "the heart of an ariſtocrat." The whole proceſſion moved to the ſound of martial muſic, accompanied with perpetual ſhouts and acclamations, that burſt from every quarter. When all had paſſed, Santerre appeared at the bar, and declaring their readineſs to ſacrifice their lives in defending the decrees of the aſſembly, preſented a ſtand of their colours, which was graciouſly accepted by the preſident in a ſhort ſpeech. As ſoon as this ſingular ſpectacle, which altogether occupied full two hours, was concluded, the aſſembly adjourned.

In the mean time the council-general of the commune was ſitting, alarmed at the appearances of the morning. But their apprehenſions were at length diſſipated by intelligence, that "the ſpectacle was fine, "and that property was reſpected;" in conſequence of which information, the mayor returned to the manſion-houſe in full ſecurity, as he declared, at the very moment when the populace, having exhibited themſelves before the national aſſembly, proceeded towards the Thuilleries.

An oppoſition was made to their paſſage at the entrance of the Louvre, ſome troops having been ſtationed that morning at different poſts, to guard againſt any ſudden ſurpriſe; but at the command of two municipal officers, who appeared in their ſcarfs, the crowd ſoon obtained admittance: Full thirty thouſand people of all deſcriptions began to pour into the place du Carouſel, drawing up towards the gate, called the Porte Royale, ſeveral pieces of cannon, which they threatened to fire, if the leaſt reſiſtance was made. Succeſsful likewiſe here, they at length arrived, without further obſtacles, at the front entrance of the palace, through which they dragged their cannon, and into the very hall of the guards. The blows of a thouſand hatchets, forcing the doors of the ſeveral apartments, now reſounded through the palace; and convinced the king, that his immediate preſence was neceſſary. He came forward, therefore, to meet the danger, attended by the princeſs Elizabeth, by a few brave and faithful ſervants, and by ſeveral individuals of the national guard, who on this trying occaſion had run to his aſſiſtance, and were reſolved to protect him, or die at his feet. When the door of the room to which he had advanced, was opened to the

populace (at the time violently aſſailing it with their hatchets) among the firſt that entered, was a man armed with a ſtick, to the end of which was faſtened a ſharp-pointed ſword-blade. Ruſhing forward with this inſtrument in his hand, he put himſelf in a poſture to attack the king, but the bayonets of the grenadiers fruſtrated his attempt.

In order to keep the crowd at a greater diſtance, the king was perſuaded to retire towards one of the windows, where his friends could more eaſily ſurround and protect him. While in this ſituation (which he retained for ſome hours) a perſon armed with a ſabre, and remarkable for the ferocity of his geſtures, was obſerved, for a conſiderable time, to try every poſſible mode of getting to the ſpot; but his efforts proved fruitleſs.

The clamour which at firſt aroſe, when the rabble burſt into the room, was ſo great, that for about half an hour it was impoſſible for any ſingle voice to be diſtinctly heard. After the tumult had a little ſubſided, Legendre, addreſſing the king by the plain title of monſieur, exclaimed, "Hear us; for it is your "duty ſo to do. You are perfi- "dious, and have always deceived "us. You deceive us ſtill. But "take care of yourſelf; for the "people are wearied of ſeeing them- "ſelves your laughing-ſtock." He then read a paper full of obloquy and threats, containing what was termed the will of the ſovereign people, in whoſe name he pretended to ſpeak. The king coolly anſwered, "That his conduct would be regu- "lated by the conſtitution and the "decrees of the national aſſembly."

In order to be better ſeen, he ſtood upon an elevated ſpot in the receſs of the window, with the princeſs Elizabeth by his ſide, and his attendants around him, who guarded him with unceaſing ſolicitude. After he was thus raiſed, a perſon from the throng thruſt forward, on the top of a pike, a red cap, with the national cockade, and ribbands attached to it. Louis inſtantly received it, and placed it on his head, much to the ſatisfaction of the ſpectators, who applauded the act: and he kept it on during their ſtay. In truth, occupied with the ſcene which was every moment ſhifting around him, he forgot the humiliating badge which he wore, till one of the attendants afterwards noticed it, when he returned into his own apartments. Another perſon offered him a bottle, requeſting him to drink its contents. He took it without heſitation, and immediately drank the uncertain draught. Notwithſtanding theſe proofs of condeſcenſion and heroiſm, ſeveral abandoned wretches treated him with unmerited inſult, accompanying the groſſeſt language with the moſt threatening geſtures.

When the king's ſituation was publicly known in Paris, the national aſſembly reſumed its ſittings, and after a ſhort debate, in which the prevailing faction took particular pains not to expreſs, what they called calumny againſt the people; a deputation was ſent to the palace. The clamour, however, was ſtill ſo violent, that the deputies were unable to appeaſe it. Several voices inſiſted on the recal of the diſmiſſed miniſters, and the ſanction of the two decrees. A ſecond deputation followed; but without any conſiderable effect. M. Petion, the mayor, at length arrived, and ſoon after haranguing the people in a

ſtyle well adapted to pleaſe them, perſuaded them to depart. Highly applauding the propriety of their conduct, he told them, that they had acted with the dignity of free men; but added, that as they had now diſcharged their duty in making their wiſhes known to the king, he hoped they would retire peaceably to their reſpective homes, and not give the enemies of public virtue an opportunity of calumniating their intentions. The crowd began immediately to ſeparate, ſhouting "Long live Petion;" and in a ſhort time became ſo conſiderably thinned, that the king was enabled to retire into an inner apartment, in order to recover from the exceſſive fatigue which he had endured. While one diviſion of the rioters on their departure was paſſing by the royal bed-chamber, a man of ſome apparent lead among them, endeavoured to raiſe the envy and malice of his companions, by remarking how much finer the bed was, than thoſe upon which they ſlept. Others on their retreat were detected in attempts to carry away ſome of the royal plate. So buſy, indeed, had they all been during their ſtay, whatever were their different objects, that ſcarcely was there a room in the quarter of the Thuilleries inhabited by the royal family, the door of which had not been forced. One perſon, in particular, had been obſerved to be extremely active with his hatchet, who boaſted that he had already broken through ſeveral doors, and was determined to proceed in his career, until he could have the queen alive or dead. Indeed, many expreſſed the moſt inveterate rancour againſt her; and, from their ignorance of her perſon, much obloquy intended for her, was laviſhed on the princeſs Elizabeth, who, finding their error, heroically forbade her attendants to undeceive them.

The queen, at the commencement of the tumult, was left by the king in an inner apartment, with the dauphin and the princeſs royal, it being his wiſh to ſtem the torrent alone. As there ſeemed, however, a neceſſity for her appearance, ſhe went, with her children and attendants, into the council chamber, where a party of national guards ſurrounded her, and protected her, if not from inſult, at leaſt from injury. In order to prevent the populace from preſſing too near, the council table was brought up and placed in front of the royal family. Some confuſion at firſt aroſe at the door before it was opened, and an officer was wounded in the hand; but, admittance being ſoon obtained, the rabble ruſhed in, with M. Santerre at their head. A red cap was offered to the queen, which ſhe took and placed upon her head, ſpeaking at the ſame time to the perſon, who offered it, with great affability; then, removing it from her own, ſhe put it on the head of the young dauphin, who wore it for a conſiderable time. Although torrents of abuſe were vomited without reſerve, the heart of every ſpectator was not equally unfeeling; for a female among the crowd, as ſhe paſſed, ſobbed and wept aloud, much to the indignation of Santerre, who angrily ordered her to quit the room. After the party had ſufficiently gazed at the queen, and many of them inſulted her in the coarſeſt terms, they moved away at the command of their leader, and mingled

with the other crowds, which were now evacuating the palace *.

Amidſt all the dangers and trials of this threatening day, the king preſerved the moſt undiſturbed ſerenity. When aſked by a grenadier, who was in the room with him immediately before the irruption of the populace, whether he was not afraid, he anſwered, "No. "Place your hand on my heart, "and feel, if it betrays any ſigns of "fear." Then ſeizing the grenadier's hand, he preſſed it forcibly to his boſom. He was ſatisfied, indeed, in his own mind, that it was the intention of the inſurgents to aſſaſſinate him; and, long convinced as he had been, that he could not finally eſcape them, was indifferent to his own fate, whether he were murdered a little ſooner, or a little later. But he was full of the moſt tender ſolicitude for the ſafety of his family. It was for their ſakes alone that he condeſcended to temporize. "Oh!" exclaimed he the next day to M. Bertrand, who was adviſing meaſures of vigour †, "if my wife and "children were not with me, it "would ſoon appear that I am not "ſo weak as is imagined; but "what would become of them, if "the meaſures to which you allude, "ſhould fail?" He indulged himſelf in the hope, that if he ſhould fall ſingly, he might with his own blood redeem their lives; at leaſt if any thing fatal ſhould ultimately happen to them, he was anxious not to appear the immediate cauſe of their common deſtruction.

The failure of the Jacobins in this plot, was attended with the uſual conſequence of ſuch defeats. It appeared for a ſhort time to ſtrengthen the government. A general indignation was expreſſed, the next morning, throughout the capital, and notwithſtanding that ſome diſpoſitions to renew the inſurrection were faintly manifeſted, the leaders ſhrunk from the danger. The majority of the aſſembly, nevertheleſs, ſteadily continued in the track which they had ſo long been treading; though for the preſent they proceeded with ſome little caution. They opened the ſitting by voting honourable mention of an addreſs from Seranne, which thanked them for their late conduct in favour of the diſmiſſed miniſters. M. Averhoult, riſing to announce a motion of order, and ſetting out with an aſſertion, that violence had been offered to the liberty and dignity of the king, was inſtantly ſtopped, as a calumniator of the people, and his motion voted to be poſtponed, 'till the aſſembly was full. Immediately, another motion was made by M. Bigot Preameneu, for a new law to prohibit the aſſembling of men in arms, under the pretence of petitioning, unleſs at the requiſition, and agreeably to the forms preſcribed by the law. He moved this without any preface, as not foreſeeing any oppoſition to it. Oppoſed, however, it was. But after a ſhort debate, the majority, feeling probably ſome ſhame for having ſo implicated themſelves in the unſucceſsful treaſon of the preceding

* The principal facts in the above account are taken from the depoſitions, declarations, and official reports in the appendix to the king's proclamation, publiſhed the 12th of July. See the liſt of authorities, State Papers, p. 276*.

† Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 299.

day,

day, consented to a decree, forbidding any body of armed citizens, under any pretext whatever, to appear at the bar, defile through the hall, or present themselves before any of the constituted authorities. Yet no sooner had they passed it, than they countenanced a poor evasion of it, by admitting some petitioners of the national guards, and the populace of Versailles, who brought an address against M. La Fayette, to defile through the hall to the sound of martial music, though their arms, indeed, were deposited at the door. M. Averhoult's motion now came on, and when, after various new interruptions, it was suffered to be made, it went merely to an enquiry; which, before the question was put, was also suggested in a letter from the king. Nevertheless, the motion and the letter were both sent together, without any debate, to the new committee of twelve; whither they were immediately followed by a report on the same subject from the minister of the home-department. In the evening, the law-officer of the department, M. Rhæderer, signified that a body of armed men was actually advancing against the palace; whereupon the assembly, as if to mark their distrust of the department, and their good understanding with the municipality, sent for M. Petion to give them information of the fact. He assured them, that the alarms were without foundation, and that order reigned throughout the capital. Instantly M. Guadet saw nothing but a plot to renew the bloody day of the Champ de Mars, and proposed, that M. Rhæderer should be heard at the bar, to explain the motives of his conduct; when a letter from him announced, that the armed crowd had shaped their course another way, and had been since dispersed: the intelligence of the danger had, however, been so repeated and so uniform, that the national guards had turned out under arms. This last circumstance gave immediate rise to a new question, by whose orders it had been done; but the mayor stepping forward to avow those orders, all were at once satisfied, without a single word of explanation.

M. Petion, the same evening, was at the palace, and reported there, that, the people having made their representations, all was now quiet. Upon being pressed by the king to allow *, that the scene of the preceding day had been highly scandalous, and that the municipal officers had not done all they might to repress it, he insolently answered, that they had done all they ought. Some sharp words succeeding, Louis, irritated even beyond the patience of his nature, bade him be silent; but the mayor, assuming a tone of affected superiority, replied, "Sire, "the magistrate of the people is "not to be silent, when he is doing "his duty, and speaks the truth." The king then charging him on his responsibility with the peace of Paris, put an end to the conversation, by commanding him to retire.

A very judicious proclamation †,

* This conversation is related, with very little difference, in the Moniteur of June 27th, and the Mercure Français, July 7th.

† See State Papers, page * 267.

drawn up by the new minister of the home-department, was now published in the name of the king. At the same time, to remove every specious pretence for clamour against him, he declared in council his purpose of appointing a secretary without delay; and for the protection of Paris, directed the minister officially to propose the levying of forty-two new battalions, intending to encamp them at Soissons. To this position, no man, who really looked to the military defence of the country, could start an objection. It is the point of junction between the two roads, which lead to the capital from the weak parts, commonly called the two gaps, in the northern frontier; from Maubeuge on the one side, and from Longwy and Montmedi on the other.

Nor were these acts of the king's government without producing all the effect, which could fairly be expected from them. The public opinion grew more and more favourable, and they who, from timidity, disgust, or despondency, had before stood indifferent spectators of the struggle between the contending parties, began to display an appearance of interest and zeal in the royal cause. M. Bertrand urged his master to avail himself of this opportunity, to quit Paris, with his family, openly, and after a formal notice of his intention to the assembly. And he presented two plans for that purpose. But both were rejected, one as affording only a choice of difficulties; the other as clearly derogating from the king's dignity. A proposal was then made, through the same channel, by Buob, the justice of peace, who undertook to gain over the galleries of the assembly, at a moderate expence. This, however fared like the others. Louis, who remembered that his ministers, in the time of the first assembly, had lavished between two and three millions on that very object in vain (if the money was not embezzled, as there was reason to suspect, by the knavery of the agents) disapproved any repetition of the attempt. All that he could be induced to do, was to give his permission, that M. Bertrand should consult with M. Montmorin and M. Malouet, upon the scheme of conduct, which they would jointly advise him to pursue. Accordingly, they recommended, that he should re-establish his guards without loss of time; defer, as long as possible, the suppression of the Swiss guards, which had not yet been definitively settled by the assembly; take every occasion of issuing proclamations, and sending down messages tending to develope the machinations of his enemies, and to keep up the favourable disposition of the Parisians towards his person and cause; endeavour to find means of withdrawing from the capital with safety; and not divide his confidence, but be directed solely by the opinion of this inner cabinet. This last was an article which, situated as he was, and surrounded by intriguers and counsellors of so many various descriptions, it is not to be wondered, that he did not punctually observe. The confusion and imbecility, which necessarily followed in his counsels, added to the perplexity and peril of his affairs.

The majority of the assembly played their part in a very different spirit. They lost no time, and in the vigour of their first attack on the king and his new administration, shewed

ſhewed the reſolution, by which they were actuated. On the morning of the 22d, the committee of twelve, paying no regard to the papers which had lately been referred to them, took up the ſubject of the two decrees, as of the moſt preſſing concern. They ſent their reporter, M. Guyton Morveaux to propoſe, that the miniſters ſhould be ſummoned to appear the next day, and ſhould then be required by the preſident to deliver in writing, within four-and-twenty hours, a ſtatement of the meaſures taken for the ſafety of the empire, in putting a ſtop to the troubles excited by fanaticiſm, and in poſting a ſufficient army of reſerve between the frontiers and Paris.

The miniſters attended accordingly, and received the appointed charge from the preſident. M. Lajarre, the miniſter of war, then reminded the aſſembly of the application which he had made the evening before, for forty-two new battalions, and which had been referred to a committee; adding, that the intention was to ſtation this force, if granted, at Soiſſons, and pointing out the local advantages of that ſpot. He was followed by the miniſter of the home-department, who communicated a bill which had been poſted up about the ſtreets, under the name of a petition from the citizens of the ſuburb of Saint Antoine, to the national aſſembly. It denounced the king in explicit terms, as unworthy any longer to fill the throne; called for the ſword of juſtice to ſtrike at his head, and, if this their application ſhould be diſregarded, threatened themſelves to ſmite traitors wherever they found them, even in the boſom of the aſſembly. M. Terrier de Monciel, alſo proceeded to ſtate from the directory of the department, that another petition was deſigned to be preſented the next day, praying the aſſembly to reſtrain the royal negative to ſuch decrees only, as were not voted to be of urgency; after which, another viſit was to be paid to the Thuilleries, to extort a poſitive declaration from the king. The mayor, he ſubjoined, had reported to the directory, that he had not found the proclamation of the late law againſt armed aſſemblages, ſo effectual as might have been expected, in the ſuburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marcel. "The deſtiny of France," concluded the miniſter, "is in your hands. It "depends perhaps, upon the meaſures which you may this day "take." One voice immediately was heard, calling for the order of the day; M. Bazire denounced the king's proclamation as the cauſe of the new commotions; M. Saladin found nothing particularly preſſing in the official communication; but it was at laſt referred to the commiſſion of twelve, with a direction for them to report upon it the ſame evening, when, at their recommendation, a decree was paſſed, deſigned to lead back the deluded people, as it was ſaid, by means of perſuaſion.

The account demanded from the miniſters, having, in conſequence of the explanation given on the ſpot by the miniſter of war, been reduced to the ſingle point of religious troubles, M. Duranthon as miniſter of juſtice, took the lead in ſtating what had been done in his office. He aſſerted his great activity in promulgating the laws, and his unremitting vigilance in watching over the tribunals that were to adminiſter

them. The effects of his exertions, he said, were so happy, that the effervescence, which had reached its height, when he took the seals, was insensibly subsiding, and his dispatches for some days past were much less alarming, than they had been in all the former period of his administration. What remained for the complete restoration of tranquillity, he threw entirely on the assembly; as nothing more was wanted, in his opinion, than the enactment of strong penalties upon all libellers of the constitution, and all disturbers of the public repose, accompanied by a precise definition of the latter crime. He urged them, therefore, immediately to employ themselves in filling up the chasms of the penal code, and answered to them for the zeal and courage of all, whose province it was to enforce obedience to the laws. The minister of the home-department informed the assembly, that he could add but little, having been so short a time in power, and during that time so totally occupied by the disturbed state of the capital. However, he laid before them the copy of a circular letter which he had written, and in which he inculcated a perfect toleration of religious principles, and a vigorous prosecution, and severe punishment of all fanatical agitators, to whatever religious system they might belong. The rest of the king's council said nothing, as their respective offices had no connection with the subject.

What had been stated by the ministers, in no degree answered the views of those who had brought them thither. Guadet at once cried out, that never had the decrees of the assembly been slighted and mocked with so much impunity. He did not want separate reports; but an account from all the ministers in a body, as forming the king's council, of the measures, which they would advise to be substituted for the two decrees, lately negatived by the king. Any men who would take office in such a crisis, without an entire plan of policy ready to meet the difficulties of the public situation, were in his eyes traitors to their country. That plan of policy, whatever it was, the assembly demanded, and had a right to know. He moved, therefore, that the ministers should be told to that effect by the president, and have three days more allowed them to prepare such a general report. M. Muraire, one of the leading members in the committee of twelve, protested, that the former decree which had issued from thence, did not necessarily mean, what M. Gaudet had attributed to it; but the assembly might of course explain, or vary it how they pleased. Others objected, that the proposition before them, if carried, would annihilate the independence of the executive power, which it was a fundamental principle of the constitution to preserve. M. Dumolard suggested an amendment, which he thought very obvious and necessary according to the language of the constitution; it was to confine the report to executive measures only. But this, and every thing else originating on the same side, was overruled. The motion of Guadet was voted, and communicated immediately to the ministers by the president, who also enquired, by order of the assembly, what had been done in consequence of the law creating the office of secretary to the council; to which it was answered, that the king had

probably made his choice at that very moment, and would loſe no time in declaring it.

Though, in their new decree, the aſſembly had recurred to the queſtion reſpecting the protection of the capital from the enemy, yet ſo little anxious were they in reality, that before they received any information whatever from the miniſters on that head, they put all the troops of the line then in Paris, at the king's diſpoſal, to be immediately marched to the frontiers.

The miniſters indeed delayed their report beyond the appointed time, probably to take advantage of a circumſtance, on which their royal maſter for a moment placed ſome reliance. This was the appearance of La Fayette, in the name of his whole army, at the bar of the aſſembly. The events of the 20th of June, as the truth began to be more generally diffuſed, occaſioned a ſtrong ſenſation in the provinces, and all the three armies on the frontiers expreſſed much indignation againſt the inſurgents. La Fayette early put a ſtop to the deliberations among the troops under his command; but undertook himſelf to repreſent their common ſentiments in a way leſs liable to objection. Having therefore ſo arranged his meaſures with Marſhal Luckner, as that the ſervice ſhould not ſuffer during his abſence, he repaired to the capital, and delivered a petition to the aſſembly in his own individual character, as a citizen, though with an avowal, that he ſpoke the ſenſe of his whole army. His demands were, that the inſtigators and leaders of the violences committed at the Thuilleries, on the 20th of June, ſhould be proſecuted and puniſhed for high treaſon; that the Jacobins ſhould no longer be ſuffered to meet; and that efficacious meaſures ſhould be taken to enſure reſpect to the conſtituted authorities, eſpecially to the legiſlative body and the king. He was received, both on his arrival, and when he croſſed the hall to take his ſeat among the petitioners, with conſiderable applauſe, not only by many of the members, but by the galleries too. But as ſoon as he had ended, Guadet aroſe, aſked whether the general had leave of abſence from the miniſter of war, and demanded that the committee of twelve ſhould be directed to make a report the next day, on the danger of admitting generals of armies as petitioners. He was anſwered by M. Ramond, who, notwithſtanding occaſional murmurs and interruptions, pronounced a warm panegyrick on the general, and in concluſion moved, that his petition ſhould be ſent to the committee, with inſtructions for them to conſider, and report as early as poſſible, what ſhould appear to them the moſt likely means to remedy the cauſes of diſorganization there denounced. And M. Gaudet's motion having been rejected on a diviſion, by 339 againſt 234, that of M. Ramond was finally carried, but not without a debate of more tumult and violence, than argument or diſcuſſion of any kind.

June 28th.

The next day, the miniſters appeared, and M. Duranthon read their joint report, to the ſame effect with that which he had before made in his own name, though rather fuller, and ſtronger in moſt of the parts. This was followed by copies of an addreſs from the king to the French armies; and of a letter from marſhal Luckner to the king, the ſame

ſame in ſubſtance as the petition of M. La Fayette. Theſe, and other pieces read by the other miniſters, were received in profound ſilence, and ordered to be printed. In the evening ſitting, the majority met with another blow, which might have daunted men leſs daring. A long addreſs in ſupport of M. La Fayette was preſented from Rouen, ſigned with twenty thouſand names, and another from the department of Aiſne, equally ſpirited, though not carrying the ſame weight of numbers, as it came only from the five adminiſtrators. The former was quietly paſſed over with the order of the day, but this latter was attacked with great vehemence. Nor were the Jacobins without the walls of the aſſembly, leſs watchful of their opportunities, or leſs courageous in the uſe of them. It had been ſettled, that M. La Fayette ſhould review the national guards, but the clamour of his adverſaries, and the fear of the conſequences prevailed; inſtead of the review, the general was invited to an entertainment given by ſome of the richeſt and beſt-diſpoſed regiments; and the next day, having taken his leave of the aſſembly in a letter expreſſing his regret, that he could not carry an anſwer to his army, he departed to reſume his command. His conduct, from this period, became the great topic of praiſe or reproach in the petitions and addreſſes obtained by the oppoſite parties; and his correſpondence with Roland, already mentioned, was publiſhed by the latter to injure him as much as poſſible with the army.

The committee of twelve now ſent another reporter, M. Paſtoret, to communicate the reſult of their enquiries into the ſtate of the nation. His ſpeech was printed and circulated, but it was not completely ſatisfactory to any ſet of men. The manner in which it treated the events of the 20th at the Thuilleries, by no means pleaſed the majority. It conſidered the petition of that day as utterly unwarrantable, and ſaid, that the exceſſes then committed ought to be purſued by juſtice, and puniſhed by the law; that France felt indignation at the recital of them; and the ſame would inevitably be the ſentiment of all Europe, and the lateſt poſterity. On the other hand, it repreſented (but without referring to a ſingle document in proof of the aſſertion, and in direct contradiction to the laſt intelligence of the miniſter of juſtice) that the religious troubles were increaſing inſtead of being diminiſhed, and that new laws of coercion were indiſpenſable. But it again offended the democratical faction by attacking, though with ſome qualifications and ſoftening phraſes, the popular ſocieties and the licence of the preſs, againſt the latter of which evils it announced the ſpeedy propoſal of ſuitable penalties. Full of compromiſes as this report was, it produced little effect, and remained, in truth, a dead letter.

The military committee was ready with their opinion on the king's propoſal to levy forty-two new battalions. But the committee of twelve puſhed forward their project of a decree on the ſame ſubject, which was in the ſpirit of their former proceeding, made up of weak compromiſes. It went to eſtabliſh the new camp at Soiſſons; but inſtead of raiſing the neceſſary force in the way meant by the king, which would have given the chance of better-affected men, it took at once

once all the volunteers then on their march, who had been ſelected by the jacobin clubs for the ſecret object of Servan's original decree. It alſo incidentally legalized their meeting at Paris to celebrate the anniverſary of the federation; but then ordered, that they ſhould ſtay only three days longer in the capital. It was eaſy to foreſee that the laſt of theſe articles, which could alone render the reſt ſafe, was not likely to be very ſcrupulouſly obſerved, without a more efficient government to enforce it. The king, however, ſanctioned the decree the ſame day.

M. Thuriot ſoon after brought on a meaſure more directly pointed to the views of the majority. Encouraged by two or three petitions from ſome of the more violent ſections, he moved, that the entire ſtaff of the Pariſian national guards ſhould be diſbanded; that the ſittings of the ſections ſhould be voted permanent, and a proclamation made that the country was in danger: And the firſt part of his motion, after a ſhort, but ſharp debate, was carried, with an amendment extending it to the ſtaff of the national guards, in all cities and towns containing 50,000 ſouls and upwards. The primary aſſemblies were to chuſe the officers.

About the ſame time, the new miniſtry gave the firſt ſign of their approaching diſſolution. Duranthon, having received repeated warnings through the journals conducted by the Girondiſts, as well as in their ſpeeches, thought it prudent to obey the intimation, reſigned the ſeals, and retired to his native city of Bourdeaux. His ſucceſſor in office was M. Dejoly, who had been ſecretary of the council about a week. The new miniſter of juſtice, when he anounced himſelf in that character, brought down a very gracious meſſage from the king to the aſſembly, directly propoſing a public renewal of the federation on the approaching anniverſary. But it was not the intention of the majority, that Louis ſhould gain any popularity on that occaſion. The communication was coldly received, ſome captious exception taken at a ſingle phraſe hardly capable of an unfavourable conſtruction, and the letter referred for the opinion of the committee of twelve, without delay; which was only prevented by the awkward expedient of a ſecond meſſage in explanation of the firſt. And ſhortly after, another meſſage, deſigned to catch public favour at the expence of the king's perſonal feelings, by notifying to all Europe, that he diſavowed his exiled brothers, was ſent down with as little benefit to himſelf or his government.

The retreat of M. Duranthon was probably haſtened by the danger, which he may have foreſeen from a momentous diſcuſſion then recently opened, of a nature to agitate and enflame the populace. It was a conſideration of the meaſures moſt proper to be taken with a view to the public ſafety, againſt foreign and domeſtic enemies. Vergniaud had been already heard in a long declamation, principally levelled againſt the king. The firſt of many meaſures which he ſubmitted to the aſſembly, was to declare the country in danger. But the form of doing this had not yet been ſettled, though the ſubject had been brought before them previouſly by M. Jean Debry. His propoſition was therefore adopted, before the aſſembly proceeded further. And ſome of the conſequences

conſequences attendant on this declaration, whenever it ſhould be made, were to be, that the councils of the departments and diſtricts, the municipalities, and councils-general of the communes, were to become permanent, and all volunteers might ſerve in the national guards without any uniforms, contrary to an expreſs proviſion of the conſtitutional code. It was afterwards added, that in all ſuch junctures, the members of the king's council ſhould be jointly, as well as ſeparately, reſponſible for the whole conduct of the executive power: and freſh reports were demanded inſtantly from the exiſting miniſters. The drift of all this could not be miſtaken.

In this ſituation of affairs, at the moment when Briſſot was going to deliver a ſet harangue on the ſtate of the nation, one of the moſt ſingular ſcenes occurred, that was ever exhibited in a public aſſembly. M. Lamourette, the conſtitutional biſhop of Lyons, roſe, and declared that he meant to ſpeak to order on the ſubject of that debate. Many extraordinary meaſures, he obſerved, had been, and many more probably would be propoſed; but none of them hit the mark, becauſe none of them aimed at the center; none aſcended to the true ſource of the evil. It lay, he thought, in the diſaſtrous diviſions of the aſſembly. One ſide charged the other with the ſeditious deſign of wiſhing to deſtroy the monarchy: the latter retorted, that their colleagues wiſhed to introduce an ariſtocratical government, known under the name of the two chambers. "Let us then," continued he, amidſt reiterated applauſes from every part of the hall, "with one unanimous "and irrevocable oath, let us blaſt "for ever the project both of a "republic and of two chambers. "I move that the preſident ſhall "put the queſtion for all to ſtand "up, who abjure and execrate alike "a republic and two chambers." He had ſcarcely finiſhed, when every member preſent ſtood up at the ſame moment, and, in the moſt ſolemn attitude of ſwearing, pronounced the declaration, that they would never ſuffer, either by the introduction of the republican ſyſtem, or by the eſtabliſhment of two chambers, any change whatever to be made in the exiſting conſtitution. After this ceremony, they ruſhed acroſs the hall into each others embraces, the oppoſite parties affectedly mingling together, and they, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any marked perſonalities, oſtentatiouſly ſeating themſelves ſide by ſide. The galleries took their part in the general joy by ſhouts and acclamations. As ſoon as order was a little reſtored, M. Emery remarked, that when the aſſembly was united within itſelf, ſimilar harmony ſhould reign between all the powers of the ſtate; and ſuggeſted that twenty-four members ſhould be inſtantly deputed to acquaint the king with the happy occurrence of that day. Louis, attended by his miniſters and the twenty-four deputies, entered amidſt cries, which of late he had not often heard. He told them with every appearance of ſincerity, that no act was ſo touching to his heart as the union of all for the weal of their country; he had long deſired that fortunate moment, and his wiſh was now accompliſhed. He had come, he ſaid, to expreſs in perſon, that the nation and the king were one. If they had the ſame object in view, their

July 7th.

united

united efforts would save France. Their king would always give them that example of attachment to the constitution, which should unite all Frenchmen. To a suitable answer from the president, he declared in reply, that he was sorry to have been under the necessity of waiting for a deputation, so eager was he to be in the midst of them on such an occasion. When he retired, he was followed by every mark of cordial satisfaction and delight from the assembly and the galleries.

Many of those who joined in this oath were beyond all doubt unfeignedly transported by the enthusiasm of the moment. But it is clear that the popular leaders, who were perpetually accusing Louis of perfidy and perjury, meant nothing less than the engagement which they then took. Brissot instantly requested time to revise the discourse, which he had prepared for that day; meaning, as he professed, to efface whatever might tend to revive animosities now buried for ever; but he considered the measures which he had to submit, as too critical and important to be suppressed. And two days after, when the debate on the means of public safety was resumed, he pronounced a speech, from which it is difficult to imagine what could have been retrenched, as too violent. He declared, that they had a right to dispose of their own personal resentments, but not of the national justice. If it were possible, that they had coalesced among themselves to spare the guilty, it would be a true conspiracy. He would paint the executive power, such as it was, up to the moment of the late union; and no man is changed in a single day. He should look upon himself as a traitor, as the butcher of his fellow citizens, if he could put any faith in such a sudden conversion; and, for the pleasure of apparent harmony, set aside the means of superintendence, and the acts of rigour, which the constitution made it their duty to adopt. "I tell you," said he, "that to strike at the court of "the Thuilleries, is to strike all "the traitors at once. There you "ought to aim vigorous blows. "Every half-measure shews a feeble mind: caustics must be applied to gangrenes. The minister of justice has told you, that "the cause of our evils is to be "found in some chasms of the penal "code, in the plaudits of the galleries, and some exaggerated "writings. Is not this to be gravely occupied about a broken shin, "when there is an abscess in the "head?" He then proceeded, under a promise of proving his accusations, to give the same representations, which he and others had so often given before, of the king's alledged guilt, and the conspiracy of the court, in the whole management of the war, and in the internal government of the kingdom; adding new charges, levelled at the royal proclamation on the events of the 20th of June, at the addresses from the directories of the departments, and the political interference of La Fayette and the other generals. To save the state, therefore, he thought it necessary, that the assembly should immediately declare the country in danger; examine into the king's conduct, whether it did not amount to an abdication; pronounce the ministers, all and each, responsible for the acts intended to replace the decrees, which had been negatived; vote them to have lost the

the confidence of the nation; proſecute particularly the miniſter of war, and the miniſters of the foreign and home departments; inſtitute informations againſt the ſecret committee, which beſieged the king; create a committee of public ſafety, compoſed of fewer members, but of the moſt active, vigilant, intrepid, and inflexible characters, to whom all charges of high-treaſon ſhould be referred; accelerate, by ſome ſupplemental law, the proceedings of the high court at Orleans; bring to ſpeedy puniſhment, thoſe who commanded deliberations at the head of armies; ſell the eſtates and effects of the emigrants; take from them every hope of an amneſty, which only emboldened them; and, finally, cheriſh and ſupport the popular ſocieties, as highly eſſential to the inſtruction of the nation. "Be people," cried he in perorating, "be ever and only people; "make no diſtinction between men "of property and of no property; "drag into day all the expences of "the civil liſt; let the aſſembly "be the king's only committee; "the people his only confidant; "let pikes be mingled with muſ-"kets to guard him; and let him, "in the midſt of all, be a man of "the 14th of July."

This tranſcendant flight of republican eloquence was followed by the report of the miniſters, who apologized at the ſame time for the undigeſted heap of details, which their various interruptions had not permitted them, in the ſhort period allowed for the purpoſe, to reduce into better order. One member of the majority cried out, that they were tricked and betrayed on every ſide. Another ſaid, that the miniſters were giving their doſes of opium, while the enemy was advancing ten leagues a-day. A freſh report was demanded from the miniſters within twenty-four hours, and they were hooted by the galleries as they left the hall. They produced their new report, prefacing it with a declaration, that they would ſubmit to no reſponſibility, except that impoſed by the law and the conſtitution, which was different from that attempted to be thrown upon them by the aſſembly; and concluding with the intelligence, that they all had, that morning, ſignified to the king their intention of reſigning. One great object of the majority being thus attained, they obſerved a profound ſilence reſpecting the miniſters, and proceeded to debate the motion ſo repeatedly made, for declaring the country in danger. After much inflammatory language, it was adjourned to the next day, when it was carried, and two addreſſes voted, one to the army, and another to the nation.

In the mean time, as the ſoldiers arrived from the provinces to aſſiſt at the federation, they had been courted and careſſed by the aſſembly. A particular part of the gallery was reſerved for their accommodation; and they were received with all honour, when any of them came to preſent petitions againſt the king, M. La Fayette, or the directories of the departments. By their aid, and that of the ſections in Paris, it was hoped, that the public opinion, expreſſed by ſixty-nine out of the eighty-three departments, by the inhabitants of Rouen to the number of twenty thouſand, by thoſe of Paris to the number of thirty thouſand, and by the majorities of ſeveral other large cities and towns, might be overborne and ſtifled.

ſtifled. With the ſame view alſo, an addreſs was now brought forward from the council-general of the commune of Marſeilles. It recited the articles in the declaration of rights, which inſiſted on the natural equality of man, and aſſerted that every thing in the conſtitution, contrary to that declaration, ought to be rejected. It then ran into a long invective on the abſurdity of recogniſing an hereditary monarch, and of arming him with the powers granted to the king by the firſt aſſembly. The legiſlature, therefore, was called upon to abrogate this part of the work of their predeceſſors. The language of the addreſs throughout, was direct, ſtrong, and audacious. It was much applauded by the audience in the galleries, and eſpecially in that, where the Federates, as they were called, had their ſeats. But in the aſſembly none ventured to give it any countenance, while many called loudly for ſome brand of infamy to be put upon it. M. Le Croix obſerving, however, that it was impoſſible to proceed on the ſubject, as, by a ſtanding order lately adopted, all addreſſes and petitions were to be referred, without diſcuſſion, to the committee of twelve, the former mayor of Marſeilles, M. Martin, on whom Mirabeau had conferred the ſirname of the Juſt, aroſe; but before he had finiſhed one ſentence, at the firſt expreſſion of cenſure, was ſtopped by loud murmurs from the galleries, inſomuch that the preſident was obliged to ſend a party of the guards on duty, for the purpoſe of preſerving ſilence there. M. Martin then demanded, in the name of Marſeilles, groaning as, he ſaid, that city was, under the dominion of the factious, that the aſſembly would give a looſe to all their ſeverity againſt the authors, whom he deſcribed as a minority that had made their way to power by faction. He had heard ſome little time of this criminally impudent addreſs, but had cheriſhed hopes, that it would never have dared to ſhew its face. As it had appeared, he owed it to himſelf, to his conſtituents, to the aſſembly, to his country, to call down juſtice upon the authors. M. La Croix explained, that without giving any opinion on the merits of the addreſs, he only meant to remind the aſſembly of its own ſtanding order; but upon the galleries being reproved for applauding him; "it is very "aſtoniſhing," added he, "that the "members of the aſſembly will brave "the Federates who aſſiſt at the fit-"ting;" to which M. Girardin readily replied, "It is very aſtoniſh-"ing that the ſoldiers of the law "ſhew no reſpect to the delibera-"tions of the legiſlature." The addreſs, which was abandoned on all ſides, as clearly contrary to the conſtitution, was finally ſent to the committee of twelve, with the addition that their report ſhould be preſented the next day; but no further proceeding appears to have been had upon it.

On the king's ſide, nothing was done, or even attempted, to reſiſt the force with which his enemies were plainly preparing to ſurround and deſtroy him. When Buob, at his own hazard, made the experiment, which he had recommended, for influencing the galleries, Louis, diſcovering what had taken place, from the partial effects which had been produced by it, ſent poſitive orders that the deſign ſhould be abandoned. Soon after M. La Fayette,

ette, exaſperated by the united factions of Jacobins, and inſpirited by the avowed opinion of the greater as well as better part of France in his favour, tranſmitted to the king a plan, which, he ſaid, was ready for execution, to open a way for him through his enemies, and eſtabliſh him in ſafety either at Compeigne, or in the northern part of the kingdom, ſurrounded by his guards and ſuch of the troops as were moſt faithful; all which was to have been done conſtitutionally. Louis, however, neither believing La Fayette qualified to reſtore the monarchy, like Monck, nor the plan, on the face of it, efficacious enough for ſuch a purpoſe, returned a gracious anſwer in the negative, telling him, after an acknowledgment of his loyal intentions, that "the beſt ſervice which "he could do, was to continue to "make himſelf a terror to the fac-"tious, by ably performing his du-"ty as a general."

Neither was much more vigour ſhewn by the king on a queſtion, which perhaps more than any other was deciſive of his fate; as it involved no leſs than the command of Paris. This was the ſuſpenſion of Petion from his office. The directory of the department having fully examined the conduct of the mayor relative to the events of the 20th of June, notwithſtanding a report in his favour by their law officer, M. Rhœderer, paſſed a vote, on the 6th of July, to ſuſpend him from his functions. Inſtantly petition upon petition was preſented from the more republican ſections, and other popular meetings, where his faction had any ſway, all calling for protection to "the vir-"tuous mayor." As the ferment worked, it was alſo demanded, that the directory of the department ſhould be diſmiſſed, and another choſen. Petion himſelf complained in the tone of an injured man to the aſſembly, that a final deciſion was ſo long delayed, the law requiring, that the king ſhould ratify or annul the ſentence of the directory in ſuch caſes. The miniſters anſwered, that they had not yet received the proceedings from the officers of the department. When they had obtained them, fearful of exerciſing the power veſted in the crown by the conſtitution, they adviſed their maſter to ſubmit the queſtion altogether to the legiſlature, on the ground that it perſonally concerned himſelf. But the majority of that body affecting a tenderneſs for the prerogative, which they in no degree felt, referred the ſubject back to the executive power. Thus puſhed upon it, the king determined firmly to do his duty, and accordingly ratified the ſuſpenſion, the motives of which were very ſatisfactorily explained in a long proclamation*, accompanied by a great variety of documents. But no ſooner had this lawful act of his power been announced to the aſſembly, than the majority, as if to ſhew, that their former apparent deference to him, was only to find a more ſignal occaſion of mortifying and diſhonouring him, took up the queſtion, and, after hearing Petion, who had declined making any defence either before the directory of the department or the king's council, and after a repetition of that defence, and of M. Rhæderer's argument in the form of a report from the committee of twelve, reſtored the mayor at once to the plenitude of his functions. M. Manuel,

* See State Papers p. 268* to 276*.

Manuel, the law officer of the commune, who had also been suspended, being unable to appear from indisposition, the consideration of his case was postponed; and, with the weakness and contradiction, which marked the proceedings of the committee that proposed the measure, the ministers were directed to give an account within three days, of the prosecutions instituted against such as had been concerned in the disorders of the 20th of June.

M. Petion resumed the mayoralty on the very day of the federation. Every thing was studiously contrived on that occasion to prejudice the royal cause, as much as possible, in the eyes of the people. Immediately previous to the ceremony, the president of the assembly went to lay the foundation-stone of a pillar to be dedicated to liberty, on the ruins of the Bastile. In the order of the ceremonial itself, one change was made, and, in the language of the decree passed to * regulate it, another; the object of both which was to hold out the king as inferior, who, in 1790, was clearly recognised as superior to the president: neither was he desired, as then, to take upon himself, and officers under his immediate orders, the actual command of all the troops and national guards. But the greatest insult of all was the hired cry, which resounded in his ears, of honour to Petion, and hostility to royalty. The Federates, it was remarked, exhibited a striking contrast to those, who had arrived in the same character two years before. The latter had given many proofs of attachment to the king, who testified †, with affecting sensibility, the satisfaction with which he paused on the remembrance of that epoch, and which made those the sweetest moments of his stay in Paris. On the contrary, the greater part of the national guards, who now came from the provinces, shewed in their fierce and eager countenances, the fatal purpose for which they had been chosen. However, the president, the members of the legislative body, the national guards, the troops, and all the citizens present, on behalf of themselves, and the whole people, now again solemnly swore, on what they called the altar of their country, to maintain the constitution decreed by the first assembly, and to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king.

On the evening of that day, an attempt was made to assassinate the queen ‡. A grenadier of the national guards, induced, it is said, by a small sum of money given, and a much larger promised by Santerre, undertook the task. But, intelligence of the design having been

* In the federation of 1790, the order of swearing ascended from the national guards, through the president and the assembly, to the king; who having received, as superior, their oaths, took that appointed for himself. In 1792, by placing the national guards last, instead of first, the order appeared to descend from the president through the king, to them. The decree of 1790 directed the president to be placed "*on the right hand of the king*;" that of 1792, in expressing the same thing, appointed the king's seat "*on the left of the president.*" In proportion as these circumstances seem minute and trifling, they more strongly mark the determined system which then appeared, of degrading and virtually deposing the unfortunate Louis the XVIth.

† See the authentic translation of his declaration, State Papers for 1791, p. 230*.

‡ Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 342, &c.

caſually obtained, and his perſon particularly deſcribed, a ſtrict watch was kept for him. Once he was obſerved, but made his eſcape. Coming, however, a ſecond time, he was ſeized about eleven o'clock, at the foot of the ſtair-caſe leading to the queen's apartment, and on ſearching him at the guard-room, a cutlaſs was found concealed in the lining of his coat. The next morning, when it was intended to carry him before a magiſtrate for examination, he was reſcued by a band of ruffians, ſent for that very purpoſe to the palace.

The leaders of the aſſembly in the very next ſitting, took a new ſtep preparatory to their intended attack on the palace. Louis had not exerciſed the power, which a late decree had veſted in him, of ſending the troops of the line out of Paris. A new decree therefore was moved, which had not even a pretence of looking to the military defence of the frontiers, but plainly confeſſed the view of the mover. It ordered all, who were in garriſon at Paris, to be immediately ſent thirty thouſand toiſes from the place where the legiſlative body ſate, agreeably to the conſtitutional code, which made the conſent of the aſſembly neceſſary for the preſence of any troops within that diſtance. M. Girardin objected, but ineffectually, that to march away all the old, ſteady, diſciplined forces, was a ſtrange propoſition indeed, to come from the ſame men, who had thrown the kingdom into a convulſion, by inſiſting ſo loudly on the neceſſity of forming a new camp of twenty thouſand raw recruits, for the protection of the capital. But the majority had already gone too far, and were too confident in their own ſtrength to regard appearances any longer; and the motion was carried as it ſtood. The attention of the aſſembly was then called to the continuance of the Swiſs guards, and it was referred to the diplomatic committee, to report, at an early period, on the terms of their engagement; but no final reſolution was ever taken on the ſubject. Theſe meaſures were followed by the inſtitution of a new armed force for the police of the city; and it was expreſsly to conſiſt of ſuch among the old French guards, and other troops of the line, concerned in the early ſeditions of the revolution, as had not yet enliſted anew in the army.

The time allowed for the ſtay of the Federates in the capital expired, and they ſhewed no inclination to leave it. Out of nearly three thouſand (they did not amount to more) two thouſand only enrolled themſelves, as willing to ſerve in the camp at Soiſſons; nor were theſe at all ready to depart. Their general language is repreſented to have been *, that they would not go without overturning the throne of Louis the XVIth; and they frequently expreſſed this their determination in a manner, which even the chiefs of their own faction thought highly imprudent. Some of them had gone ſo far as to inſult the queen in the gardens of the Thuilleries, with ſongs of revolutionary ribaldry, and by refuſing to take off their hats when ſhe paſſed. The

* Ils (les Fédérés) ne vouloient pas retourner chez eux ſans avoir renverſé Louis XVI. du trône: ils s'en expliquaient ſouvent d'une maniere très-imprudente. Compte-rendu de Jerome Petion.

offenders were chaſtiſed, as they deſerved, by her attendants; and they came the next day to the bar of the aſſembly, with an inſolent addreſs, demanding juſtice. In conſequence of this event, the garden gates were kept ſhut. This neceſſary ſtep became the ſubject of popular declamations in the aſſembly, and of a riot on the 21ſt at the palace: the windows of which were broken, and the garden gates almoſt forced, when M. Petion arrived, and by his influence prevented any greater outrage, though he was not able to prevail on the multitude to diſperſe.

The Federates were the chief movers in all theſe diſturbances of the capital. The Jacobins put in practice every art to debauch them ſtill more, and to puſh them on to new acts of audacity. About ſixty only of their number had the virtue to reſiſt the general corruption, and to acquaint the aſſembly with the means of ſeduction employed upon their fellows. The reſt gave themſelves up to be the ready inſtruments of the moſt deſperate deſigns. They treated the aſſembly with an irreverence that obſerved no bounds, threatening the members, whoſe political opinions they diſliked, and the preſident himſelf, when he interfered, with their clenched fiſts and their ſabres from the galleries. They aſſumed a ſort of corporate authority over the whole kingdom. They publiſhed a circular addreſs * to the departments, calling on their brethren every where to riſe, and ſwear with them to annihilate even the leaſt veſtiges of ariſtocracy, and not ſuffer any longer, at the head of the armies, the legiſlation, and the government, thoſe againſt whom the revolution was made. And three days after, they ſent a deputation to the bar of the aſſembly, in the name of the whole body, and as on behalf of all the departments, to demand, that the king's functions ſhould be ſuſpended, as a preliminary ſtep to a judicial enquiry, whether he had not forfeited the crown; and that the primary aſſemblies ſhould be convoked to deliberate and vote, whether there ought not to be a national convention to reconſider the articles of the conſtitutional code reſpecting the executive power. It was added, there was not an hour, not a moment to be loſt. If this were not done, the country would have but one reſource, that of exerting all its ſtrength, and cruſhing all its tyrants. None of the royaliſt or feuillant party ventured to propoſe ſending them out of Paris; but M. Chodieu on the other ſide, moved that they ſhould remain till they were formed into regular battalions. This of courſe was oppoſed, and the aſſembly, obliged to take ſome meaſure a little colourable, at laſt referred the whole arrangement, in all its circumſtances, to be ſettled between the miniſter of the home-department and the mayor, who thus obtained a direct authority over them, and would be able to delay their departure as long as might be neceſſary for the plot of his faction, now rapidly approaching to another criſis.

Nor were the Jacobins leſs buſy in the provinces, through the correſponding committees of their clubs, and emiſſaries ſent into every part of the kingdom. They blew into increaſed rage all the old animoſi-

* For the account of this addreſs, ſee "Le Défenſeur de la Conſtitution, par Roberſpierre," page 506.

ties againſt the nobles and the catholic clergy. One falſehood they ſpread every where with miſchievous effect: they aſſerted, and without the ſlighteſt foundation, that in the different ſkirmiſhes with the Auſtrians, ſeveral emigrated prieſts, dreſſed as ſoldiers, were found among the ſlain of the enemy. In ſome places they dexterouſly availed themſelves of local circumſtances. At Breſt, advantage was taken of an horrid act committed by a man in a ſtate of inſanity. He had deſtroyed his wife and children. The melancholy ſituation of his mind was fully proved on the ſtricteſt enquiry; and he was liberated. But he did not communicate with the new church, and therefore all was attributed to fanaticiſm. Accordingly, it was made the principal foundation of a reſolution for ſeizing every nonjuring prieſt throughout the department, and committing them to cloſe impriſonment in the caſtle of Breſt, with the option only of baniſhment to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, by the firſt ſhips.

In the South, a raſh and ill-concerted attempt made by M. Duſaillant, an old officer with the croſs of St. Louis, to raiſe the ſtandard of royalty in the neighbourhood of Jalès, and thus make a diverſion in favour of the combined powers and the exiled princes, not only drew ſwift deſtruction on himſelf and his followers, never amounting to ſo many as two thouſand men, but, affording a pretence for collecting fifty thouſand national guards in that quarter, ſubjected all the miſerable country around to the ſame rapine, conflagrations, and cruelties as the ſame troops had before ſpread in Niſmes, Avignon, and the Comtat Venaiſin, with impunity, juſtification, and praiſe from the leaders of the former aſſembly. A band of theſe ferocious men, went to the priſon of Alais on the day of the federation, delivered in triumph ſome of their aſſociates who had been confined there for robberies, murdered the Chevalier Deſgrigny, a young naval officer, and Madame Gaillard, both of whom had been arreſted on ſuſpicion of the crime of ariſtocracy, and carried their heads on pikes through all the ſtreets of the city. They did not ſpare even the peaſants, whom they ſuſpected of having had any intercourſe with M. Duſaillant, or of wiſhing well to his cauſe. But their chief fury fell on the prieſts. Nineteen were firſt impriſoned, and butchered at Vans; the firſt of them, M. Bravard, a venerable man of ninety-eight, who had ſpent a great part of his long life, actively and uſefully in the direction of a ſeminary at Avignon. Yet the ſacrifice of the few days which remained to him was little. The Abbè Novi, a young eccleſiaſtic of eight-and-twenty was put to a more ſevere trial. He had been torn from the houſe and arms of his father, who was now called where his ſon ſtood in the hands of his aſſaſſins, ſurrounded by the mangled bodies of thoſe whom they had juſt diſpatched. But the affliction of the parent was in vain uſed as a ſnare for the conſcience of his child. He refuſed to take the oath, which was tendered as the ranſom of his life, and after comforting his father, preſented his neck with fortitude to the repeated ſtrokes of the executioner, trembling and agitated, at the cries and lamentations of the miſerable old man. In another inſtance, on the ſame ſpot, a contrary refinement of barbarity was practiſed. A boy was brought to embitter with his tears the laſt agonies of his father, and placed

placed so as to be sprinkled with his blood.

The federation was solemnized at Bourdeaux by two very atrocious assassinations. One of the venerable sufferers was the abbè Dupuis, a beneficed clergyman in that city; the other, M. Langoiran, formerly vicar-general to the archbishop, a man of eminent piety, prudence, and learning, but who had become obnoxious by having answered, with too much ability and zeal, the deistical work already mentioned to have been written by M. Duranthon before his promotion. Having just returned to his native city, the late minister of justice was invited to celebrate that festival with the magistrates. As he entered the court of the department, the mutilated and bleeding trunk of his late antagonist met his sight. He was struck with horror, turned away in disgust, and severely upbraided the magistrates. This is the last act recorded of him, and perhaps the most honourable.

On the same day several individuals of the clergy met with a similar fate in different and distant parts of the kingdom; and many more, about that time and soon after, were put to death with circumstances more or less sanguinary. Great numbers also were crowded together in jails, and other places of confinement; two hundred at Mans; three hundred at Cennes; others at Nantes, Port Louis, and other towns. They were for ever accused of creating those disturbances, of which they were themselves the victims; and the whole was with equal justice imputed to the king, even in the national assembly itself.

Some of the measures of these clubs were aimed more directly at the monarchy. Among the violent publications which were issued by them at this time, one from the society at Pui, in the department of the Upper Loire, was particularly distinguished. After the coarsest language, it concluded by threatening Louis and all other kings, with "thousands of Brutus's and Scævo-"la's to purify the earth from the "infection of royalty." Others shewed a deeper and more systematic design of rebellion. The society at Bourdeaux proposed to establish central committees by deputation in all the chief places of the department, and to send delegates from those bodies to Paris, as the means of forming there something of a central opinion, and of striking a stronger blow. At Marseilles, in the midst of tumult, and after four popular executions at the lamp-post, a general meeting was convened on the 23d of July, consisting of the principal persons in civil and military authority, and with them, enumerated together in the public accounts, the new bishop and the vice-president of the jacobin club. Resolutions* were then passed, assuring the inhabitants, that they now had no other enemies to fear than the executive power (as they generally affected to call the king) and foreign potentates; passing a sentence of instant deportation against all ecclesiastics who had not taken the oath; requiring the generals and the armies in that quarter not to obey the king's orders, if any of the troops should be directed to march to the Rhine; making dispositions to keep all the public

* An abstract of these proceedings is given in the Journal de Paris, No. 215, August 2, 1792.

money in the department, for the purpose of feeding and paying the army; raising an additional force of six thousand men; and inviting the people of the southern departments to follow this example. These propositions produced fatal consequences at Toulon. The administrators, though most of them zealous revolutionists, did not chuse to go the whole length required of them, in contradiction to the clear limits of the law. A popular insurrection took place, and no less than twelve of the magistrates perished. All proceedings of this kind were detailed with much exultation in the republican journals.

The king awaited the event with calm resignation *. The honour of the French name was the sole object of his concern. He wished rather to die by the hand of an assassin, than of the executioner, that his murder might be considered as the crime of some few individuals, and not of the nation. It was therefore his principal aim in every act to avoid, as much as possible, whatever might serve as a pretext for bringing him to a public trial; and with this view he frequently read the history of our Charles the first. In this situation of difficulty and danger, he was left in a manner alone amidst his enemies. The directory of the department was that popular authority, which in its nature most approached to an aristocratical character, and had lately shewn a manifest leaning towards the throne; but the leading members of that body, disguising, perhaps, their fears under the more honest name of resentment at the restoration of Petion, which was followed by that of Manuel, one by one gave in their respective resignations, till there now remained only six; and the very same day the assembly insisted that the ministry should be actually changed, agreeably to the notification which had been some time before given by the minister of justice. Immediately M. Dubouchage was announced as the new minister of marine, and M. Champion of the home-department. The war-office, soon afterwards, was conferred on M. D'Abancourt, the management of the finances on M. Leroux de la Ville, and the foreign-department on M. Bigot de Sainte-Croix.

M. Terrier de Monciel, during his short stay in the council, had so far won the confidence of his royal master, that on his dismission he was added, together with M. Clermont-Tonnerre, to the little cabinet of secret advisers. Indeed they required, at that period, to be strengthened with all the wisdom and integrity that could be found. M. Bertrand, on the 19th of July, had obtained information of a plan for creating an insurrection on the 29th, with a view of dethroning the king; and to defeat it, he published the details, two successive days, in a false edition of Louvet's Sentinel. Besides this, he and his coadjutors had received the king's permission to lay before him a project for his escape from Paris, but with the positive limitation, that the place of his retreat should not be more than 20 leagues from Paris, the distance marked by the constitution, which having now sworn to observe in that particular, Louis would not violate. Accordingly, the castle of Gaillon in Normandy was proposed;

* Bertrand's Mem. vol. ii. p. 297.

and

and a confidential perſon ſent by the king to view it. Two loyal aſſociations were alſo formed about this period in the neighbourhood of the palace, to aſſiſt in its defence, ſhould any ſudden emergency require their aid. It was reported too, that all the Royaliſts, Feuillans, and Moderates or Independents, as they were called, of the aſſembly, conſidering their deliberations as no longer free, after the late daring conduct of the Federates in the galleries, entertained a ſcheme of retiring to Rouen, and invited the king to accompany them; but that he would not conſent to take a ſtep which would have the appearance of putting himſelf at the head of a faction.

On the other hand the Girondiſts were not without their alarms. They knew their own party, far from ſpeaking the general ſenſe of the nation, to be * comparatively weak, though full of courage; that of the court, though timid and irreſolute, to be very formidable in numbers. Looking forward, therefore, to the chance of a failure, many of them were buſied in ſpeculating on the means of eſtabliſhing their favourite republic in the ſouthern † provinces, and of carrying away the king, as an hoſtage with them in their flight, ſhould they be finally driven to that extremity. Some of them even ſaw danger in their own ſucceſs, by a repetition of popular commotions; and had a juſt terror of the future conſequences which might redound to themſelves from their own inſtruments. Now that one inſurrection more, if it ſhould proſper, would place them in the government, they began to be afraid of habituating a multitude ‡ to think itſelf the people. Mutable and fluctuating in their opinions, they held perpetual conſultations, at which they agreed in nothing but their end. The chief demagogues met principally § at Charenton, a town about ſix miles from Paris; others of inferior note carried on their cabals at || public houſes in the ſuburbs. Chabot having one day in a little ſociety of this kind, made a vehement declamation on the advantage which would reſult to their party, if the court would attempt the lives of ſome of the patriotic deputies; Grangeneuve, one of them, took the firſt opportunity of telling him in private, that as it was in vain to hope that the court would ever take ſuch a ſtep, it muſt be done by themſelves, and if perſons could be found to ſtrike the blow, he would himſelf be the victim. Nothing can more forcibly ſhew the enthuſiaſm with which they were heated, the fraudulent arts which they employed without heſitation to effect their purpoſe, and their real diſbelief of the deſigns which they daily attributed to the royal party.

* Le parti de la cour était très-nombreux; mais il était lâche. Le parti patriote était plus faible; mais il était rempli de courage. See Compte-rendu, &c. par Jerome Petion, page 21.

† Madame Roland's Memoirs, Eng. tranſ. part 1, p. 80, and p. 144, the ſpeech of Barbaroux in the convention on the 30th of October, 1792, and "Avis d'un Fédéré aux Pariſiens, ſigné Jacques de l'Oſne, Fédéré de la Coté-d'Or.

‡ Memoires ſur la Revolution par D. J. Garat, page 65.

§ See Hiſtoire de la Conſpiration du 10th Août, 1792, par M. St. Croix, and the ſpeech of Barbaroux on the 30th of October.

|| La Carra's Annales Patriotiques, 30th of November.

In this ſituation of the contending parties, a very extraordinary letter* was ſecretly ſent to the king by the deputies Vergniaud, Genſonnè, and Guadet; in which he was told, that an inſurrection ſtill more dreadful than that of the 20th of June was planned, and ready to break out; that his depoſition would be the mildeſt conſequence it could have, and that the only way to avoid it, was to recal the three popular miniſters in eight days at furtheſt, in which caſe they pledged themſelves that it ſhould not take place. This imprudent communication was conveyed through a painter named Boſe, who was charged to deliver it to Thierry, the king's valet de chambre. Louis read it, replied that no anſwer could be given to ſuch a propoſal, and with a generoſity, which no principle of honour made neceſſary, ordered Thierry to give back the paper to the perſon from whom he had received it.

The plot of courſe proceeded. The aſſembly, on receiving an inflammatory petition, probably ſuborned for the purpoſe, now authorized the ſections to hold permanent ſittings; and to put thoſe turbulent meetings above all reſtraint, they declared at the ſame time, that the members of a tribunal, which had lately taken cognizance of ſome ſeditious expreſſions uſed in one of the ſections, were guilty of a criminal attempt againſt the ſovereignty of the people. Another petition was preſented, requeſting that a ſearch might be made at the Thuilleries for arms, as there was ſaid to be a ſecret arſenal in the palace. The object of propagating this alarm ſeems to have been, at once to raiſe a cry againſt the court, and to learn in what ſtate of defence the palace was. But the aſſembly declined to interfere, becauſe the law in that reſpect, it was obſerved, was the ſame for the king as for any other individual. Louis, however, himſelf deſired that a ſearch might be made, and thus unwarily invited the attacks of his enemies, by diſcovering how totally unprepared he was for reſiſtance. The ſame day the aſſembly voted, that the terrace adjoining to the place of their meeting, called the terrace of the Feuillans, was a part of the precincts of their hall, and ſhould be open to the public. But as the wall happened to be on the outſide of the terrace, it was divided from the gardens within by the new fence of a tri-coloured ribband.

The next day was marked by the appearance of a conſiderable fermentation, which threatened to precipitate the deciſive ſtruggle, at the very moment when the leaders of the Girondiſts were labouring to retard it. When the debate was expected to be opened on the queſtion of the king's depoſition, the extraordinary committee, which, on the ſuggeſtion of Briſſot, had been lately formed from among his party, propoſed by their reporter Guadet, an addreſs to the throne. This was ſupported by Briſſot, who

* Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 25. It was afterwards made one of the articles in the act of accuſation againſt the members of the girondiſt party, preſented to the convention by Amar, on the 3d of October 1793, in the name of the committee of public ſafety; and is acknowledged and defended by Madame Roland, in her Memoirs, part 2, page 88, on the ground, that the ſucceſs of her party was at that time by no means certain.

ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of proceeding with the utmoſt deliberation and caution, in deciding or even debating on the depoſition of Louis the XVIth. Any thing of haſte in their meaſures he thought likely to give much advantage to the royal party, and ſerious diſguſt to the great majority, which he believed ſtill attached to monarchy as a form of government affording the beſt ſecurity to property. He even ventured into ſome cenſure of thoſe men of eager minds, who were for ruſhing at once by the ſhorteſt way to their immediate end, without regard to future conſequences. Such a conduct, in his judgment, would make their own armies deſert or diſband, and ſend at leaſt one half of the nation to join the armies of the combined powers. His motion was, that the extraordinary committee ſhould be directed to report their opinion, what were the acts which would legally induce a forfeiture of the throne, and whether the king had committed thoſe acts: at the ſame time he wiſhed that an addreſs to the nation ſhould be publiſhed, to put them on their guard againſt meaſures which might ruin liberty. He received the general applauſe of the aſſembly, as all parties there hoped to gain ſomething by keeping the queſtion entire in their own hands, but the auditors in the galleries, and particularly the Federates, expreſſed their ſtrong diſſatisfaction, as they wanted to make a new revolution by their own force, after their own faſhion. Meanwhile a riotous croud was gathered around the doors of the hall, and on the adjoining terrace, now opened to them, where the ſtreet-orators and other agitators of the multitude, advancing to the tri-coloured ribband, poured forth from thence the moſt furious invectives towards the palace. When they had thus heated themſelves and their hearers, unfortunately M. D'Eſpremenil, who before the meeting of the ſtates general had been almoſt adored as a martyr of liberty, was diſcovered on the terrace. He was reviled, ill-treated, ſtripped, beaten, mangled with the ſabres of the Federates, and at laſt eſcaped with difficulty from their hands, covered from head to foot with blood and wounds. In the evening M. Champion, the new miniſter of the home-department, ran a ſimilar danger of his life. As there was a civic entertainment given to the Federates, in the ſuburb of St. Antoine, he thought it his duty to ſatisfy himſelf in perſon, of the ſpirit that prevailed in the company; but he was recognized, attacked, and compelled to ſave himſelf by flight in a neighbouring houſe, not without ſeveral ſtrokes from the ſabres of the Federates. Inflamed, perhaps, by this event, as well as by liquor, they determined to aſſault the palace that very night; with which intention they actually ſallied forth an hour or two after midnight, and took poſt on the ancient ſite of the Baſtile. Another column was expected on the ſame ſpot from the ſuburb of St. Marcel; but ſufficient care had not been taken there to prepare the minds of the populace for the enterprize. A co-operation was alſo deſired from the national guards of Verſailles; but the municipal officers of that town, inſtead of complying, ſent to the mayor of Paris, informing him of the application, and declaring that they would not march except in accord with

with him. Petion learned about the ſame time, that the court had intelligence of the intended attack, and was provided for defence, he thought the plan ill-concerted and raſh, eſpecially, as the principal force on which his faction depended, from Marſeilles, was not yet arrived; he judged it beſt, therefore, if poſſible, to prevent the attempt. He went accordingly to thoſe who were already on their ground, harangued them, and perſuaded them to deſiſt. He then repaired to the ſuburb of St. Marcel, where the alarm-bell was ringing, the drum beating to arms, and the battalions formed and ready to march with their cannon. There alſo he was equally ſucceſsful. The next morning he publiſhed an addreſs to the citizens of Paris, recommending tranquillity; he ordered a conſiderable force of national guards to be in readineſs for repreſſing any tumult; and reported to the aſſembly all that he had done; falſely * telling them, however, that the purpoſe of the inſurgents was to ſurround the hall, and the palace of the Thuilleries, but that he was ignorant of their ulterior intention; though he poſitively knew at the time, that they meant to ſeize the king, and confine him in the caſtle of Vincennes.

The policy of the mayor in this conduct was not underſtood. Some imagined, that he was not in the ſecret; ſome, that he was compelled by his duty as a magiſtrate, to do what he had done; others directly accuſed him of treachery. The recent ſpeeches of Briſſot, too, confirmed their ſuſpicions. The Cordeliers, and all the Jacobins of that intereſt, gave out that the principal Girondiſts had been bought by the court, at the expence of ſix millions; the extraordinary committee was ſaid to be playing the game of the committee of reviſion, in the former aſſembly; and Briſſot, who was now compared to Barnave, in paſſing through the crowd that ſurrounded the doors of the aſſembly, heard murmurs of the "lamp-poſt."

The Girondiſts now tried the effect of another application to the king, through M. Maleſherbes, offering again to ſtop the inſurrection, on the condition that Roland, Servan, and Claviere, ſhould be reſtored. But Louis anſwered, that he never could alter the determination which he had before ſignified reſpecting that propoſal. He ſeems, however, to have derived ſome hopes from their fears. He made the miniſter of juſtice write a public letter to the mayor, containing a very explicit approbation of his late conduct; and he directed, that Petion † ſhould be invited to aſſiſt at conſultations, ſometimes with the miniſters, and ſometimes with the directory of the department, on the ſtate of the capital. From the facility with which we know that the king forgave every perſonal inſult and injury, it

* Compte-rendu par J. Petion "p. 21. and Obſervations de Jerome Petion ſur la lettre de Maximilian Robeſpierre."

† Madame Roland tells a ſtory of Petion's being introduced alone to the king's cloſet, but that he was put on his guard by the ruſtling of ſilk behind the hangings, which he believed to be the queen concealed there. Petion himſelf, in his "Compte-rendu," poſitively declares that he conſtantly refuſed to have any private interviews with the king.

is by no means improbable, that believing the mayor and all of his party to have become ſenſible of their own danger, and therefore to be ſeriouſly bent on a change of policy, he was deſirous of conciliating ſuch of them as he could without degradation of himſelf, by giving them ſome ſhare of his confidence; but the frank and open air with which he received Petion, had a quite contrary effect on the mind of the latter; who, conſcious he had done nothing to deſerve ſuch a reception, and that by delaying the blow he only meant to make the deſtruction of the monarchy more ſecure, could ſee in the king's gracious behaviour nothing but hypocriſy and deceit.

The inſurrection which had been fixed for the 29th, was poſtponed in conſequence of another meeting at Charenton, whether to give time for the negociations then attempted with the court, or becauſe the whole ſcheme of it had been diſcovered and divulged, or that the great force from Marſeilles, which had been expected ſome days before, had not yet appeared. It was now ſettled that it ſhould take place on the 9th or 10th of Auguſt, a determination which was ſoon carried to M. Bertrand, and through him to the king. July 29th.

The next day arrived the detachment from Marſeilles. When they were ready to march from that city *, the mayor told them that they were going to Paris to combat the tyrant: "his head," added he, "will be your victory, his head will "be your reward." At their departure they were about 500 ſtrong, but on their way they collected about 400 more of the moſt deſperate ruffians in the ſeveral places through which they paſſed. Immediately on their arrival they ſignalized their ferocious diſpoſitions. The ſame evening they fell upon ſome of the national guards, belonging to a quarter principally inhabited by bankers and rich merchants, who alarmed for their own property were willing to defend the throne, as the beſt pledge of their own ſafety. M. Duhamel, an officer, was murdered. The reſt only ſaved themſelves by aſſuming a private mark of diſtinction which was worn by their aſſaſſins, and the ſecret of which was communicated to them by Santerre and Merlin. M. Regnaud, of St. Jean d'Angely, and M. Moreau de St. Méry, both well known in the earlier ſtages of the revolution, were among the fugitives who eſcaped with the greateſt difficulty.

The duke of Brunſwick's manifeſto, which had reached Paris on the 29th, for ſome days excited very little attention. From ſomething unuſual in the ſignature, the authenticity of the paper was doubted. The king, however, took this opportunity of making a new declaration of his feelings and principles, in a meſſage to the aſſembly. He pointed out the neceſſity of union, when ſo formidable a force was combined againſt France. Calumny, he ſaid, would hardly believe the affliction of his heart, at beholding the diſſenſions that divided, and the calamities that menaced the country; but they who knew what value he ſet on the lives and fortunes of the people, would Aug. 3d.

* See Defenſe de Louis XVI. par Michel Germain Pichois, ſecond partie, page 24.

readily

readily give credit to all his disquietude and regret. He called to mind his pacific ſentiments, and the reluctance with which he entered into the war by the unanimous advice of his council, and at the general wiſh of the nation, repeatedly expreſſed by the aſſembly. In the conduct of it he had done, he obſerved, every thing that depended upon him to enſure ſucceſs; and his miniſters had conſtant orders from him to concert every operation with the committees of the aſſembly, and with the generals. He was now ready to take every meaſure to that end, in which the aſſembly would concur. As to the conſtitution, he declared that he accepted it, becauſe he ſaw that a great majority of the people reſted their happineſs upon it, and their happineſs had always been the ſole occupation of his life. From the moment of that acceptance, he aſſerted that he had made it a law to himſelf and his miniſters, but he lamented the pains which were taken to deprive him of the love of the people; and that he ſaid was the deepeſt wound of all to his heart. "One day," continued he, "the people will perhaps know how "dear to me is their happineſs, how "much it has ever been my only "concern, and the firſt object of all "my actions. How many ſorrows "would be in one moment effaced, "by the ſlighteſt indication of its re-"turn." As ſoon as this meſſage had been read, many of the members demanded that it ſhould be printed and circulated, but on ſome obſervations from M. La Croix, that they ought not to apply the public money to frivolous uſes; and an inſolent attack on the king's veracity by M. Ducoz and M. Iſnard, the latter of whom was ſpiritedly interrupted by the miniſter of the home-department, M. Champion, the aſſembly negatived the motion. This meſſage was immediately ſucceeded by a petition, which Petion preſented at the bar, for the depoſition of the king. This queſtion had principally occupied the ſections ſince they had been declared permanent; and after the way had been felt in different addreſſes from the Marſelleiſe, the Federates, and other real or uſurped bodies holding ſimilar ſentiments, the reſult of the deliberations of the capital, if ſuch they could be called, was now brought forward in this ſhape by the mayor, on behalf of the common council of the city. The ſtyle of the petition was comparatively decent and temperate. It profeſſed grief for the neceſſity of the meaſure which it demanded; it pretended to regret that the conſtitution had not left to the diſcretion of the legiſlature the milder remedy of a ſuſpenſion, inſtead of a depoſition; and it ſuggeſted the appointment of a miniſtry named by the aſſembly, with only proviſional authority, till the final deciſion of the nation could be regularly taken on the whole queſtion. This petition was quietly referred to the extraordinary committee, which being ſoon after preſſed by M. Grangeneuve for an early report, ſome of the members declared it was impracticable to be ready before the 9th at ſooneſt, and perhaps a ſtill further adjournment might be indiſpenſable.

The interference of the ſections on ſuch a point, was ſo clearly an uſurpation of powers which the law expreſsly forbade them to aſſume, that the directory of the department could not but notice it. That body

body therefore loſt no time in promulgating their opinion, plainly pointing out from the words of the conſtitutional code, the illegality of the whole proceeding. Indeed the aſſembly itſelf was compelled by the force of truth (unleſs the temporiſing and moderating policy of the Girondiſts had ſome influence on the deciſion) to reprehend the ſection of Mauconſeil, which firſt led the way, and annul the reſolution which had been there paſſed. But the Anarchiſts, Orleaniſts, and all the Jacobins of the lower order, could hardly be reſtrained even by their own leaders. The directors of the inſurrection, as they called themſelves, who held their meetings in the ſuburbs of St. Antoine, made another attempt at an open attack on the palace, where at that time was no more than the ordinary guard on duty *. An alarm was actually given in the night; and the miniſters awakened the king to inform him of their fears. "What do they want with "me now," ſaid he, "do they wiſh "to renew the 20th of June? Let "them come," continued he with a profound melancholy, "let them "come: I have long been pre-"pared for any thing; but deſire "the officers of the guard not to "diſturb the queen." Notice of the danger apprehended to the palace was immediately ſent by ſome municipal officers to Petion; but though it was then three o'clock in the morning, they were anſwered that he was not at home. The palace, however, was not attacked. Santerre, and ſome other of the principal conſpirators, not being ready, and many thinking that they ſhould wait to ſee the event of Petion's late petition, the whole plot ended for that time in the removal of the Federates from their old quarters to others more commodious for condenſing their forces, and keeping up a communication, by means of the bridges, with the more rebellious ſections and ſuburbs.

The king's ſituation was now ſo manifeſtly deſperate, that many plans for his eſcape were daily offered, and ſome by perſons who before had ſhewn very little attachment to his perſon or cauſe. Madame Stael propoſed one of the moſt romantic, in which an important part was aſſigned to M. Narbonne. But Louis rejected all theſe projects. He even withdrew his conſent from M. Bertrand's plan, which he had before approved, and of which the confidential agent, diſpatched by himſelf, had juſt brought him a very favourable report. He reſolved to abide the threatened ſhock in his palace; or perhaps the clandeſtine overtures, and public conduct of the Girondiſts, induced him to hope that through them he might yet be able to avert the impending ſtorm. And in this determination of ſtaying at all events in Paris, whatever were the motives to it, he is underſtood to have been confirmed by the queen. Yet he took no meaſures for a vigorous defence in caſe of an aſſault, but contented himſelf with iſſuing proclamations, which, in the ferment of men's minds, were wholly unneceſſary to one party, and could have no poſſible effect on the other.

The leading members on both ſides

* Carra's Annales Patiotiques, 30th of November, and M. St. Croix's Hiſtoire de la Conſpiration du 10th Août, page 25.

of

of the assembly seemed willing, indeed, to try their respective strength first, on a preliminary question;—the impeachment of M. La Fayette. A report had formerly been made in his favour, relative to his proceedings on the events of the 20th of June. But the principal Girondists having subsequently asserted, that M. Luckner had accused La Fayette of having endeavoured to prevail upon him to march his army against Paris, a long enquiry and examination of M. Bureau de Puzy, the general's aid-de-camp, had taken place. The documents were then referred to a committee of fifteen, from whom M. Debry

Aug. 8th. now brought forward a report. Several members moved, that he should not be heard, as three of the persons, who appeared in the affair as accusers, had voted in the decision. But this objection was overruled by the assembly. In opening his report, M. Debry declared, that the magnitude of the charge, the situation occupied by the accused person, the danger of culpable indulgence, and the nature of circumstances, all demanded the strictest attention to the subject, and fully justified the rigorous measure which he had to propose. He then read the documents, on which the conclusion of the committee was founded, and strongly asserting their weight and authenticity, and the consequent guilt of the general, affirmed his letter of the 22d of June to M. Luckner, to be of itself an undoubted crime. He then launched out into an invective against that part of it in which M. la Fayette lamented the tyranny exercised over the national assembly and the king, and held up his own sentiments as the expression of the nation. This, he observed, was precisely the language which the emigrants held. They too pretended to deplore the captivity of the monarch, and the influence of the factious; but in his opinion it was not the king's want of liberty, but his exercise of it, that the nation had cause to lament. The crimes of M. la Fayette he stated to be a violation of the constitution, in suffering an armed force to deliberate, in holding up a haughty minority as the body of the nation, and endeavouring to foment a civil war; to these he indirectly added another, the refusal to give liberty to the unhappy Belgians, as he styled them. This last indeed, he thought, called for severe justice, and it was highly necessary that M. la Fayette should exculpate himself from it, if possible. In conclusion he proposed, in the name of the committee, a decree pronouncing that there was sufficient ground of accusation. As soon as he had done speaking, M. Pastoret rose, and observed, that he was desired by several members of the committee to state to the assembly, without any comment, that only eight members out of fifteen had voted for the decree then urged. The vindication of M. la Fayette (and under the present circumstances the task was an arduous one) was undertaken by M. Vaublanc. In a long, detailed, and animated, but temperate speech, he went over the whole of the charges brought against that general, pointing out the improbability and inconsistency of the evidence adduced, and the designs attributed to him by his enemies. In the course of his speech he incidentally, but pointedly, noticed the unconstitutional formation and behaviour

haviour of the clubs, the insignificance of those who, while idling in Paris, criticized the plans and movements of the generals, and the scandalous petitions of rantic declaimers, which every day received the sanction of the assembly. With the conduct of those who employed themselves in haranguing instead of fighting, and in an imperious tone demanded of the legislative body to answer them yes or no; he contrasted that of the brave citizens, who had hurried to the armies at the call of their country; and he held up the example of the latter, as well worthy the imitation of the Federates. He concluded by quoting an eulogy of Condorcet on M. la Fayette, and by demanding that he should be honourably acquitted. As soon as he had ended, Brissot, in a long and declamatory speech, retraced the common ground of invective against M. la Fayette; and affecting to consider what had been just spoken in his defence, as merely a repetition of what M. Dumolard had said on the 21st of July, though clothed in more pompous language, he gave to the greater part of his harangue an appearance of answering that member. Particular stress was laid by him on M. la Fayette's neglecting, with his superior army, to take advantage of the weak state of the Austrian force, for the purpose of liberating the Belgians; and he even hinted his belief that the general acted in concert with the Austrian cabinet. M Baignoux attempted to answer him, but was not suffered to be heard. The president put the question of impeachment, which was negatived. The girondists and jacobin parties loudly exclaimed against this decision, and called for the nominal appeal, on the pretence that it was necessary, in a case of this importance, for every member publicly and distinctly to make known his opinion; but in reality the purpose was, to mark out more clearly for popular violence, those members who supported the obnoxious general. The president endeavoured to break up the sitting, but his voice was drowned by clamours; and after much opposition and tumult, the nominal appeal was carried, when the decree of impeachment was rejected by a majority of 406 against 224.

During the whole of this debate the galleries preserved a guarded and sullen silence. But when the assembly broke up, they set no bounds to their fury. Those members of the majority to whom they had the most inveterate hatred, were pursued along the streets with hisses, cries, and the most opprobrious expressions; pelted with stones and dirt; struck at with bludgeons and sabres; and threatened with immediate death. They were at last, though with great difficulty, rescued by some national guards, but not before several of them had been severely hurt. The same scene was acted over again in the evening, on the terrace of the Feuillans, in spite of the efforts of the national guards, whose commander was attacked, and wounded with sabres. In the sitting of the Jacobins that night, the most furious declamations were made against the majority of the assembly, the central committees, and the justices of peace; and the zeal which had been displayed in tearing down the king's proclamations, and attacking the Loyalists and Feuillans of the assembly, received the highest applause. But the principal measure proposed, and which was unanimously adopted, was, the publishing

publiſhing and poſting up a liſt of thoſe members, who on the late queſtion had voted in favour of La Fayette, and who were to be denounced to the people as traitors, retained in pay by the court.

Though the ſentiments of the real majority of the aſſembly, when rouſed to declare them, were now apparent, the Anarchiſts and Orleaniſts as uſual, only preſſed forward with increaſed alacrity and ardour; notwithſtanding the Girondiſts purſued their new policy of procraſtination with regard to the king. In conformity with this ſyſtem M. Condorcet, on the 9th, made only a ſhort report on the petition lately preſented by the mayor, and recommended no other meaſure than an addreſs to the people, for the purpoſe of inſtructing and enlightening them on the exerciſe of their ſovereignty. But M. Lamarque, Aug. 9th in a moſt virulent ſpeech againſt the king, whom he charged with having vilified the aſſembly, and betrayed the country in every way, demanded, that the extraordinary committee ſhould be ordered to report on the propoſitions which he then preſented, and which he regarded as indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſafety of the nation. They were, that the ſittings of the aſſembly ſhould be permanent, till the great queſtion of the king's depoſition was decided, that all the citizens (the Federates excepted) who had not reſided in Paris for one year, ſhould produce before the proper officers of police their certificates of civiſm, or, if they had none, ſhould be ſent to the place of their former reſidence; and all who refuſed to conform to this laſt article, ſhould be arreſted on ſuſpicion of treaſon and detained till the end of the war; that the municipalities ſhould be authorized to ſuppreſs all journals guilty of preaching *inciviſm*, that four perſons ſhould be named by the aſſembly to extract from its records, all the requiſitions made to the executive power ſince the commencement of the war, with the anſwers of the miniſters and their promiſes; and laſtly, that commiſſioners ſhould be diſpatched to the armies of the Rhine and North, for the purpoſe of giving to the legiſlative body an account of their poſition. This plan was, according to his demand, ſent to the extraordinary committee. In the article againſt the journals, it was in vain endeavoured by ſeveral members to include thoſe, which were notoriouſly employed in exciting the people to acts of violence and inſurrection.

Another decree, in the ſame ſpirit, was then paſſed to prevent the return of emigrants to Paris, and to enforce more rigorouſly the laws then in exiſtence againſt them. The moſt clamorous applauſe was beſtowed on theſe meaſures. On the other hand, addreſſes from two of the ſections of Paris, diſavowing the late petition againſt the king, and ſwearing fidelity to the conſtitution, were hooted by the galleries, and refuſed honourable mention by the aſſembly. The reading of another of the ſame tenor from the department of the Lower Seine, was broken off in the middle by the clamours and motions againſt it, and M. Bazire angrily exclaimed, that he had depoſited on the bureau more than twenty from his department, all of which called for the depoſition of the king. But the buſineſs which principally occupied the attention of the aſſembly, was the complaints of the inſulted members, who by ſeveral letters, written

written in a manly and indignant ſtyle, expoſed the treatment they had ſuffered, for having acted conformably to their conſciences and the conſtitution, avowed their intention of ſtill purſuing the ſame line of conduct, and inſiſted upon an aſſurance of their inviolability, and the puniſhment of the offenders. Some, ſtill more irritated, threatened to deſiſt from their attendance, and appeal to their conſtituents. Their complaints and demands were confirmed and ſupported by ſeveral members. At the ſame time a letter was read from the miniſter of juſtice, which informed the aſſembly that the laws were without power, and that if it did not furniſh the moſt prompt aſſiſtance to repreſs and puniſh thoſe who violated them, no further reſponſibility would be incurred by the miniſters or the king. The agitation increaſed, and many exclaimed that they ought no longer to ſit in a place where their deliberations were not free.

A declaration, ſigned by one of the deputies, denouncing the proceedings in the laſt ſitting of the Jacobins, was next read, and received with every mark of diſapprobation by the galleries, and a part of the aſſembly; and M. Kerſaint expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that when ſuch highly important objects claimed the conſideration of the legiſlative body, it ſhould occupy itſelf in liſtening to contemptible informations; he finiſhed, however, by moving, that the committee of legiſlation ſhould preſent the project of a law to repreſs thoſe who diſturbed the tranquillity of their ſittings. A long, violent, and highly perſonal debate followed, in which M. Vaublanc having moved, that the law-officer of the department ſhould be called to the bar, and charged on his reſponſibility to take the moſt vigorous meaſures for enſuring the ſafety of Paris, and the freedom of the aſſembly, and that the Federates ſhould be ordered to depart for Soiſſons, M. Iſnard took the opportunity of making a moſt inflammatory ſpeech, which attributed all the diſorders and tumults complained of to the ariſtocracy, and the inſtruments of the exiled princes, and called down the moſt ſevere vengeance on M. La Fayette, the department of Paris, and the court. He ſupported, however, the motion, and M. Guadet, in addition, propoſed that it ſhould be demanded of the mayor, whether he had means ſufficient to enſure the ſafety of the capital; and of the king, whether he could maintain that of the empire; though, with reſpect to the latter, he knew that the miniſter of juſtice had juſt before invoked the aſſiſtance of the aſſembly. M. Rhœderer, in purſuance of their orders, ſoon appeared at the bar, and gave an account of the ſteps which had been taken to put the legiſlative body in a ſtate of ſecurity. He ſtated likewiſe, as a matter of public notoriety, the intention of beating to arms, and ringing the alarm-bell at midnight, to ſummon the people for the purpoſe of marching to the Thuilleries, and effecting the depoſition of the king, in caſe it ſhould not be decreed in the ſitting of that day. The miniſter of the home-department too had written, he ſaid, to inform him, that the preceding night 900 men had entered armed into the capital, and been quartered by the municipality. The aſſembly, he concluded by ſaying, might rely on the zeal and fidelity of the public adminiſtrators. He was followed ſhortly after by M. Petion, who re-

peated the assurance of vigilance on the part of the magistrates, talked of the great success always resulting from means of persuasion and confidence, though he * well knew that it was impossible any longer to restrain the eagerness of the conspirators for action; and, indirectly censuring the behaviour of the department, which he said was itself embarrassed, he affirmed that no good measure had ever been pointed out to the municipality, which had not been immediately adopted. After these reports were finished, the assembly adjourned.

In the mean time, the active preparations of the Jacobins were well known at the Thuilleries. The most complete and minute intelligence had been received from different persons. The names, the occupations, and even the dwellings of the conspirators, were stated with the greatest exactness. In this frightful catalogue were to be found the very same persons, both men and women, who had so infamously distinguished themselves on the 5th and 6th of October 1789, and whom the indemnity granted by the first assembly alone protected from justice. In this state of things, the adoption at least of defensive measures became necessary at the palace. A body of 2,400 national guards arrived during the night of the 9th, with eleven cannon, and were stationed with a detachment of 912 gendarmerie, partly on foot and partly on horseback, at different posts of defence. Two municipal officers continued in the palace the whole night. At about eleven Petion arrived, and inspected with M. Rœderer the several dispositions of the troops. After having continued there more than two hours, he proceeded to the assembly, where he was ordered to appear and give an account of the situation of Paris. There he stated, that although the people were evidently dissatisfied and enraged, he nevertheless believed that no immediate danger was to be apprehended. He was not, however, suffered to return to the Thuilleries; but as a report was circulated, that the royal party wished to detain him there by way of an hostage, his friends (as they had long before † informed him, it was their intention to do) consigned him to what they termed the care of the people, and ordered him to be strictly guarded at his own house until the tumult should subside.

Before Petion left the palace, M. Mandat, the commandant of the national guard, had found means to obtain from him a written order, agreeable to the directions of the department, to repel force by force in case of an actual attack. The first step of the insurgents was to get possession of this order, and at the same time secure the person of the commandant.

About midnight, a number of men had forced their way into the hall of the council-general of the commune; and there formed, without a shadow of legal authority, a new municipality, retaining of the old members only Petion, Manuel, and Danton, and assuming, as secretary, a M. Tallien, a young man, who had formerly been employed by one of the Lameths as a private secretary of an inferior rank, and was now the editor of an inflammatory newspaper. The existence of this self-constituted municipality, was not known at the Thuilleries, when an order was dispatched to M. Mandat, requiring

* See his Compte-rendu, so often quoted before. † Ibid.

his

his immediate attendance at the hall of the council-general of the commune. Mandat at first refused to obey, but, receiving a second order, was at length persuaded to comply with the summons. On his arrival at the hall, attended by a single aide-de-camp, he was immediately interrogated respecting the orders which he had given to the national guards, and accused of intending to destroy, what was denominated the innocent and patriotic column of the people. Astonished at what he saw and heard, he remained silent. The president of the new municipality then ordered him to the abbey; and at the same time, by an expressive gesture, gave the signal for his assassination. It was obeyed, and his lifeless body thrown into the Seine, but not until his murderers had secured the written order of Petion, which was found in his pockets.

During great part of the night the alarm-bell sounded, and the drum was beaten, to assemble the insurgents in arms. Before morning the arsenal was forced and pillaged, and about 2,600 muskets thus obtained, without the least opposition on the part of the national guard stationed in that quarter.

The busy sound of hostile preparation was heard at the Thuilleries, and kept the royal family in perpetual alarm. So great was the apprehension of danger, that the minister of justice went to the assembly (which sate the whole night) and requested that a deputation might be immediately sent to the palace. But none was appointed. At first it was resolved, that the assembly was not sufficiently full to spare any of the members; afterwards, that it was in the king's power to come, whenever he pleased, to the representatives of the people.

In a momentary interval of tranquillity, Louis retired with his confessor, to prepare himself by the exercise of religious duties for a proper resignation to his fate. The unhappy queen, replete with sensibility, but resolute and dignified in her conduct, passed the principal part of the night in alternately visiting her children and the council-chamber, where the ministers were assembled at this important crisis. At about half after five, it was thought expedient that the king should visit the different posts, where troops were stationed, and encourage them by his presence. A review accordingly took place; some battalions of the national guards, and the Swiss in general, exhibited dispositions the most loyal; but cries of a very different tendency were mingled with their shouts. Three battalions likewise, partly armed with muskets, and partly with pikes, found means to get admittance into the courts of the Thuilleries, and during great part of the review incessantly shouted, "Petion for ever, down "with the veto, down with the "traitor." On the whole, there appeared but little probability of opposing any effectual resistance to the attack of the insurgents, which was now hourly expected.

Notwithstanding such discouraging appearances, with a spirit and zeal scarcely to be equalled, the nobility and gentry, who had hurried to the palace on this eventful night, resolved, as a last resource, to unite themselves with the royal domestics into a corps for the protection of the interior, and to make a rampart of their bodies around their beloved sovereign. The command of this faithful band was confided by the king to the marshal de Mailly, the Duke de Châtelet, the

counts de Puyſegur, and d'Hervilly, the baron de Vioménil, the marquis du Pujet, and other officers of tried fidelity. About twenty grenadiers of the national guard joined them, and were admitted into the ranks. On the whole, between four and five hundred of the national guard remained faithful to their duty.

As the danger increaſed, while the miniſters were undecided what meaſure to adviſe, M. Rœderer, at the head of the directory of the department, entered the council-chamber at about half after eight, and ſtrongly adviſed the king to fly for protection to the aſſembly. He aſſerted, that all hope of reſiſtance would prove to the laſt degree abſurd; for that the national guards in general could not be relied upon, as the majority of them were not only corrupt themſelves, but endeavoured to ſeduce the faithful few from their duty. Rœderer's propoſal was at firſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the queen, who privately exclaimed to ſome of her attendants, that ſhe would ſuffer herſelf to be nailed to the walls of the palace, rather than quit it in the manner propoſed. At length, however, her reſolution forſook her, when it was remarked, that by remaining there ſhe would render herſelf reſponſible for the murder of the king and her children, as well as of all thoſe who had ſo honourably armed in her defence.

The royal family now prepared for their departure; but it was judged expedient, that the newly formed corps of their friends ſhould not accompany them. The appearance of ſo many gentlemen, or, according to the vulgar phraſe, ariſtocrats in arms, it was thought, might excite the populace to acts of immediate violence.

Only accompanied therefore by the miniſters, two municipal officers, the directory of the department, and ſix or ſeven attendants, and guarded by two ſmall columns, compoſed of Swiſs, and ſome grenadiers of the national guard, the royal party proceeded from the Thuilleries to the national aſſembly. On their arrival at the ſteps leading to the terrace of the Feuillans, by which it was neceſſary for them to paſs in their way to the aſſembly, the crowds on the terrace preſſed forwards, and detained them in this obſtructed paſſage for more than a quarter of an hour, overwhelming them the whole time with inſults, and ſhouting, "death! death! — we will have "no more tyrants!" The directory at length ſucceeded in making way for them.

Arrived at the aſſembly, the king directed his ſteps to the ſeats appropriated to the miniſters, obſerving, that he came there to prevent a great crime which might otherwiſe be committed, perfectly aſſured that he could be no where ſafer than in that place. "Sire," replied Vergniaud, who officiating by turns with Guadet and Genſonnè as vice-preſident, happened at that time to be in the chair, "you may depend on our fortitude. We have ſworn to die in defence of the people's rights, and of the conſtituted authorities."

Louis then ſeated himſelf at the ſide of the preſident; but on the ſuggeſtion of certain deputies, that the conſtitution forbad all debate in the king's preſence, he was requeſted to retire with the royal family to a box behind the preſident's chair, which had been uſed by the editors of a news-paper called the Logographe. In this confined ſituation, in a ſmall white-waſhed room, ſtrongly

ſtrongly reflecting the rays of the ſun, about ten feet ſquare and ſix high, the unhappy monarch and his family paſſed fourteen hours, on a burning day in the month of Auguſt, partaking of little or no refreſhment; but their minds muſt have been too much agitated to regard theſe perſonal inconveniences.

At different periods during the night, ſeveral individuals, amounting in all to two-and-twenty, were arreſted by the inſurgents, and confined in the guard-houſe of the ſection. Among them was a M. Suleau, a national guard, who had been ſeized on his way to the palace, when bearing an order from two municipal officers to M. Rœderer; and an abbè of the name of Bouyon, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a dramatic author. Eleven of the number found means to eſcape from their place of confinement, by leaping from a window into an adjoining garden. Between eight and nine in the morning the populace, who were now become exceedingly clamorous, were exhorted to the maſſacre of the remaining priſoners, by the well-known Theroigne de Mericourt. Headed by this abandoned woman, a deputation of the inſurgents immediately proceeded to the committee of the ſection, and demanded the unhappy victims. The preſident, although an expreſs decree had been paſſed by the aſſembly for their protection, and the committee was ſurrounded by a guard of two hundred men, ordered them without heſitation to be delivered to the people. The abbè Bouyon was firſt ſeized, dragged into the court, and cut in pieces with ſabres. He was followed by a M. Solminiac, formerly one of the king's body guard, whoſe vigorous reſiſtance only rendered his death more cruel. M. Suleau was next called for by Theroigne de Mericourt under the appellation of the abbè Suleau, by way of rendering him more obnoxious; and after a long but ineffectual ſtruggle butchered without mercy. Six more ſhared the ſame miſerable fate. The heads of the whole nine were then ſevered from their bodies, placed on pikes, and borne in triumph through the ſtreets. Two of the eleven had previouſly broken from the guard, and eſcaped during the tumult and confuſion of the maſſacre.

So early as about ſeven o'clock, the different columns of the inſurgents commenced their march in military order to the Thuilleries; but did not effect a paſſage through the outer gates till near nine, when they puſhed their way into the Carouſel. Shortly after they forced the Porte Royale, and drew up in order of battle before the palace. The departure of the king had much weakened the means of defence, and likewiſe occaſioned the abſence of ſeveral commanding officers. Previous alſo to his leaving the Thuilleries, Louis had given ſtrict orders to the troops not to fire on the people; orders, which appeared almoſt unneceſſary, as the defenders of the Thuilleries were infinitely inferior in point of numbers to the aſſailants; and as the lives of the royal family were no longer to be protected there.

The crowds that filled the courts exceeded all calculation. It was ſuppoſed that not leſs than one hundred thouſand perſons had aſſembled on the occaſion. Their cannon amounted to thirty pieces.

Shortly after their irruption through the Porte Royale, one of the party,

party, an officer of the national guard, advanced at the head of about a dozen men towards the palace, and ſeizing five of the Swiſs guard on duty at their poſts, diſarmed them. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the ſanguinary crew ruſhed forwards in a tumultuous manner, and beat out the brains of their diſarmed priſoners with clubs; their leader, having previouſly diſcharged a piſtol againſt the walls of the palace, which was probably intended as a ſignal for the aſſaſſination. It appears, however, that notwithſtanding this atrocious act of aggreſſion, the Swiſs guards were unwilling to violate the orders given them, not to fire on the people. They came unarmed before the crowd, and entreated reſpect for the dwelling of their ſovereign. But they were received with every expreſſion of the moſt malignant hatred by the inſurgents, who furiouſly demanded to be led againſt them. The elevation of four heads, probably thoſe of the murdered Swiſs, ſtuck upon pikes, is ſuppoſed to have been the ſignal of attack; as the cannon, which had been introduced into the court, were immediately diſcharged againſt the palace *. This new act of hoſtility was anſwered on the part of the Swiſs, only by a diſcharge of muſquetry in the air, from the terrace of the Feuillans. But the attack ſtill continuing, and no proſpect appearing but that of immediate maſſacre, they reſolved at laſt to repel force by force. A heavy fire was accordingly commenced from the windows of the palace.

In ſpite of the ſuperiority of numbers, and the parade of artillery on the ſide of the inſurgents, the court was cleared almoſt in a moment, and the cannon abandoned. A detachment of the conquerers then deſcended into the court, and advancing to the Porte Royale, through which the fugitives had precipitated themſelves, fired on thoſe that yet lingered in the Carouſel, or had not been able, in conſequence of the preſs, to effect their eſcape. The conſternation, which took place in the adjoining ſtreets, exceeded all deſcription. So great was the confuſion which reigned among the fugitives, that two of their own party (Federates from Breſt) were ſeized by miſtake, from the circumſtance of their uniform reſembling that of the Swiſs, and maſſacred in the tumult. While one detachment was employed in clearing the courts of the Thuilleries, another proceeded towards the terrace of the Feuillans, near which they ſeized ſeveral pieces of cannon abandoned by the inſurgents, who nevertheleſs fired on them from the

* The fact of aggreſſion is undeniably proved by the Proces Verbal of the national aſſembly, drawn up at the very moment, and by an authority that can be under no ſuſpicion of partiality to the royal cauſe. The following is an extract. "Un officier municipal, et M. Doucet, adjutant de la ſixième legion de la garde "nationale, viennent annoncer qu'au Carouzel on braque les canons contre le "château, et qu'on paroît ſe diſpoſer à le forcer. Un coup de canon ſe fait "entendre. Les coups de canon redoublent. Une décharge de mouſqueterie "ſe fait ſur le terraſſe des Feuillans. Bientôt on eſt inſtruit que la décharge de "mouſqueterie à été faite par un compagnie de Suiſſes, qui à tiré en l'air." The other circumſtances are taken from "Hiſtoire de la Conſpiration du 10 Août "1792, par M. L. C. Bigot de St Croix;" Clery's narrative, and other reſpectable authorities.

terrace,

terrace, and killed about thirty. The fire was returned with considerable effect, but their numbers were not sufficient to resist the attack of the innumerable swarms on the terrace.

During this engagement, the corps of gentlemen in the inner part of the palace, and the national guards still on duty there, stood idle spectators of the bloody scene, the former, probably, from a deficiency of arms and ammunition, the latter from a disinclination to support the cause of the Swiss.

When the report of the cannon was heard at the national assembly, the greatest consternation for a time prevailed. The king declared, that he had given directions to the Swiss not to fire. M. d'Hervilly was instantly dispatched to the Thuilleries with orders to march the troops from thence, and bring them to the assembly. He there met with that detachment, amounting in all to about 100 men, which had descended to clear the courts; and prevailed upon them to quit the palace, and accompany him back to the hall of the assembly. On their passage thither, the populace fired upon them from all points, as they were marching through the garden, and destroyed near a third of their number. The fire was returned but feebly, from a want of ammunition. After their arrival at the assembly, they were disarmed, and stript of their uniforms, which, being delivered to the people, were carried in triumph through the streets.

In less than an hour after their first defeat, the insurgents again assembled in the courts, and introduced a fresh supply of artillery. The engagement recommenced with the discharge of their cannon, which continued for nearly a quarter of an hour without producing much effect. At length they succeeded in getting into the garden, and were thus enabled to attack the palace on every side. From this period all resistance became ineffectual, particularly as the Swiss were greatly reduced in number, and found their ammunition fail them.

On the first renewal of the combat, the corps of gentlemen retired into an inner apartment to consult what measures were best to be pursued. It was at last resolved to force a passage, if possible, to the national assembly. With this view they rallied all the Swiss they could find, with a few of the national guards, and descended in a body, amounting in all to full five hundred men, nearly three hundred of whom were Swiss. The gate through which they attempted to pass, was exposed to the fire of some battalions of insurgents, who had posted themselves at the Porte Royale. In effecting this passage, only two gentlemen were wounded, but the Swiss suffered considerably, as the red colour of their uniforms particularly distinguished them. Dividing themselves into smaller bodies, they then hurried along the garden in different directions. Of those, who took the nearest line to the assembly, several fell by the fire from the terrace of the Feuillans, and even that of the national guard, who had been posted in various parts of the garden for the defence of the Thuilleries. A great number escaped by the Champs Elysées. As they hastened through the streets, their uniform unfortunately marked them out for massacre. No quarter was given them, wherever they were found, although some of them joined

in the popular cries and ſhouts with the hope of conciliating the good will of the multitude. The humanity, however, of a few individuals, preſerved a ſmall number, who ſought protection in private houſes.

Within the palace a ſtill more dreadful fate awaited the remaining Swiſs, who were put to death in the moſt unfeeling manner. Several of them, begging for mercy on their knees, were ſeized in that attitude, and inſtantly thrown out of the windows into the court below. Of the whole regiment not more than one hundred and eighty ſurvived, including thoſe who firſt accompanied the king, and afterwards M. d'Hervilly, to the aſſembly. The national guards, with very few exceptions, at different periods of the attack joined the aſſailants; and unfeelingly aſſiſted in the purſuit and murder of their comrades, of thoſe very men, with whom a few hours before they had been united in the diſcharge of a common duty, and with whom they were in the habit of a familiar intercourſe.

The maſſacre within the Thuilleries was not confined to the brave Swiſs; but every perſon found there, even the loweſt of the royal domeſtics, was indiſcriminately put to the ſword. The maſſacre was ſucceeded by a general plunder.

It is ſeldom that the exact number of the ſlain, in an inſurrection of ſuch magnitude, can be accurately aſcertained. The beſt accounts ſtate, that on one ſide, beſides the Swiſs already mentioned, fell about five gentlemen, a hundred royal domeſtics, and twenty of the national guards, who had remained faithful to their duty; and that on the other ſide full three thouſand Pariſians, and five hundred Federates and aſſaſſins, many of whom had been buſy, not only in the former murders of the capital, but of Avignon and Nîmes, were ſlain in this bloody conteſt.

The aſſembly, which at firſt affected to ſuſpend its deciſion on the formation and authority of the new municipality, grew bolder, as the ſucceſs of the inſurrection ſeemed more aſſured, and ultimately took open part with the conſpirators. The ſitting was made permanent. All decrees, not already ſanctioned, were voted to have the force of laws. A national convention, to ſettle the future government, was ſummoned. The king, in the mean time, was proviſionally ſuſpended from his functions, and, with his family, committed to the cloſe cuſtody of the municipality formed for his deſtruction; while his power was to be exerciſed by a new executive council, appointed by the aſſembly. The three diſmiſſed miniſters of courſe were placed at the head of it, in their old offices; and with them were joined M. Monge, as miniſter of the marine; M. Le Brun, as miniſter of the foreign department; and, for his aſſerted merits in the late inſurrection, Danton, the great leader of the Cordeliers, as miniſter of juſtice.

The former miniſters, ſuch of the juſtices of peace as had honeſtly done their duty, and the moſt obnoxious of the Royaliſts and Feuillans, were ſeized, as many of them as could be found, and thrown into priſon. Three commiſſioners were alſo diſpatched to each of the armies, with authority to remove all civil and military officers, whom they might think dangerous. La Fayette, knowing that he could expect no favour, prevailed on the magiſtrates

magiſtrates of Sedan to arreſt the commiſſioners, who were coming to his army; but after ſome days of indeciſion, finding the attachment of his ſoldiers begin to ſlacken, and fearful of falling into the hands of his enemies, he fled, with his principal ſtaff officers, in the night; and not long after he had paſſed the frontiers, was met, on the territory of Liege, by an advanced party of the combined forces, which were now approaching France. They were willing to receive him and his officers as friends; but he refuſed to join the ſtandard of the French princes, and claimed the neutrality of that territory, which he himſelf had been the firſt to violate. It was not allowed; and he, with three of his companions, who, like him, had been members of the firſt aſſembly, was detained a priſoner of war; the reſt were finally releaſed. M. Dumourier was immediately promoted to the command, which La Fayette had vacated. It hardly ſeemed a temptation to the boldeſt ambition. He accepted it, however, and prepared with a divided and enfeebled army, to oppoſe the firſt generals of the age, at the head of veteran troops.

But the ways of Providence are myſterious. We ſhall hereafter have occaſion to relate the ſucceſs of the French general, in baffling an invaſion, which, in the common opinion of Europe, was irreſiſtible; overrunning the Auſtrian Netherlands; carrying his arms into the heart of the United Provinces; and, on the firſt reverſe of fortune, compelled to follow the example of his predeceſſor; while they, who by their deciſive victory over the monarchy on the 10th of Auguſt, ſeemed to have become the triumphant maſters of the French empire, ſoon found, to their affliction and confuſion, that they had furniſhed the means, the precedent, and the pretences for their own deſtruction, in the very act of overturning the throne of their king.

ABSTRACT

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ERRATA, FIRST PART.

Page 94. 2d col. line 11 from the bottom, for "the laſt century," read, "the 16th century."

155. 1ſt col. line 20. for "M. Necker," read, "M. Breteuil."

233. 1ſt col. line 27. for "to be able," read, "of being able."

245. 2d col. 8 lines from the bottom for "was ſigned," read, "were ſigned."

269. 2d col. laſt line, after "obtained," dele the comma, and put a full ſtop.

366. 1ſt col. line 6. for "detached effects," read, "detached efforts."

410. 2d col. 8 lines from the bottom, for "was," read, "were."

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